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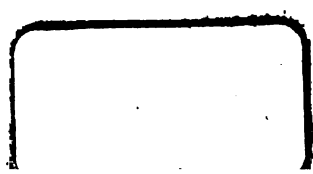
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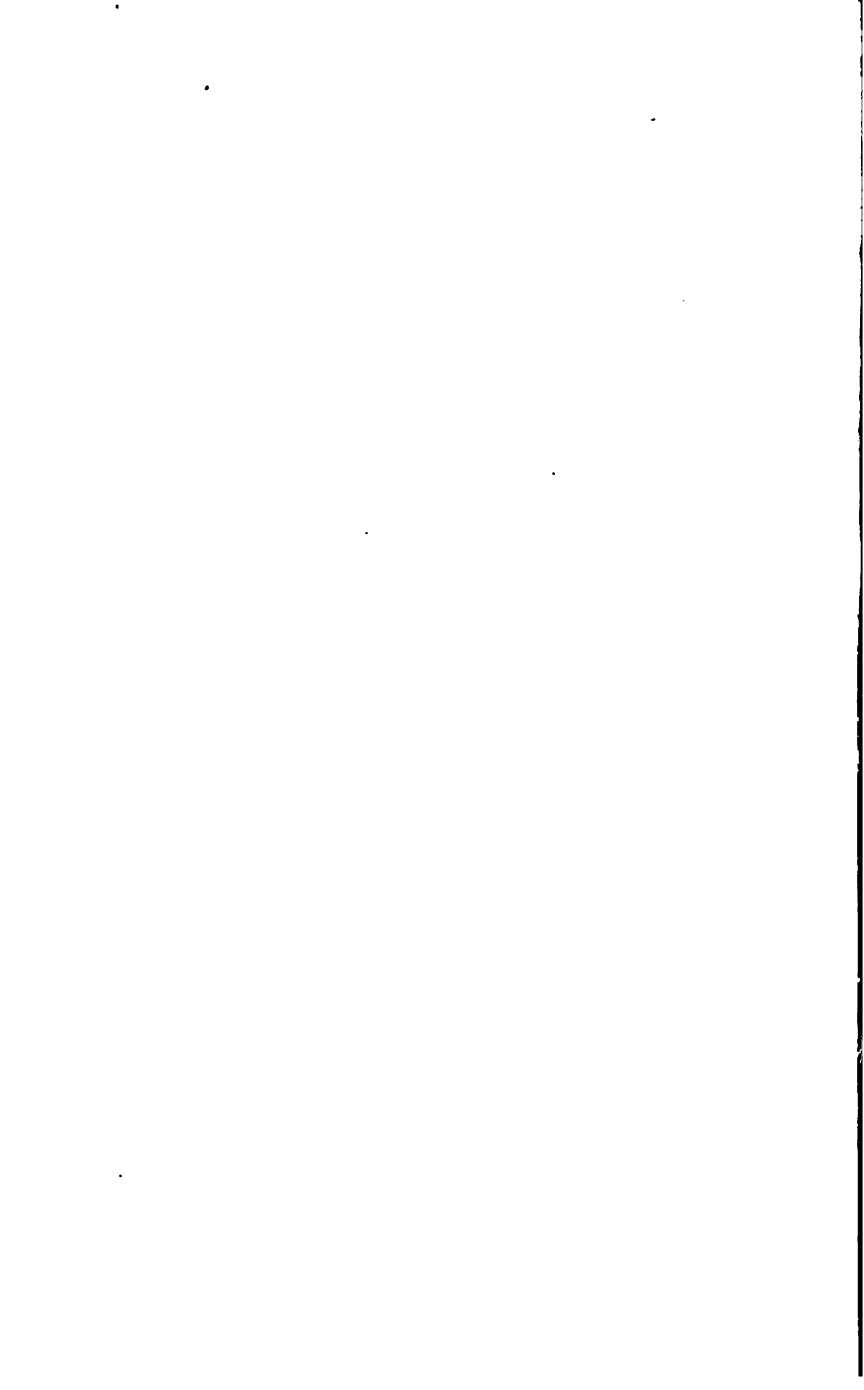


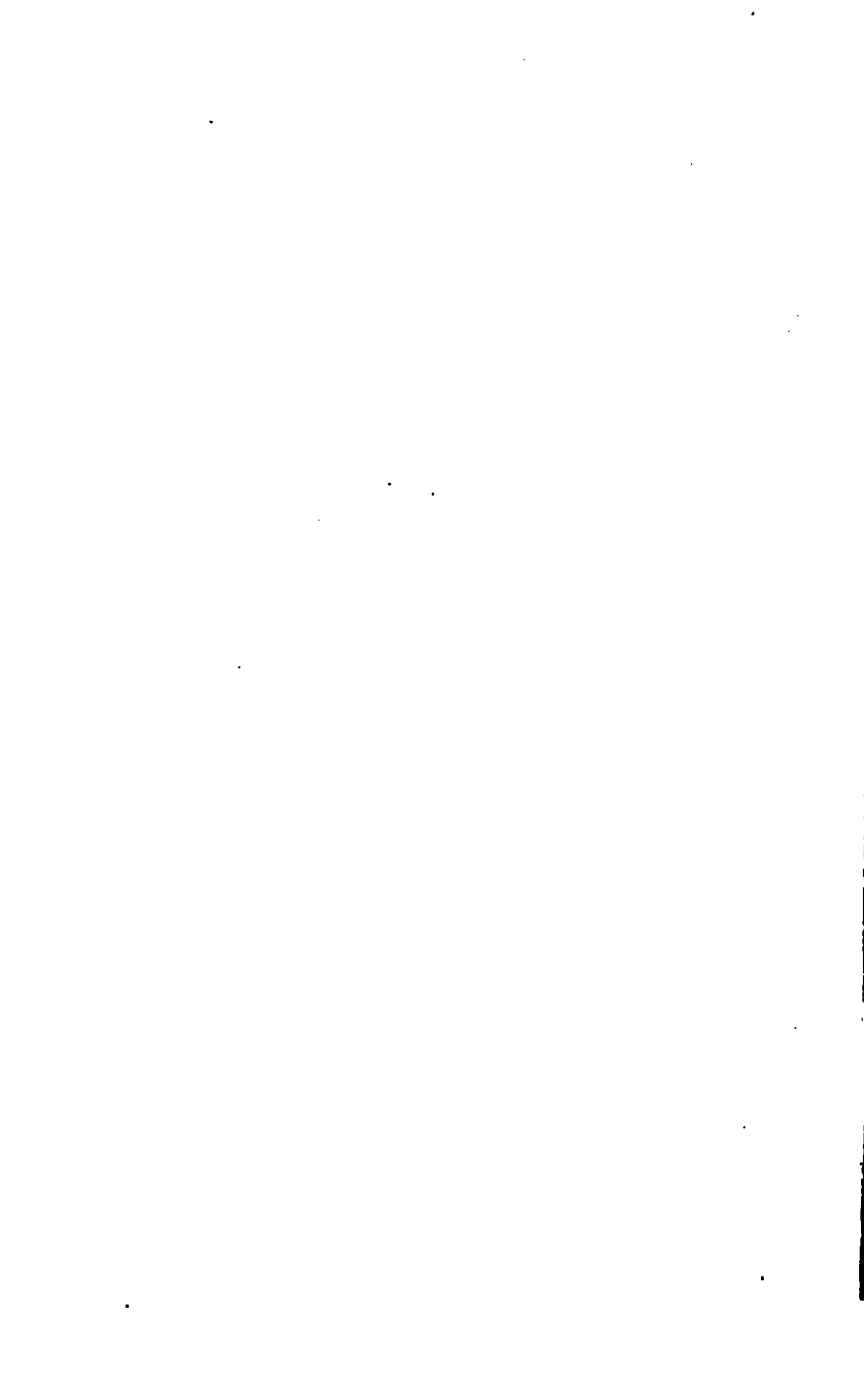
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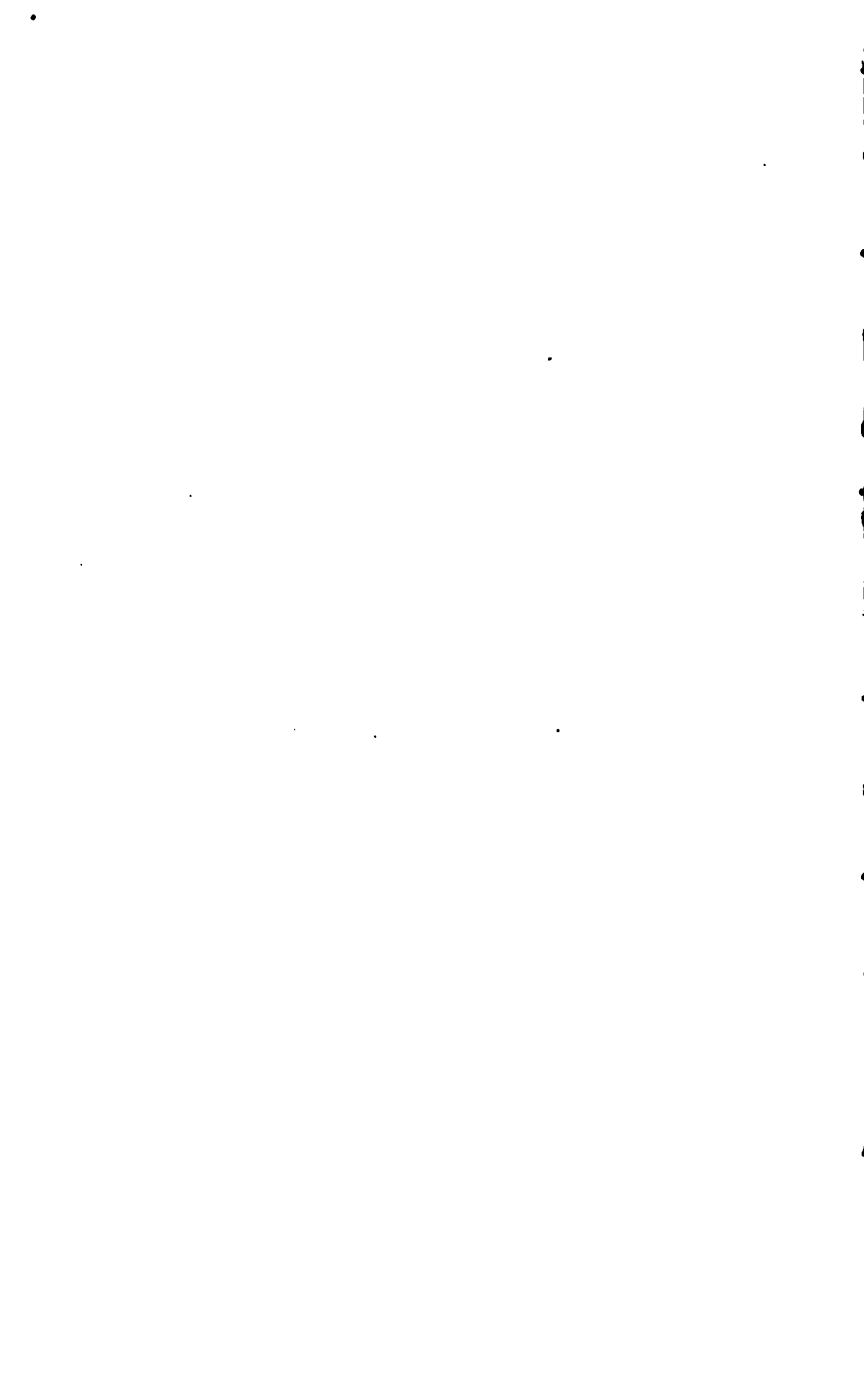


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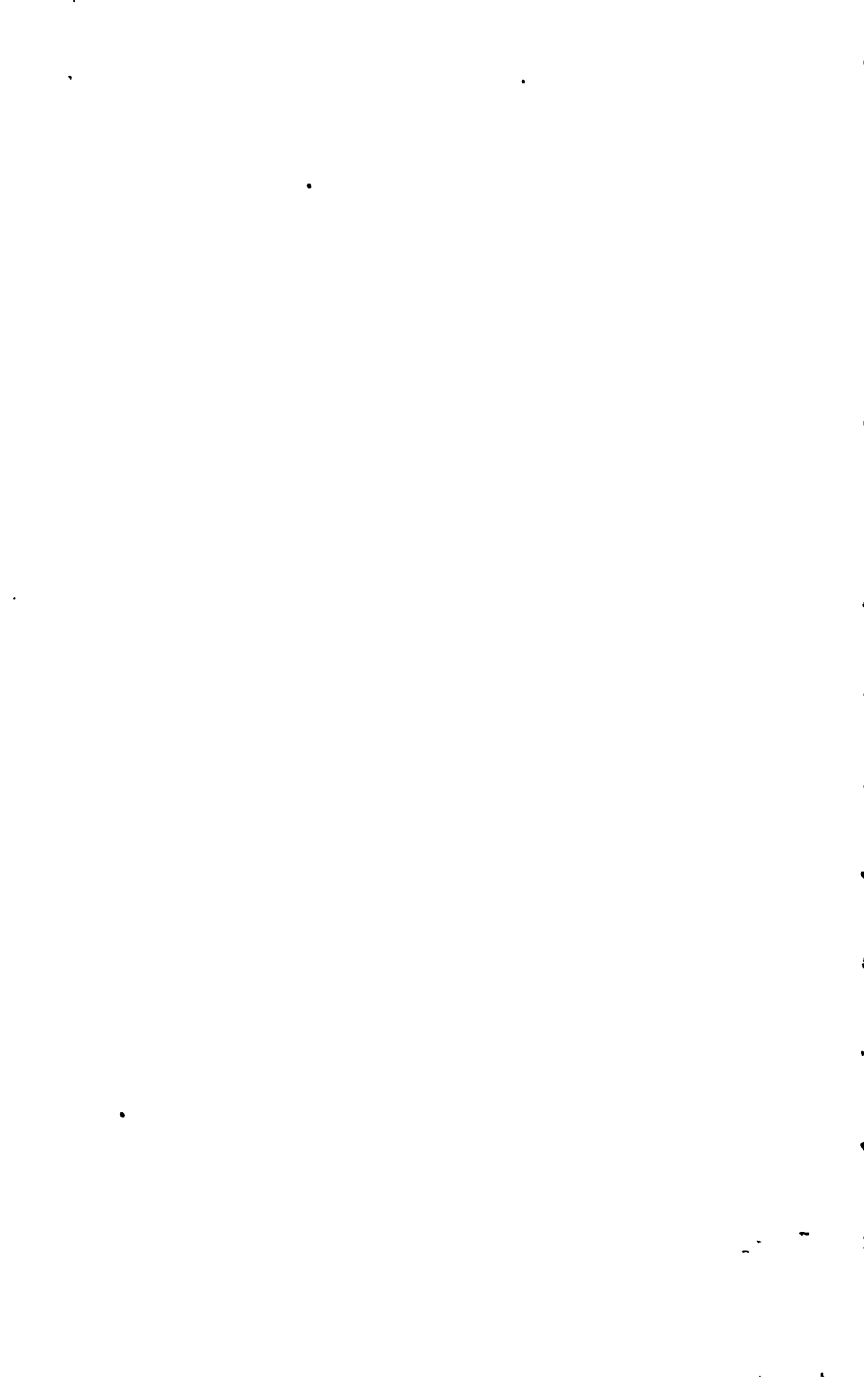






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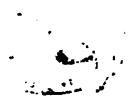
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# HISTORY OF GERMANY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

BY  
JOHN MILLER'S "HISTORY OF  
GERMANY."

BY  
J. MILLER.



NEW YORK:  
G. P. PUTNAM'S PUBLISHERS,  
110 NASSAU ST.  
1871.





A

# HISTORY OF GERMANY, -

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

FOUNDED ON DR. DAVID MÜLLER'S "HISTORY OF  
THE GERMAN PEOPLE."

By CHARLTON T. LEWIS.



NEW YORK:  
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,  
FRANKLIN SQUARE.  
1894.



FRIEDRICH II KÖNIG IN PREUSSEN - ÆTATIS 56.

A

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tions, but interrupt the narrative and confuse the memory. I have, therefore, from other sources—mainly the works of Ranke, Wirth, and Menzel—much enlarged the sketch of the history of the Empire during this period, incorporating in it whatever is of national interest in the local notices, and excluding all that could find no place in the general narrative. I have also added, in a final chapter, a brief outline of the principal events in the new Empire since the Peace of Frankfort, the date at which the latest edition of Dr. Müller's work ends. Thus my large indebtedness to his admirable compendium for most of the materials of this work demands an ample acknowledgment; but no responsibility for the assertions and views here presented can be thrown upon him.

CHARLTON T. LEWIS.

NEW YORK, *June 2*, 1874.

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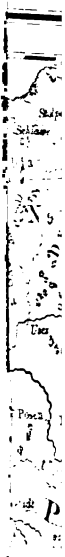
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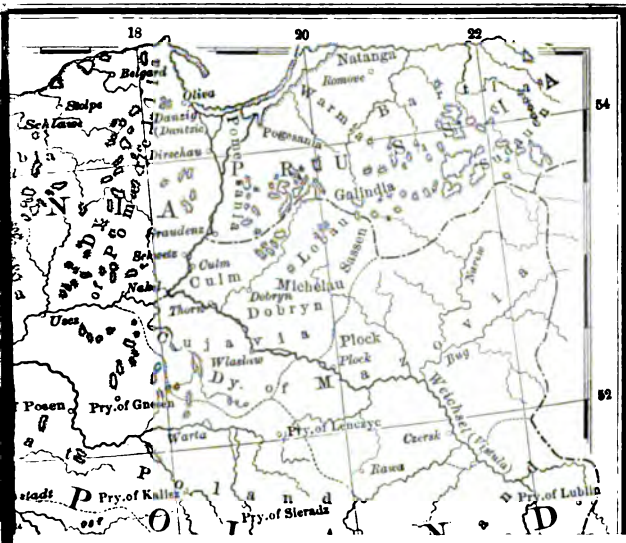
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# HISTORY OF GERMANY.

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## BOOK I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 800.

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### CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE GREAT MIGRATION OF NATIONS, A.D. 375.

§ 1. Character and Unity of German History. § 2. The Ancestors of the Germans in Asia. § 3. The Arian Migration. § 4. The German Race enter Europe. § 5. The Cimbri and Teutons. § 6. Their Battles with Marius. § 7. They enter Gaul. § 8. Cæsar and Ariovistus. § 9. Cæsar crosses the Rhine. § 10. Cæsar's Account of the Germans. § 11. Their Wars with Rome. § 12. Drusus and Tiberius. § 13. Arminius. § 14. Germanicus. § 15. Fall of Arminius and Maroboduus. § 16. The Germans described by Tacitus. § 17. Their Political Institutions. § 18. Personal Allegiance. § 19. Their Religion. § 20. Compared with that of the Northmen. § 21. Roman Influence among the Germans. § 22. Cities and Trade. § 23. Germans in the Imperial Armies. § 24. The First German Kingdoms. § 25. The Goths. § 26. The Allemanni, Thuringii, Burgundii, Saxons, and Franks. § 27. Weakness of the Empire; Strength of the Germans.

§ 1. THE name Germany is familiar to us as that of a large tract of country in Central Europe. But history properly deals with peoples, not with lands, and, in tracing the growth, character, and achievements of a race, must follow them wherever they go. The Germans first became known to us as the most restless, migratory, and aggressive of men; and, before they attained a permanent social organization, they had already wielded a potent influence and sown the seeds of limitless good or evil to come in every part of Western Europe,

from Gibraltar and the British Channel to Constantinople and the Baltic Sea. Nor would an account of the race at the present day be complete if confined even to the vast empire they have just founded, hailing it as the fulfillment of the passionate desire of their long disintegrated race for unity; since at least one fourth of them, retaining all their national characteristics, and even their ancient language, are building up new Germanies beyond its borders. Nearly a million of Germans are among the most enterprising subjects of the Czar of Russia; at least four millions of people of their blood are already planted in America, and are weekly receiving additions; and more than nine millions of them obey the dynasty whose supremacy is the only bond of union among the discordant races of Austria and Hungary. In fact, the Germans, as a whole, have never yet attained the organic unity which is commonly implied by the word nation, but they have been almost always distracted between rival creeds and among many rival governments. But there is one important sense in which German history has a unity of its own, such as belongs to the history of no other highly civilized race or nation. Here and nowhere else do we find a vast people, whose annals lie before us from the times of their heathen barbarism to their attainment of a foremost place among enlightened nations, without such an intermixture of foreign blood at any time as to affect the identity of the race, or to force upon it a revolution in language, manners and customs, or religion. Though the most obstinately disintegrated of all races in their political institutions, yet, in the historical development of their social and intellectual life, the Germans have been the most independent and the most uniformly progressive of all. This fact gives to their history a unity of a higher kind than that which depends on the continuous supremacy of one dynasty, or even on the continuous development of one series of political institutions. Surely no study can be more instructive than that of the growth of a great nation, whose own internal strength has impelled it forward and sustained it for two thousand years against immeasurable hinderances, and often along the verge of utter ruin, until it has achieved the foremost place among the nations of Europe in military power and political influence, as well

as in science, art, literature, and general intelligence. Such is the growth which this work is an endeavor to sketch.

§ 2. All speculations upon the origin of the German tribes, their relations to other branches of the Arian race, and the routes by which they reached Europe, belong to the sciences of ethnology and antiquities rather than to history. Scholars are agreed that the languages of the Celtic, German, and Slavonic tribes, with the ancient tongues of Persia, India, Greece, and Italy, have enough in common to prove that they are but modifications or branches of one original language, spoken ages ago by the common ancestors of these people. Further, the grains cultivated by all these nations, and the domesticated animals kept by them all, are known to have had their native homes in Asia. On these grounds, together with what tradition tells us of the course of migrations in early days, it seems certain that the fathers of the Arian races once lived in the highlands of Central Asia. There are philological reasons for believing that, before their dispersion, they were shepherds and herdsmen, possessed of horses, cattle, sheep and swine, and of our common barn-yard fowls; fond of the chase, and accustomed to kill for food many kinds of game; with little knowledge even of the rudiments of agriculture, gathering a few sorts of grain which grew wild around them. Above all, they had the family, formed of the man with one wife and their children. Their religious notions were as simple as their manners. The vast forces and the grand recurring phenomena of nature: the sky, the wind, storm, and lightning; the sea, the night, the dawn—all these were referred directly to the will and power of superior beings, and honored as divine.

§ 3. But history first finds the Arian race in later ages, when its branches had not only wandered far away from one another and from their first home, but had formed each a distinct national or race character for itself, and attained very different degrees of civilization. It was near the Christian era when the Germans began to be known to the Romans, then the rulers of the civilized world. Herodotus speaks of a Persian tribe of "Germanii" in his time, but does not describe them, and there is no evidence to connect them with the European Germans of later centuries. Long before the

date of authentic tradition, Arian tribes occupied the two peninsulas of Southern Europe, and there they achieved all that Greek and Roman history reports to us. Much later the Celts moved westward; and after the fifth century before Christ were active as nomadic plunderers, invading Italy and the rich provinces on the Danube. But they had no political organization, and constantly quarreled among themselves. In the second century before Christ they were crushed by the Romans and the Germans. Only remnants of the race now cling to the rocks of the Atlantic coast, in Brittany, Wales, and Ireland.

§ 4. The Germans were doubtless the last of the Arian races to reach Western Europe. They probably came across the vast region which is now Russia, and took possession first of Scandinavia and of the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea; then entered Germany from the northeast, and gradually drove before them the Celts, who throughout the great historic period of Greece had been supreme in Central Europe. The first recorded notice of any of the German tribes is that of the Teutons and Guthons on the Baltic coast, where they were visited by Pytheas of Massilia, in the time of Alexander the Great. It is curious that the ancient historians did not believe the reports of Pytheas. Polybius thinks it impossible that he could ever have made the voyages he describes, and Strabo expressly and often calls him a liar. But time has shown that many of his accounts are too accurate not to have been founded on personal observation. Thus it is in the latter part of the fourth century before Christ that we first hear of Germans in Europe. But within a few generations afterward they had not only occupied the whole of Germany, but had entirely forgotten their ancient migrations. The Germans, when the Romans became acquainted with them, regarded themselves as children of heroes who had been born of the gods upon the soil they tilled. There were at that time at least forty independent tribes of them, with no political bond of union among them. But they had a well-marked national physiognomy; their language, their religion, and their customs in administering justice were the same; and they preserved a vague tradition of their common descent from one general father, Tuisco, whose three grandsons, sons of "Mannus," had

given their names to the three great divisions of the race, the *Istaevones*, the *Ingaevones*, and the *Hermiones*. These three principal stems correspond roughly to the Franks, to the Saxons and Lombards, and to the *Allemanni* and Swabians of later times; but seem not to include the Thuringians, Bavarians, Burgundians, and some smaller tribes. The national name "German," given to the whole race by Cæsar and Tacitus, means "shouters in battle," and is parallel to Homer's favorite epithet of Menelaus, "good at the war-cry." The name "Deutsche," meaning "popular" or "general," was originally applied to the language and laws of the whole race, as distinguished from local or sectional dialects and customs, and was then naturally transferred to the race itself.

§ 5. After the Punic Wars, the Romans were masters of the then known world. As they set out from the Alps, the wall that shut in Italy, and went westward and northward to subdue the Celts, they unexpectedly fell in with the Germans, who were engaged in the same work. The first German tribe they met was the *Cimbri* (i. e., warriors, champions, or, as the Romans interpreted it, robbers). It is uncertain whence they came; but at that time (B.C. 113) they were in motion, pressing hard upon the *Scordisci*, a Celtic tribe dwelling in *Noricum*, east of the Alps, and were striving to subdue or to break through them. This was the first time the Romans saw that wonderful phenomenon, a migrating nation—a whole vast people, who have taken up their goods, and abandoned their country, to go out into the wide world in search of better homes. The Celts now called for help on *Papirius Carbo*, the Roman consul, who thought this new enemy too strong to fight with any arms but treachery. He pretended friendship for the *Cimbri*, and then suddenly fell upon them at night. But they rallied with full vigor and self-possession, and utterly defeated him at *Noreja* (now *Klagenfurth*, in *Carinthia*). They then advanced westward along the Alps, entered Gaul, defeated four more consular armies (B.C. 109–105), laid waste the whole country from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, and finally invaded Spain, where, however, they were successfully resisted. The "Cimbrian panic" went before them, and Rome shook with terror at their name, as of old at that of *Brennus* or *Hannibal*. For all that was told of them was strange and



fearful. Their tense and active frames, of giant size, with their fair locks—boys with the hair of old men, the Italians said—with bold blue eyes, and unequalled strength, were a new wonder of the world. They wore brazen mail and gleaming white shields, and helmets shaped like the heads of unknown beasts of prey, with horribly distended jaws. For a missile, they carried a double-pointed spear; but in a hand-to-hand fight they used long, heavy swords.\* Even the women seemed to be warriors; at least they followed the men into the field with shouts of encouragement. Some of them, in white linen, officiated as priestesses, cutting the throats of prisoners of war over a brass vessel, and finding portents in the flowing blood. Turning back again from the Pyrenees toward the north, these Cimbri joined the Teutons, another German tribe, then spreading westward across the lower part of the Rhine. The united tribes now demanded from the Romans land on which to settle, but the Romans really had none to give. Unable to stay longer in Gaul, which they had laid waste, the tribes, now too numerous to move together, parted again, but undertook by a concerted plan to make a simultaneous attack on Italy. The Teutons preferred to follow the road along the coast, entering Italy south of the Maritime Alps, while the Cimbri chose the way by the passes of the Eastern Alps. It was still land that they wanted—land in which to settle, and to establish permanent homes. They did not seek booty; they avoided the most thickly settled and the richest parts of Italy; they even destroyed the horses and armor of the men they slew in battle. Their aim was to find a country in which they and their herds and flocks could live in plenty; but without a thought of “glory” or of empire.

§ 6. Caius Marius, the son of the day-laborer of Arpinum, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was the only fit man Rome could find to meet such a danger. He was now consul for the fourth time, and had taken up his position near Arles, in the province of Gaul, to guard the main entrance into Italy. By years of exercise and service, he had accustomed his troops to the old Roman discipline, and had steeled them against panic before the barbarians. Now that the Teutons undertook

\* Plutarch's *Life of Marius*.

to make their way to Rome, passing by his well-guarded camp, he pursued them, and fell on them with such vigor, at the warm springs called *Aquæ Sextiæ* (now Aix, near *Marseilles*), that their whole host of two hundred thousand was destroyed (December, B.C. 102). He then, in the fifth year of his consulship, betook himself to Italy. The *Cimbri* meanwhile made an irruption by the valley of the *Etsch*, defeated the consul *Marcellus*, and had already spent a year in the plains north of the *Po* before *Marius* reached them, with an increased Roman army. In a bloody battle at *Vercellæ* he destroyed their forces, which were drawn up against him in a square, with a side of three miles and a half (July 30, B.C. 101). In their last desperate struggles, the German women showed the same invincible spirit and passion for liberty as the men. At *Aquæ Sextiæ* they offered to surrender to the Romans, if permitted to become the slaves of the vestal virgins; but when this was refused, they resisted to the last, and then, in despair, they slew their children and themselves. The Romans long remembered their terrible foe, and the countrymen of *Marius* were not far wrong in hailing him, after these victories, as "the third founder of Rome."

§ 7. During these twelve years of war the Romans estimated that half a million of the Germans had been destroyed by them; yet, in the great and general movement of the German race to the westward, the *Cimbri* and the *Teutons* were but the bold pioneers whom new hordes were soon to follow. More than forty years, indeed, were now spent by the Roman Republic in party contentions and civil wars before its warriors again met the Germans on the soil of Gaul, the land they both claimed. Meanwhile the Germans pressed steadily forward toward the *Rhine*, and across it. They encroached on the *Helvetii*, a Celtic tribe, in the Alpine territory, and the Lower *Rhine* was no longer a barrier to them. South of it, the fruitful Belgian races, formed by a mixture of Germans and Celts, occupied the country as far as the *Seine* and the *Marne*. These wandering hordes of Germans, known as *Suevi* (wanderers), forced their way over the *Rhine* farther to the south, and entered Gaul; not suddenly, indeed, but in successive bodies, until their number increased there from 15,000 (B.C. 59) to 120,000 men (B.C. 57). At their head

was Ariovistus, a warrior king, who, once invited into the rich, attractive land by factions among its own inhabitants, now aimed at its complete conquest.

§ 8. This was the situation at the time (B.C. 58) when Caius Julius Cæsar went to Gaul to seek conquest, fame, and the future mastery of the whole empire of Rome. The Ædui, the people next threatened by the Germans, invoked his protection against Ariovistus. With true Roman pride, Cæsar, resolved that the Germans should not gradually accustom themselves to cross the Rhine, and perhaps renew the danger which Italy had incurred from the Cimbri, summoned the German commander to appear before him as his judge. With pride equal to Cæsar's, Ariovistus replied that "when he needed Cæsar he would go to Cæsar; but meanwhile Cæsar might come to him: and what business had Cæsar or Rome in *his* part of Gaul which he had conquered in war." No such language had been addressed to a Roman consul for centuries. The only appeal was to arms. But, like Marius, Cæsar had need of all his cunning and presence of mind to induce his troops to fight these terrible Germans, whose very bearing and look, the Gauls insisted, were insupportable in battle. It was rather by a surprise than by victory in the open field that Cæsar then overcame Ariovistus on the banks of the Little Doller, in Upper Alsace, and drove the Suevi down the Ill and across the Rhine. But the Triböci, the Nemètes, and the Vangiovi, left behind by the Suevi, accepted Cæsar's moderate terms; and he assigned them a home on the left bank of the Rhine, between that river and the Vosges Mountains, that they might be a barrier of Rome against their countrymen.

§ 9. During the next eight years (B.C. 58-50) the Gauls and Belgians were subdued, and thus all the other German tribes which had crossed the Lower Rhine became subject to Rome; as did the Ubii, who set up their principal place of worship (ara Ubiorum) where Cologne now stands. The Nervii were overcome in a hard-fought battle, one of Cæsar's most famous achievements. The Tenchtëri and Usipètes, who had, in part, been driven across the Rhine by the Suevi, were destroyed by Cæsar with Roman faithlessness. A mere remnant of them survived, and afterward occupied the right bank of the

Rhine from the Lahn to the Yssel. These victories encouraged Cæsar twice to bridge the Rhine (B.C. 55 and 53), and he was thus the first Roman captain to cross that lordly river. But he ventured no farther into the wooded and to him inhospitable region beyond. Gaul had submitted; but for a long time the Rhine remained the acknowledged boundary between the Roman possessions and the free Germans.

§ 10. Cæsar's own writings give the earliest trustworthy account of the land and its inhabitants. He was the first to distinguish the Germans from the Celts. He praises their warlike strength, their endurance, their hospitality, and their pure morals. Of the interior of their land, he describes the great "Hercynian forest," stretching indefinitely eastward from the Upper Rhine toward Bohemia; and the Bacenis forest, including the Hartz Mountains and the territory between them and the Rivers Rhine and Main. He tells of wonderful and fabulous wild beasts which lived in this wilderness. But his descriptions of the government and social life of the people apply chiefly to the Suevi, with whom his intercourse was most direct. These tribes were still unsettled, and individual ownership of the soil was unknown to them; the whole of the land they occupied being the property of the community. It was cultivated a part at a time, the rest lying fallow. Half of the men took their turn at the work, while the rest went forth for war and conquest. They thought it both honorable and safe to lay waste on all sides a broad tract of the country bordering on them. But besides such tribes as these, there were doubtless already others in the north and northwest of Germany which lived a settled and widely different life; yet the mass of the German tribes in Cæsar's time were probably in a transition state, between the wild and wanton career of the migrating Teutons and Cimbri, and the fixed homes and settled customs attained by their posterity.

§ 11. The Romans soon came into contact with the inhabitants of the interior of Germany. Julius Cæsar fell by the assassin's dagger, and once more civil war divided the Roman world. Finally Octavius Cæsar, now called Augustus, reaped the harvest sown by his uncle, obtained a sovereignty without a rival, and founded the empire. This huge mon-

archy began to set its provinces in order, and to secure its boundaries. The general result of the wars with the Germans was that Rome had control of all the territories west of the Rhine, or south of the Danube. The Germans had settled along the left bank of the Rhine from Upper Alsace to the sea, and this strip of land, pompously called Roman Germany, was incorporated into the province of Gaul. It was divided by the Moselle into Upper and Lower Germany. The country between the mouths of the Rhine, called the Island of the Batavians, was also subject to the Empire. South of the Danube were the three provinces Rhætia (including Vindelicia), Noricum, and Pannonia, inhabited by Celtic tribes, which had been subdued by Drusus and Tiberius, step-sons of Augustus. But nearly all the vast territory east of the Rhine and north of the Danube was free, and this was known as "Germania Magna," or "Barbara." The Romans fortified both rivers to protect their provinces; and these military works were the origin of Bingen, Bonn and Neuss on the Rhine, and of Regensburg (Ratisbon) on the Danube. Only the Tenchteri and Usipetes, on the east bank of the Rhine, and the Ubii, who occupied both banks, obeyed the Romans. The chief place of the Ubii was made a Roman colony, and received the name "Colonia Claudia Agrippina," in honor of Agrippina, Nero's mother. It became the capital of Lower Germany, and is still called Cologne. All the Germans east of these were free. The Frisii held the sea-coast from the Rhine to the Ems, and the Chauci ("strong and upright men, of giant stature," the Romans call them) from the Ems eastward. The Bructeri and the Marsi occupied the lowlands on the Lippe, and thence to the sources of the Ems. South of them came the Sigambri, a tribe kindred to the Marsi, in the region where the Rivers Ruhr, Sieg, and Eder take their rise, and extending to the Rhine. East of these, in the country now known as Hesse, were the obstinate and warlike Chatti—perhaps the very Suevi of Ariovistus, now become a settled people. The Angrivarii dwelt in the flat country between the Weser and the Aller; and southeast of them, reaching from the Weser to the east side of the Hartz Mountains, were the Cherusci, then the mightiest tribe of all. Beyond these, in the Thuringian forest and onward to the

Danube, dwelt the Hermunduri, who soon entered into friendly relations with the neighboring Romans.

All these German tribes had settled abodes, and are clearly distinguished from the wandering tribes, or Suevi, to the south and east, already described by Cæsar. Among them the Langobardi, west of the Lower Elbe, were famed for their bravery; and the Semnones, on the Rivers Havel and Spree, for their strength and stature. In what is now Mecklenburg, on the coast, were the Vinili; beyond the Oder the Rugii; and farther on, about the mouths of the Vistula, the Gothones. The Burgundii possessed the region southward, upon the Warthe and the Netz. Beyond these the Marcomanni (i. e., "march-men," or "border-warriors") were the most important of the Suevian races toward the Danube. Under their general, Maroboduus, they invaded and conquered the land of the Celtic Boii, now Bohemia; and there Maroboduus established his government over them, in obvious imitation of the Roman emperors. This kingdom of Maroboduus was extended from the Danube to the Vistula and the Elbe, and is memorable as the first attempt ever made to found a large state among the German tribes. A large number of lesser tribes (Silingi and others) occupied the region of the Upper Oder and Vistula, and on to the borders of the Sclavic Sarmatians; while the Quadi dwelt in what is now Moravia, and in the adjoining parts of Hungary.

§ 12. The names and abodes of these German tribes gradually became known to the Romans after Cæsar's time. When the Empire under Augustus acquired strength and consistency, the Romans entered upon a war of subjugation, in which the divisions and strifes of the Germans promised them an easy success. Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, assumed the chief command on the Rhine (B.C. 12-9). He connected that river with the Zuyder Zee by a canal; formed an alliance with the Batavi and Frisii, and attacked the Bructeri both by land and water—his fleet sailing up the Ems, while his army marched up the bank of the Lippe (B.C. 12). Yet his campaign accomplished little. The next year he established a fortified camp at Aliso, near the Lippe, and marched across the Weser against the Cherusci (B.C. 11). There he secured a fixed base for future operations (B.C. 10) by placing

fortresses along the Rhine, from Mayence (Mogontiacum) to Xanten (Castra vetera), and setting out from the Main (B.C. 9), he forced his way, first to Werra, then to the eastward of the Hartz Mountains, and even to the Elbe. This was the end of his march; as the story goes, a female giant, the guardian genius of the land, appeared to him, with a warning against advancing farther, and terrified him by predicting his speedy death. On the retreat he died, aged but thirty years. His brother, the cunning Tiberius, succeeded to his command. This prince knew how to make use of the civil dissensions among the Germans, and to ply them with all the charms of Roman power and luxury, so that he soon made himself master of all the Germans between the Rhine and the Elbe. Roman markets and Roman settlers soon made their appearance in German territory, and Roman merchants traversed it in all directions. German princes entered the Roman service, and there learned the arts of war and of statesmanship. By an infamous breach of faith, Tiberius succeeded in transplanting 40,000 Sigambri from the interior of Germany to the mouths of the Rhine; then, being ordered into Germany by the emperor, he marched from Italy against Maroboduus. This king had collected a force of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, had subdued the Suevian tribes up to the borders of the Semnones and the Langobards, and was growing dangerous to the Roman Empire, to which he had hitherto professed subjection. Tiberius was on the march to attack him, when he was called away by an insurrection of the tribes on the Lower Danube.

§ 13. Meanwhile Quintilius Varus, who had now succeeded to the command formerly held by Tiberius, treated North Germany as a subjugated province. He substituted the Roman system of law for that of the country, and set in operation all the arts of oppression which he had formerly practiced among the servile Syrians. By this conduct, the popular indignation and the defiant spirit of liberty were slowly but terribly aroused, and the people found an avenger in Arminius (or Hermann), the son of Segimer, a young prince of the Cherusci. He was but twenty-five years of age, and had a commanding presence, a bold hand, and a ready mind. In the service of Rome he had learned Roman warfare and cunning. He now prepared for an insurrection of the North

German tribes—the Bructeri, Marsi, Angrivarii, and Chatti, but especially of his own tribe, the Cherusci. Maroboduus was invited to join them, but kept out of the plot, though he had recently been threatened by the Romans. Varus meanwhile lay securely in his camp on the Weser, disregarding the warning of Segestes, a prince of the Cherusci, who, out of personal hatred to Arminius, betrayed the scheme. When the conspiracy was complete, a small and remote tribe, as had been agreed, first raised the standard of revolt. Varus marched to put it down, even permitting Arminius, with German auxiliaries, to go with him. But in the pathless Teutoburg forest, near where Detmold now is, and in the midst of a frightful storm, the entire mass of the confederates suddenly surrounded him. The Romans withstood for two days the fury of their German foes, amidst rain and wind, and the dangers of the unknown, almost impenetrable thicket. On the first night they still encamped according to their military rules; but on the second, it was with difficulty that they found any resting-place; and before the third came on, they were hopelessly beaten, and the best three legions of Rome had lost their eagles. Varus fell upon his own sword (A.D. 9). The rage of the conquerors was wreaked, without moderation, on the prisoners, especially on the Roman advocates, who were savagely mutilated. Augustus, now an old man, was in terror. Neglecting his dress and person, he is said to have wandered about his palace, crying out piteously, “Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!” Rome trembled with him in fear of an attack from the Germans.

§ 14. But the Germans had as yet no organization, and there was no motive strong enough to hold them together, except the pressing necessity of union in throwing off the Roman yoke. When this was done, though but temporarily and imperfectly, the tribes again fell apart. Even while it lasted, this coalition of free tribes under Arminius in the north could not be united in policy with the kingdom of Maroboduus in the south. Thus the power of the Germans was still divided; and Germanicus, the son of Drusus, formed the hope of restoring victory to the Roman arms. Setting out from the Rhine (A.D. 14), he invaded the land of the Marsi, cut to pieces an unarmed throng assembled at a festival,



and destroyed their sanctuary. He next attacked the Chatti and Cherusci (A.D. 15), and, reaching the scene of the defeat of Varus, gave due burial to the bones of his countrymen which lay bleaching there. Meanwhile Thusnelda, whom Arminius, soon after his victory over Varus, carried off from the house of her father, Segestes, and married, was taken prisoner again by her father, and carried to the Roman camp. But Arminius brought his wrongs before the people, crying out that his wife and his unborn child had been sold into slavery; and at once the Cherusci, Chatti, and Bructeri rose in a body, so that the Roman army, on its return, narrowly escaped the fate of Varus. The next year (A.D. 16) Germanicus marched up his father's canal to the Weser, and defeated Arminius east of that river in two battles, at Idistavisus ("Maiden's Meadow," near Minden) and at the Steinhuder Lake. But he had lost heavily, and thought it prudent to retire. He still had to meet, with his enormous fleet of a thousand boats, the terrors of the North Sea, where a large part of his force perished. Soon afterward, Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus as emperor (A.D. 14-37), recalled Germanicus, and he died in Asia.

§ 15. This was the last effort of Rome to subdue Germany by force. The policy of Tiberius was to use bribery and cunning, to foster the mutual jealousies of rival families and tribes, and thus to extend Roman influence by policy rather than by arms. His plan proved far more successful than the violence of his predecessors. Roman fortresses and colonies arose in many places, especially along the rivers and highways of trade; the Germans became accustomed to peaceful commerce and intercourse with the Romans, and to the presence of Roman troops among them, and gradually began to serve in the Roman armies. They retained their own local laws and customs, and justice was administered by their own officers; but the influence of the Empire outweighed the power of their own rulers. The Romans had not long ceased to threaten Germany with conquest, when the two great leaders, Maroboduus and Arminius, quarreled. The former, indeed, had taken no part or interest in the war of the Cherusci for freedom, and thus offended the Langobardi and Semnones, who sympathized strongly with their kindred in danger.

These tribes revolted from Maroboduus, who retired to Bohemia, after a bloody but indecisive battle in Saxony. At the instigation of the Romans, who improved every opportunity to embitter the Germans against one another, he was driven out of his kingdom (A.D. 19), and took refuge in Ravenna, under the protection of Tiberius. Arminius was traitorously slain by his own kindred, at the age of thirty-seven, twelve years after his victory over Varus. By the testimony of his Roman foes, he was undeniably the liberator of Germany; and he was perhaps the first man who ever conceived the hope of German unity. But his death destroyed the last bond of union among the tribes of Northern Germany. Arminius was celebrated for ages afterward in the heroic songs of his own people as a champion of independence; and his name holds an imperishable place in literature as the symbol of the aspirations of the German race for freedom. It is freedom from external conquerors, however, that he represents; and Shelley's imagination transcends the facts when it holds up this barbarous warrior king as the champion of the liberties of the people against monarchs:

“Tomb of Arminius! render up thy dead—  
 Till, like a standard from a watch-tower's staff,  
 His soul may stream over the tyrant's head!  
 Thy victory shall be his epitaph.  
 Wild bacchanal of truth's mysterious wine,  
 King-deluded Germany,  
 His dead spirit lives in thee!  
 Why do we fear or hope? Thou art already free!”

The Cherusci afterward wasted away in war with the Chatti, and these again in war with the Hermunduri. The Bructeri, too, perished in a similar civil strife. But German mercenaries now formed the core of the Roman legions, and once more they threw Italy into terror, under the Emperor Vitellius (A.D. 69). At the same time the Batavi on the Lower Rhine, who had hitherto been subject to Rome, revolted, under a bold general, Claudius Civilis, and in league with the Frisii, Bructeri, and Tenchteri. The allies were guided by the counsel of a Bructerian prophetess, named Velleda, and their plan was to drive the Romans out of German Gaul. For a time there was a prospect of uniting the Germans in this

effort. Claudius marched victoriously far into Gaul, and was only repulsed by the freshly reinforced Roman army of Vespasian.

§ 16. Soon after this time, about the year A.D. 100, the accurate Roman historian, Cornelius Tacitus, wrote his "Germania." This little treatise is one of the most precious works in what remains to us of Latin literature. It condenses into the smallest compass a large number of facts concerning the appearance, life, character, and manners of the early Germans, and is the chief source of information on the subject. There can be little doubt that much of what Tacitus wrote of the Germans was the fruit of his personal observation among them. In many details we can fill out his descriptions from other writers; but, on the whole, Tacitus is the one artist who has drawn for later ages the picture of this great race, as it was first brought into the arena of history. It is especially remarkable that the German national character, as discerned by him, has remained essentially the same until this day. His description of the persons and appearance of the Germans entirely agrees with Cæsar's. According to Tacitus, that which divides them on the east from the Sarmatians, the Sclavic tribes who were the last of the Arians to reach Europe, is not so much a natural boundary as "mutual fear." To the southern observer the land seems to be an unconquered forest impenetrable to sunbeams, and a hopeless swamp; yet agriculture was already universal. Rye and barley were cultivated, but the nobler crops were still wanting. The mountains contained more iron than gold and silver. The land was no longer altogether a common possession; but the soil had already, in part, become the property of the individual freeman, and the citizens, who were such only by virtue of their interest in the land, were distinguished by their proud and independent spirit. They disliked inclosed villages, and especially walled towns, which seemed to them prisons, yet they sometimes surrounded a strong place with wall and ditch as a refuge. Every proprietor set along his borders block-houses, built firmly and strongly of trunks of trees, and the gables washed with lime. He cultivated his land by the labor of slaves, or received contributions from his dependents. For himself, war and the

chase, or idleness, were the only occupations worthy of a freeman. The land abounded in game, and most of the clothing was made of furs; but the women wore linen cloth, and gold and silver ornaments were not uncommon among the rich. The people held sacred their home life, and especially the marriage tie, which was formed by the man offering to the maiden, not gold, but a steed, a yoke of oxen, and arms. The woman then lived in high honor, not only as the lady and mistress of the household, but as the companion, counselor, and friend of her husband. The German even found in her something to reverence as sacred and prophetic. The women would often accompany the army as it marched out to battle, and their shouts fired the soldiers' hearts. The children of freemen and of slaves grew up together, until the right of bearing arms distinguished the freeman. Their arms consisted of the terrible spear or lance called *framea*, which they threw to an incredible distance, and of swords, long lances, axes, clubs, and bows and arrows. Their shields were of wood, painted with gaudy colors. They had also horsemen clad in armor, while the footmen, who were mingled with them in the fight, were without coats of mail. They formed for battle in a wedge, in which they were arrayed according to family and district, each tribe having the figure of some wild beast borne before it as its standard. Before the fight they struck up their *Barrit*, or battle-song. It was no disgrace to give way, but the warrior must not lose his shield. They had no temples, but prayed to the gods in groves and forests; nor had they, like the Celts, a professional priesthood, but, in the ancient Arian fashion, the father exercised the priestly office for his household, and the nobleman for his clan and district, by offerings and invocations to the gods. But there were many religious customs: lots were cast, the flight of birds watched, the neighing of horses carefully listened to as portents; and the result of a battle was predicted according to that of a previously arranged combat. Similar regard was paid to days and seasons, new moon and full moon. The great virtues of the people—bravery, chastity, truth, and hospitality—were shadowed only by the vices of drunkenness and gambling; but even in these practices their invincible pluck, and their delicate sense of honor, extorted admiration. They

had, besides, an invincible passion for unbridled freedom, or rather willfulness, which did much to incapacitate them for regular labor or for discipline, and to confine their exertions to war and the chase.

§ 17. Such, in outline, is the description Tacitus gives of the early Germans. But, to make the picture complete, we must obtain from other sources a view of their social and public life, in which every freeman took part. The whole organization of society grew out of that obstinate and passionate independence of spirit which was the most prominent feature of the national character. The individual must be independent of his family, and would not brook any intermeddling by it with his private affairs. The family must be independent of the tribe or district, while protecting each of its members against all attacks from without; and this passion for independence extended itself also to the tribe and to the whole nation when threatened by strangers, while it offered an almost insuperable barrier to any permanent political union among the men, families, or tribes of the Germans themselves. However strong the pressure, and however close the union for the time, it was at once disintegrated when the pressure was removed. This was perhaps the most universal and obvious characteristic of the Germans every where, as distinguished from the nations around them, all of which had as much more readiness for organization, guidance and union, as they had less of individual spirit and energy. Besides the freemen, who in these respects were on an equality, they had their "Edelings," or nobility, but these did not constitute a distinct and privileged caste. It was but their greater estates, and the greater consequence which accompanied these, that marked their rank. The most intimate and sacred bond of union was that of family (*sippe*); in this each member found his protection and guaranty, and by this he was vindicated when injured, and avenged when slain. Yet the trespasser might make peace with the aggrieved family, in the presence of the community, by paying a ransom (*weregeld*), and the terrible custom of the avenger of blood was thus mitigated. This system of atoning for crime by the payment of a definite sum of money is the prominent feature in the ancient German codes of laws; and it exercised a

potent influence, by no means for good, upon their social life. The freemen, proprietors of land in any neighborhood, formed among themselves the canton, or association of the marches (*pagus*, markgenossenschaft), which held all the land, whether wood, meadow, or moor, not appropriated to any private owner, under the name of *commons* (or *almend*). This association also met in assembly, to decide upon legal questions of right and law. It was the most influential form in which the social life of the people expressed itself. The cattle of its members formed one herd; their cultivated lands, one unbroken field. They fought together in the armies, and voted together in the great assemblies of the tribe. A certain number of these associations constituted a *district* (*gau*), which usually had natural features of the land for its boundaries; while each hundred associations (or heads of families) formed a *hundred*, with a *count* at its head. The general assembly of the people, in each of the cantons and districts, came together at fixed times, especially at new or full moon, and usually on some consecrated mountain or plain. Here all the freemen took counsel together, under the presidency of a king, or of the prince of the district; and under the advice of the priests or nobility. Every man came in his armor. Here questions of war and peace were decided. Young freemen, on reaching manhood, were by the stroke of the sword made capable of bearing arms and of managing their own affairs; and judgments were given upon life and property. Here, too, were chosen, by the whole people, out of the noble houses, the princes who should hold, usually for life, the office of leader and judge in the districts. It was the ancestral custom that the judges should sit in the open air, in the public court or place of assembly (*mall*), surrounded by assessors or jurymen. But it does not appear that these assemblies were ever regarded as having the power to condemn a freeman to death, or to any bodily injury or restraint. No judicial power existed among the early Germans which could invade the absolute sanctity of the man's person, the first principle of their social institutions, which lay deep in their character. A private injury, were it even murder, was an offense to be condemned and punished, not by the community, but by the injured man and his family.

It was this that gave rise to that custom of family feuds, and of vengeance by blood relations, which constantly revived during the Middle Ages, in spite of the laws and of the ablest rulers, and threw society into disorder. The general assembly also chose the "duke," or general, who should hold the chief command during a war, and at its end return to his former position. The choice was finally proclaimed and ratified by elevating the duke on a shield upon the shoulders of the men. But, besides nobles and freemen, there was also another class of people, who, like women and children, were recognized by the law only in so far as they were represented by a freeman as their guardian. These people were of two classes: first, what was called Liti or Laten, freedmen or peasants, who held a piece of land in fee, paying tribute or rendering service to the owner; the other class were slaves, who were regarded as subjects of barter and sale, and are actually spoken of as *things* in the ancient laws. They were commonly mildly treated, and held a piece of land and a dwelling-place assigned by their master. But they were mere chattels in his hands, utterly destitute of rights, and with no appeal from his will. He tortured them at pleasure; and if he slew them in his anger, his only punishment was the loss of their services. Before the law, slaves and beasts were of the same class. The Liti were probably descended from the original inhabitants, who had been conquered; the slaves were mainly prisoners of war and their posterity. The freedmen were a middle class between the freemen and the slaves. They could bear arms, and avenge themselves or their kindred, even against freemen, although the compensation (*weregeld*) for their lives was but half as great as for those of the free. But they were excluded from any active part in the administration of justice and in the public assembly, because they held their land, not freely, but upon condition of service and contribution. It is perhaps safe to assume that much more than half of the entire population belonged to these two classes, and were therefore without civil rights.

§ 18. No feature of their character has more deeply influenced the history of the Germans than the peculiar disposition to attach themselves unreservedly to others—to devote

themselves absolutely to the personal service of a chosen master. This allegiance was voluntary when assumed, but proved an obligation which was observed afterward like a conscience: it was formally and solemnly assumed, sometimes by a mutual pledge of friendship, sometimes by a covenant of service, and afterward in feudal times by an act of homage; it was strictly personal, and was due, not to any community or government or family, but to individual men; and the self-denial and sacrifice involved in the faithful observance of this obligation were the pride and honor of manhood. In all these respects, personal allegiance was emphatically a German idea; and it gave new strength to the social ties of wedlock, of companionship, of military brotherhood and service. It gave a peculiar character to Christianity itself. We find that the early German Christians assigned little prominence to the sufferings and death of Jesus, afterward the favorite theme of the Church; but regarded themselves as the liege-men of Christ, owing him homage and fealty, and bound to serve him faithfully even to death. Religion to them was the tie which attached them to their great warrior King, their personal Master and Lord. Even the mercenary soldiers of Germany bound themselves by a similar tie to their Roman commanders, and the emperors, by acknowledging the relation, and making a few cheap professions of reciprocating it, easily made of them friends who were faithful to death. This disposition gave rise among the Germans to the associations (*gefolgschaften*) out of which gradually grew, in after-times, the feudal system and the modern monarchies. Freemen without estates, refugees from the avenger of blood in a family feud (called *rekken*), or younger sons left without a heritage (for the German liked to keep his estate together, and it commonly went to his eldest son), attached themselves to some nobleman's person, and gave themselves with unreserved devotion to his service. These formed his following (*gasindi*); he was their lord (*heriro*) and bread-giver (*hlaforð*), and at their head made warlike expeditions in search of plunder, which his followers shared. If he had continuous good fortune, his fame grew great; he was called, as descended of noble blood (*kuni*), the *kuning*, or king; and it was even possible that such a



leader should subdue an entire country. Such was generally the origin of a *kingdom* among the Germans; the name being given originally only to the conquered territory, where the king established his faithful friends as counts of hundreds or districts, and his inferior followers as local judges. But in his campaigns all these officers took their appropriate rank in his service. Thus, besides the free popular communities, there arose nations with kings. The title of king was not hereditary at first; yet in choosing and inaugurating a new king, by elevating him on a shield, there was a tendency to cling to the house which had once been consecrated to the office. In many a free community, too, the power of a duke, which was originally not a permanent office, might, in the hands of a rich and influential nobleman, grow to that of a king.

Thus the ancient Germans, when their character and manners are closely examined, no longer appear like rude savages. They work in wood, iron, cloth; they have the plow to cut the soil, and the ship to traverse the waves. They have a peculiarly vigorous and free public life, some of the outlines of which have been retained by the people of the great German race to this day, or are now taking new life and strength. They have a language whose oldest traces are still before us in the names which point to war, victory, honor, and strength; a language rich in roots and of an admirable structure, with a full, impressive sound, and capable of a culture which will enable it to meet the highest wants of the human mind. Indeed, it seems at that time to have reached a high degree of development, at least for the purposes of public discussion and oratory, the freedom of speech in the public assemblies, and the frequent determination of important questions of policy by the influence of an eloquent speaker, stimulating its culture; and this, although the people's ignorance of the art of writing was probably absolute. But, more than all this, they possessed, in the strength of their character, in their personal purity, their invincible spirit in war and in the presence of death, and in their faithfulness and reverence for law, a moral treasure which was soon to enable them to come out of their isolation, and take their place in universal history, as a people who will transform it and renew the youth of civilization.

§ 19. We have seen that the study of the Indo-European languages affords some indications of the religious notions and worship of the ancient Arian tribes of Central Asia in immemorial antiquity. They personified the great forces of nature, whether beneficial or destructive, and worshipped them in the scenes to which their presence lent splendor, majesty, or terror. In the crude conceptions to which they had already given names and divine attributes, we can trace the germs of the systems of belief so highly cultivated long afterward in classical antiquity by the Indians, the Greeks, and the Romans. We can even, in many cases, identify them with notions still vaguely preserved among the Germans themselves, though not recognized by the avowed belief of the people, in tales and traditions of mystical lore, in magical doctrines and ghostly superstitions. But the direct historical evidence concerning the religion of the ancient Germans is very scanty. We know that it was most intimately incorporated with the thoughts, characters, and lives of the people; that their old beliefs and usages continued to be cherished for centuries after the introduction of Christianity, side by side with those of the purer religion. But this very fact embittered the hostility of the Christian teachers against the ancient heathenism, and stimulated their zeal to destroy every vestige of it. The Church felt that it was not safe while so much as a story or a song embodying the national idolatry was preserved. It is but a meagre account, therefore, of their religion as it was when they first came in contact with Rome, that we can gather from contemporary records.

The Germans acknowledged a god of heaven, Wuotan or Wodan (the same with the Northern Odin, the spirit of nature), with one eye—for heaven has but one eye, the sun. He supports the gray vault of clouds and the blue arch above; in storms he rides, high on his steed, through the air, followed by his furious host, like “the wild hunter” of the legends, who is his counterpart. But he is also the god of the harvest, who grants favors, dispenses victory, and in general rules the world. The wolf and the raven were sacred to him; horses were sacrificed on his altars. Among plants, the ash and the hazel trees were consecrated to him. His son was Donar, the god of tempest, who blows the lightnings out from his red

beard, drives through heaven in a car drawn by rams, and brandishes his mighty hammer in unceasing war against the giants. To him the lofty oak is sacred, and the red ash; while the fox and the squirrel are his animals. At his side stands the one-armed god of the sword, called Ziu, Tyr, or Saxnot. Besides these, they worshiped a goddess of earth and heaven, before whom also their tempest hymn was sung. She was known by various names: as the dark earth that swallows the dead, she was called Lady Hel-Holle; as the earth gleaming in a white winter garment, she was Lady Bertha. Tacitus calls her Nerthus; and places her abode in an island in the North Sea, where are her mysterious grove and lake, and her car, which at times bears peace and joy through the nations. A more human conception is that of the Spinner, the mother of the gods, who blesses home and hearth, and takes charge of children who die unborn. The forces of nature, whether friendly or hostile to man, are personated in many forms, especially in the Dwarfs, who are cunning magicians, the guardians of the earth's hidden treasures, and master workmen in metals; and in the hated Giants, the embodiments of brute, blind force, the ancient lords of the earth, foes to gods and men.

§ 20. But the same simple religion of nature assumes a more majestic form among the kindred tribes of the North, whose heroic poems were their holy books; and enough of these has fortunately been preserved to throw much light on the faith of the whole German race. The Scandinavians in part clung to their heathenism for several centuries after most of the Germans abandoned it, and until their early doctrines had been reduced to writing; and in the Eddas of Iceland we have writings which are to the religion of the early Germans what the Homeric poems are to that of ancient Greece. Some of the songs contained in the first Edda (written early in the twelfth century) are evidently extremely ancient, even in their present form; and in all probability are but transcripts of traditions handed down from times much earlier than the German invasion of Europe. They represent Odin (Wuotan) throned on his lofty seat in the Walhalla, in golden armor; on his shoulders sit the ravens Hugin and Munin (thought and recollection), and two wolves lie at his

feet. Thence he rules the world, and sends the Valkyrs, the virgins of battle, to bring the heroes who fall on the field up to the eternal abodes of the gods. These songs, too, celebrate the wars of Thor (Donar) with the giants. The place of the German Holda, or Bertha, is filled by Odin's wife Friga, and at her side is Freia, the goddess of love and beauty, who is drawn in her car by cats. Her brother Freyr, the kindly, beaming god of sun and spring, rides on the boar with golden bristles, and to him, as god of peace and joy, are consecrated the July days and the winter solstice. Various traces of his worship are found also in Germany.

With a profound significance, this belief points to its own fall. The entire fabric of the world is conceived by it as embodied in one giant ash-tree, Ygdrasil, which stretches upward through the kingdoms of the universe, the greatest of these being Asenheim, the home of gods; Mannheim, that of men; and Yötunheim, that of giants. At the fountain of Urd—which springs up at Ygdrasil's roots—sit the Nornes, the sisters of destiny. But stags are feeding on the blossoms of the tree, a dragon gnaws at its roots. The snake of Midgard in the ocean surrounds the whole earth. Even the sun and moon are chased through the sky by wolves, which threaten to swallow them. Death and sin, too, have entered the community of gods. Baldur, the fairest and purest of them all, has been slain by the cunning of the wicked Loki, a descendant of the giants, and father of Hel, of the snake of Midgard and of the Fenris wolf. This wolf it is that most endangers the gods and the world. He still lies chained by magic in the Iron forest; but whenever the blood of kindred is wantonly shed on earth, it trickles into his closed mouth, and gives him strength. One day he will break loose, and then comes the twilight of the gods, the end of the world. Then Surtur, at the head of the fire demons, sons of Muspelheim, storms across the bridge Bifrost to attack Asenheim; the snake of Midgard unwinds its folds, and Naglfar, the ship of death, comes over the sea. Heimdal, the watchman at the end of the bridge, winds the Giallr horn, and the frightful struggle begins. In hand-to-hand fight all are slain, gods and monsters; at last Surtur scatters fire over the world, and it is consumed. But out of the flames arises a new

creation; Baldur returns, and with him a blessed age of innocence.

It has been a subject of controversy whether the Edda can be regarded as an expression of the faith of Germans; and some scholars contend that it represents rather the vast and weird imagination of the heathen poets. But its essential conceptions of the gods, its moral motives, and its views of life, are all thoroughly German; and as far as it contains a religion, it may safely be accepted as the religion of all the German tribes. That Thor, Odin or Wodan, and Freia were great gods of all the Germans is imperishably witnessed by the names of the days of the week, Thursday, Wednesday, and Friday, which are named for them in every branch of the German tongue. Baldur was honored as a god among the half-Christians of Germany in the days of Pepin of Heristal; and a German Christian poet of the ninth century gives to the final judgment predicted in the New Testament a form and coloring evidently imitated from the Edda's "Twilight of the Gods." It is probable that the one great thought of the Edda, the perishableness of the universe, including even the gods known and worshiped, was deeply impressed upon the minds of a large part of the German race, and did much to prepare them, as it prepared the Norsemen, for receiving the Christian doctrine of the unknown God, "who only hath immortality."

Serious thoughtfulness, valor in battle, and vigor of character, are the features which appear most prominent in the early Germans, whether we examine their religion or their manners and customs in ordinary life.

§ 21. In the course of the first two centuries of our era, the magnificent organization and unity of the Roman Empire, and the superiority of Roman culture, obtained among the Germans what the sword had failed to force upon them; a controlling influence which, however, did not deprive the Germans, as it commonly did the Celts, of their own language, laws, religion—in one word, of their nationality. The Empire, indeed, under the excellent rulers whom it enjoyed for more than a century, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, strove to extend its sway into Germany, beyond the Rhine and the Danube. In the latter part of the first century and

during the two centuries following, the angle of Germany which lies between the upper waters of the two great rivers, the region from which Maroboduus had led his Suevi eastward (now Baden, Wirtemberg, and Northwestern Bavaria), was brought under Roman sovereignty, and colonized with soldiers according to the Roman custom. A line of fortifications was established—with ditches, palisades, walls, and towers—from the Main, near the present Aschaffenburg, in a slight outward curve to the Rhine below Schaffhausen, and in a longer curve to the Danube near Ratisbon. Besides, the corner of land between the Rhine, lower down, and the Main, known as the Taunus territory, was inclosed by a palisade with a ditch. Within these lines dwelt soldiers who had been discharged from service, some of Roman origin, and some Germans or Gauls, all of them paying to Rome one tenth of their produce. From this payment, the district was called for centuries the tithing land (*agri decumates*).

§ 22. In these lands, after their colonization by Rome, arose a kind of culture hitherto unknown to the Germans. First of all a series of cities were built, chiefly along the Rhine. Bregenz and Augst, near Basle, were in Rhætian territory. Mayence, Worms, Spire, and Strasburg were founded in Upper Germany; while in Lower Germany, around the fortified camps of Drusus, grew up the cities of Bingen, Coblenz, Remagen, Bonn, Neuss, Xanten, and others. Cologne had long been founded, and Trier (Trèves) was built in Roman splendor on the former site of the Gallic Treverer on the Upper Moselle. Near the Danube, too, grew up flourishing cities—Augsburg in Vindelicia, Salzburg in Noricum, and Vienna in Pannonia. Almost every spring of warm or mineral water, from Baden-Baden to Aix and Spa, was known and used, and most of them had fine buildings around them. Iron mines were worked in Noricum. The sunny banks of the Moselle and Rhine were soon planted with vineyards; the Romans brought to these districts the superior orchard fruits, the finer and rarer garden products, and a complete system of agriculture, and extended these benefits also to the German tribes which were still independent. The great Roman roads, built through Gaul and over the Alps for trade, ended at the Rhine and the Danube; but the Roman merchant pressed on, by

ways less traveled but still well known, until he reached the North Sea and the Baltic. In the interior of Germany he purchased horses, hogs, and horned cattle, skins and furs, down and feathers, wool, and even woolen cloths. Smoked meats, honey, turnips, beets, and radishes of astonishing size were sent to Rome; asparagus from the banks of the Rhine, several sorts of choice fish from the German brooks, and rare species of birds, adorned as delicacies the table of the Roman epicure. The shores of the Baltic Sea contributed the precious amber, and Roman ladies decorated themselves with the golden hair of the Germans.

§ 23. In return, the Germans received from Rome ornaments of gold and silver, for which they had a passion, fine clothing and southern wines. But a closer bond than that of trade between the Germans and the Romans was the military service, into which large numbers of the Germans entered as mercenaries. Cæsar had perceived long ago the high value of German bravery in the Roman army, and it was to German mercenaries that he was especially indebted for his victory over Pompey at Pharsalus. This service exercised a wide influence on the people. The old German customs of inheritance compelled younger sons to go in search of military duty and of booty; the old German passion for wandering and adventure stimulated them; while the splendor and glory of "eternal Rome" filled the northern son of the wilderness with admiring reverence, and took from her service every ground for reproach or shame. Nothing could be more destructive to the national life of the people than this habit of serving for money in foreign armies, and even against their native land; but German patriotism was so completely unknown that this career was no less respected than any other. Thus German mercenaries became associated with the Roman soldiery throughout the Empire. It would sometimes happen that German troops obtained from Rome their own prince as commander, or that a "king" with his train, or even an entire tribe, agreed to do military service in exchange for land. On his return from the wars, the German warrior's tales excited in his associates not only wonder, but eager desire for such splendor as he described; and these people knew no law toward strangers but that of the sword

and of the strongest. The time soon came when Rome's weakness was discerned.

§ 24. The last of the good emperors, Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), carried on long and unsuccessful wars against the Marcomanni and Quadi, who threatened the Danubian provinces of Rome (A.D. 166-175, 178-180). He died at Vienna (Vindobona), and his son Commodus (A.D. 180-192) succeeded him; and now the Empire rushed onward irresistibly to its fall. Thenceforth the throne was commonly won and lost in a revolution wrought by the army; the provinces, wasted by civil war, political disorder, pestilence, and other calamities, sank into indescribable misery. From this time the Germans come forward more and more prominently as assailants of the Empire, and by their bold, plundering incursions add to the general distraction. But the same period marks a change in them also. The smaller tribes which Tacitus had enumerated are heard of no more. In their stead, partly by conquest and partly by voluntary consolidation, extensive associations of tribes have arisen, which may be called nations. The ancient community system is gone; instead, the personal following of each of the leading princes has grown to be an organized army, with a chieftain at its head called a king. Six of these German nations now enter the scene of history.

§ 25. First come the Goths. In the lists of Tacitus, they are named as settled about the mouths of the Vistula; but even then they were ruled by kings, and were a wandering race, bent on conquest. Their ancient traditions, which their annalist, Jordanes, reports, traces their origin back to the island of Scanz, that is, to Scandinavia. There, the story goes, a night as long as forty days darkens the land in winter, the waters are stiffened to ice and snow, and the wolves themselves become blind if they roam over them. Thence, like a swarm of bees, came the Goths to the mouths of the Vistula, on the Baltic Sea. In the vast plains inhabited by the Sarmatians, and on as far as the Roman province of Dacia, which Trajan had founded between the Danube, the Theiss, and the Dniester, these Goths found no foes that could withstand them. They spread still further to the east, conquered most of Dacia, and in the third century reached the Black Sea. Between this and the Baltic, they now had an



almost boundless territory. They were divided into West Goths (Visigoths), south and east of the wooded Carpathian range, and East Goths (Ostrogoths), in the broad plains stretching eastward to the Dnieper. The former were ruled by the royal house of the Balthi, the latter by that of the Amali. Kindred tribes, such as the Gepidæ, Heruli, Rugii, and Vandals, had joined them; while in the east, toward the Don, dwelt the half-German tribe called Alani. There were also Slavonic tribes subject to them. In the third century the Goths undertook to make terrible inroads for plunder upon the neighboring Roman provinces of Mœsia and Thrace. The heroic emperor Decius fell in a bloody fight against them. With their ships they ransacked the shores of the Black Sea. They even sailed through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and ravaged the Cyclades, and the shores of Greece and Ionia, where, for instance, they burned the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus. After the middle of the fourth century, Ermenrich, the aged king of the East Goths, united in his own hands the exclusive sovereignty of them and of their allied tribes. But the union of these peoples was too loose to be called a kingdom; it was scarcely the outline of one. Yet the Goths, from the first, showed themselves capable of civilization.

§ 26. The Allemanni were a second German nation which had now grown up; and their name, which first occurs in the accounts of Caracalla's expedition against the Germans, A. D. 213, indicates a league or gathering of peoples (all-man). They were a mixed race of Suevian descent, and came from Eastern Germany, going first to the Frankish Jura (Northwest Bavaria), on the east side of the Roman line of fortifications. The Romans soon had to give up the tithe-lands to them. Some of the later emperors (as Probus and Julian) obtained temporary successes in war against them; but they always pressed forward again, and Gaul and even North Italy suffered from their incursions. At last they settled on the Upper Rhine, occupying what is now Baden, Wirtemberg, and Northeastern Switzerland, and extending southward to the summit of the Alps.

The Thuringii had grown out of the remnants of the Hermunduri and other tribes. United under one king, they oc-

cupied the land from the Danube through Central Germany, to and even beyond the Hartz Mountains; while their boundary on the east was the Bohemian forest and the Saale. Between them and the Allemanni, east of the Oden forest, dwelt the Burgundians, who soon, however, advanced to the Rhine near Worms, where they adopted Christianity. The whole plain of North Germany, from the Hartz to the North Sea, and from the Elbe almost to the Rhine, was occupied by the Saxons. According to their traditions, confirmed by some historical indications, they crossed the Elbe from the north as conquerors, and it is possible that the ancient tribes which had settled there, the Cherusci, became incorporated with them. They took their name from their short sword (the sahs), and they retained the old German system of districts and communities, without kings. Finally, the Franks appear on the Lower Rhine: a mixture of Bructeri, Chatti, and Batavi, joined also by the Sigambri who had settled in this region. They are recognized as a distinct nation before the end of the third century A.D. They were governed by noblemen, who were perhaps also called kings. The Saxons and Franks were friends, and were generally in alliance. They were terrible pirates, with the light vessels with which they roamed over the stormy seas and often visited the shores of Britain, Gaul, and even Spain and Sicily. A quieter race than these were the Frisians, who occupied the shore of the North Sea, and the islands facing it.

§ 27. The Romans had no means by which they could permanently resist the attacks of these German nations. Able emperors, like Probus, Diocletian, and Constantine, might confine them for a time to their own boundaries, but the flood continually broke forth anew. The Germans had discovered the weakness of the Roman Empire. Christianity had gradually made its way, against persecutions, over the whole of the Roman dominions, and had finally been established by Constantine as the religion of the state; but it could not save the Empire as a whole. Indeed, the vices of the state entered the Church, giving occasion to party strifes, to hair-splitting disputes on doctrine, and to despotism. On the other hand, it was just at this time that the first germs of Christianity took root among the Germans also. Long

before this, indeed (from about A.D. 100), it had been introduced into the Roman cities along the Rhine and the Danube, the great highways of trade; tradition even connects the foundation of the bishoprics of Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, and Tongres with the immediate pupils of the apostles, such as St. Crescentius, Maternas, and others. But now Ulphilas (Vulfila, 318-388), a descendant of a Christian family of Asia Minor which had been carried into captivity by a raiding party of West Goths, brought Christianity to that people, and translated most of the Bible into Gothic, inventing, it is said, the Mæso-Gothic alphabet for that purpose. This is the oldest monument of German speech in existence. But the moment when this new and great spiritual power passed from the decayed peoples of the old world into the hands of the Germans, was also the time for these to step out of their previous isolation into the broad theatre of history, and meet their great destiny.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE GREAT MIGRATIONS AND THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, A.D. 375-476.

§ 1. Causes of the Great Migrations. The Huns enter Europe. § 2. The Goths in the Empire. § 3. Radagast and Alaric in Italy. § 4. The Goths and the Vandals in the Provinces. § 5. The Anglo-Saxons. § 6. Attila, the Hun. § 7. His Defeat at Châlons, and Death. § 8. End of the Western Empire. § 9. Theodoric Conquers Italy. § 10. Extent of the Supremacy of the Germans. § 11. Their Minstrelsy and Trade. § 12. Their Government and Religion. § 13. The Effect of Luxury. Laws and Customs. § 14. Fall of the Vandal Kingdom. § 15. Fall of the Goths in Italy. § 16. The Mohammedan Power in the East. § 17. The Lombards in Italy. § 18. Antharis and Theudolinda.

§ 1. THE relations between the Romans and the Germans were now intimate and constant; and the reciprocal influence of the two races greatly affected the character as well as the destiny of each. No village or district of Germany was too remote to send its representatives to Rome, sometimes as mercenary soldiers, sometimes as prisoners of war, as exiles, or as mere adventurers. These often took part in the struggles of the motley throng, contending for wealth and power at the centre of the world, and often returned to their native homes, bringing with them new habits of life and thought. Before the end of the third century of our era, the Germans had ceased to fear Rome; and before the beginning of the fifth, they began to regard the Empire as their prey. They knew its weakness as a government, and despised the enervation of its capital and the corruption of its citizens. Indeed, Rome itself was no longer the city of the Romans. The ancient families of the Republic had mostly disappeared; even in the Senate, provincial upstarts, brought to the capital during the wars of the Empire, were in the majority. As early as A.D. 235, the Gothic athlete Maximin was invested by the soldiers with the imperial purple; and from that time there was no dignity even in Rome which could seem to be hopelessly beyond the reach of an ambitious German. Mean-

while the northern tribes were rapidly increasing in numbers, and their progress in agriculture and the arts was not sufficient to provide them with subsistence upon their own soil; so that they were continually pressing upon their neighbors, and demanding more land. The Romans themselves clearly saw the danger of the Empire, and lived in apprehension of overwhelming incursions from the north long before they came. In the latter part of the fourth century, the great impulse was given to the people of Northern and Eastern Europe by successive invasions from Asia; and a vast and general movement began among them, the results of which were a complete change of their abodes, a new distribution of the population; and soon after, the disintegration of the Roman Empire, and the transfer of the principal arena of history from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to the countries in which the great powers of modern Europe afterward grew up. The first impulse was given to this series of events by disturbances and migrations in Central Asia, of whose cause hardly any thing is known. Long before the Christian era, there was a powerful race of Huns in Northeastern Asia, who became so dangerous to the Chinese that the great wall of China was built as a defense against them (finished B.C. 244). Defeated by a more warlike dynasty in China, about 100 B.C., they fled westward, and traces of their divisions and operations in Central Asia during the succeeding centuries have been found by scholars in the annals and scattered notices which survive relating to the history of China and Persia. In the year A.D. 375, after traversing the vast plains west of the Ural Mountains and north of the Black Sea, they fell upon the Alani, or Alans, a pastoral tribe of mixed German and Tartar descent, who dwelt in the region where Moscow now stands, and subdued them, or made allies of them. They then attacked the East Goths, who were still nominally ruled by Hermanric, then a century old, and overcame them, the aged king falling on his own sword. The impression made upon the German tribes by the first appearance of this Mongol race was one of horror; and the Greek and Roman writers of the times record the exaggerated accounts brought to them by the terrified Germans. The Huns were a nomadic people, living more on horseback and in their

ears than on the ground. They were vehement and terrible in attack, sending bone-pointed arrows and whirling slings with wonderful force as they rode; and they were scarcely less terrible in retreat, nor were they ever weary of renewing the fight. They were awkward on their feet, and repulsive to the sight, having thick bodies, flat noses, small, mean, and fierce eyes, and hardly any beard. The Goths thought them magical beings, the offspring of their own banished witches and the demons of the wilderness. Advancing again, the Huns threatened the West Goths, who were now divided into two parts, under two kings—Athanaric, who still clung to the heathenism of his fathers, and Fritigern, who had become a Christian. The former part betook themselves to the Carpathian Mountains, the latter begged for reception into the Roman Empire. Valens, the emperor, accepted them as his subjects, on condition that they should surrender their arms, and give up their children as hostages, to be educated far away in Asia, under the direction of the emperor. In the spring (A.D. 378) they crossed the swollen Danube, two hundred thousand fighting men, after delivering up their arms. Their king, Athanaric, was taken to Constantinople, and on entering the market-place, he exclaimed, "Doubtless the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood"—a significant confession of the power exercised on the German mind at that time by the pomp and system of the imperial government, and by the rites of the Christian Church. But once received into the Empire, the Goths became a prey to the avarice of the Roman officers, who sold them back their arms, robbed them of their treasures, and rendered them little of the promised aid. Thus necessity drove them, while still fugitives and suppliants, into revolt and war. In the bloody battle of Adrianople (August 9, 378) they gained a complete victory, and Valens himself was first wounded, and then burned by the Goths in a cottage into which he had been carried from the field. In revenge for this defeat, and to prevent the appearance of a new and dangerous enemy in the province of Asia, the Gothic children were treacherously collected, in each of the cities among which they had been distributed, and were massacred in a body by the Romans (A.D. 379).

§ 2. Theodosius, the successor of Valens, and the last of the great Roman emperors, conciliated the Goths. He adopted them as his warriors and allies, and established them in Thrace. Before his death, in 395, he divided the Empire, giving the eastern part to his oldest son Arcadius, and the western to Honorius. But Arcadius, under the advice of his minister Rufinus, provoked the West Goths anew. They inaugurated the bold and cunning Alaric, of their royal family of the Balthi, as their king, elevating him on a shield, in the manner of their fathers; and he at once traversed the whole peninsula of Greece, plundering and ravaging, but taking care not to attack or besiege fortified cities. By way of Thermopylæ, passing Athens, he entered the Peloponnesus; and without hinderance set his foot on the memorable places of ancient Grecian story. Succor and rescue could only come from the Western Empire; and Stilico, the minister of Honorius, himself a German by descent, marched to the relief of the Greeks, so that Alaric was scarcely able to lead off his army in safety. But he obtained from the Eastern Empire the cession of the province of Illyria, which lay nearer to Italy. Thence, in 403, he invaded Italy. Stilico again drove him back, after he had laid waste the whole valley of the Po, defeating him at Pollentia and at Verona, and thus saved Italy and Rome.

§ 3. But the great impulse to the migration of nations had now been given. The Alani and Vandals, formerly subjects of Hermanric, had moved after his fall into what is now Germany. About this time, too, the Sclavonic tribes forced their way westwardly, and drove the Suevi from their homes east of the Elbe. We have no means of clearly tracing the movements of the various tribes in the interior of Germany; but that beautiful Roman civilization which had flourished on the Rhine and the Danube now began to fall into ruin. A motley host of Goths, Vandals, Alani, Suevi, Burgundians, and Gepidæ, half a million strong, broke into Italy under Radagast and demanded homes. They too were defeated by Stilico at Fiesole, near Florence (A.D. 406), but only with the sacrifice of the last remnants of Roman strength. Stilico recalled his legions from the Rhine and from Britain, and abandoned these countries, which soon became the spoil of the barbari-

ans. Nor was the swarm of invaders destroyed. Driven from Italy, but reinforced beyond the Alps, they fell upon Southern Gaul, and then upon Spain; and here the Suevi, in what is now Galicia, the Alani in Portugal, and the Silingi and Vandals in Andalusia, founded the first German principalities on soil that had belonged to Rome. All these nations had already adopted Christianity, and were governed by kings. Part of the army of Radagast escaped and joined Alaric; and when the Emperor Honorius put Stilico to death, thus depriving himself of the main pillar of his power, Alaric, with the West Goths, again invaded Italy (A.D. 408). He advanced against Rome, which had seen no foreign foe at its gates since the time of Hannibal, cut off the supplies of the city, and thus caused the most frightful famine within the walls. The Roman ambassadors tried to frighten Alaric by boasting, and menacing him with the desperate resistance of half a million of residents, but he answered mockingly, "The thicker the grass, the better the mowing;" and when they, in terror at his demands, finally asked him sadly, "O king, what do you mean to leave us?" he replied, proudly and sharply, "Your lives." Roman generals had acted and spoken in the same way, but now relations were reversed, and the late lords of the world humbly purchased Alaric's withdrawal with their richest treasures. But he remained in Italy, and only two years later (A.D. 410) again appeared before Rome, which fell into his hands. Honorius had shamefully taken refuge in fortified Ravenna, abandoning Italy and his capital. Yet the Goths, though they sacked the city, treated it with more forbearance and humanity than the Romans had been wont to show in like cases, and infinitely more than was afterward shown by the Catholic army of Charles V., in 1527. Alaric then marched into South Italy, intending, as it seems, to cross Sicily and to enter North Africa, then the most productive provinces of the empire. But his own excessive labors and the climate together overcame the hero on the way. He died suddenly, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and his Goths buried him in secret and by night near Cosenza, in the bed of the Busentum (Baseno).

§ 4. In Alaric's place, the Goths elected his brother-in-law, Althaulf (Adolphus). It was plainly in the power of this



chieftain to destroy the Western Empire, but he chose to preserve it; and Orosius declares that he used to explain his policy by saying: "I earnestly desired at first to abolish the very name of Rome, and to build up a Gothic Empire, so that 'Goth' should mean all that 'Roman' had meant, and Althaulf should stand for Cæsar Augustus. But experience showed me that the unbridled barbarism of the Goths could submit to no law, yet that the abolition of laws would be the annihilation of the state itself; and I chose, for my part, to seek the glory of restoring and magnifying the name of Rome by Gothic strength, and to be regarded by posterity as the restorer of Rome, since I could not replace it." Althaulf therefore bowed to the majestic name of Rome, and offered his friendship to Honorius, preparing to take for his wife the emperor's sister, Placidia, who had been a prisoner of the Goths since Rome was taken. He also offered to enter with his people into the service of the Empire, and to subdue Spain and Gaul. Honorius, though with reluctance, accepted the terms. Althaulf marched into Southern Gaul, and occupied it; and in Narbonne celebrated his nuptials, the bride receiving rich gifts from the Goths. Althaulf took his seat beside her throne, but a step lower—such was still the homage given to the imperial family of Rome. He was soon after assassinated; but under his successor, Wallia, the West Goths conquered Spain also, driving the Vandals and Suevi to the northwestern part of the peninsula, and completely subjugating the Silingi and Alani. Thus they founded a kingdom, which at first acknowledged its dependence on Rome; and they formed an army in the Roman service, the soldiers being paid in land instead of money. But the Germans soon went on to occupy other provinces of the Western Empire. The Vandals, a tribe akin to the Goths, were summoned across from Spain into North Africa by Boniface, the rebellious Roman governor. They were led by their general or king, the lame and crafty Genseric (Geiserich), and conquered for themselves this province, the most splendid in the Empire, laying it waste most frightfully. The capital of the German princes was fixed at ancient Carthage (A.D. 429). But the kingdom of the West Goths stretched from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, and under Wallia's successor the last vestige of

Roman supremacy disappeared. The royal residence was Toulouse (Tolosa).

Thus the first wave of the great migration had cost the Western Empire its finest provinces: Africa, Spain, and Southern Gaul were in the hands of Goths, that is, of Germans.

§ 5. The Western Empire was hastening to its fall. Of Gaul, once its most flourishing province, only the part north of the Loire remained to Rome. Here the empire was represented by an avaricious general, Aëtius, whose position was hardly less independent than that of a German king. But Rome sustained the severest loss in its province of Britain. This country flourished under Roman rule, but also became unwarlike. Stilico had taken away its legions to save Italy. The Britons, who were Celts mixed with Romans, could not defend themselves against the incursions of the Picts and Scots from Scotland; so that here, too, it was proposed to introduce German mercenaries. The Saxons and the kindred Angles and Jutes were well known as bold pirates, who often ravaged the coasts of Britain. They were now called on for help. Two Jute princes, Hengist and Horsa, landed with three vessels in Kent, the southeastern corner of the island, and had a tract of land assigned to them; and Hengist's descendants afterward reigned in Kent. The arrivals soon multiplied; Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, and even a few Franks and Langobards, crossed the North Sea, and from the protectors, soon became the conquerors and masters of all Britain (from A.D. 449). Only in the mountains of Wales did the ancient Celtic inhabitants, under their king, Arthur (who died A.D. 537), offer an heroic resistance. Several Anglo-Saxon kingdoms arose. Seven are commonly enumerated: four of them mainly of Saxons—Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Wessex; and three mainly of Angles—East Anglia, Mercia, and Deira. But, in fact, these kingdoms were in a constant state of war and change, and there were never at any one time so many as seven independent monarchies. These German settlements extended beyond the Firth of Forth; the ancient Celtic or Gaelic population retained only the Highlands of Scotland.

§ 6. While the Anglo-Saxons were entering on these conquests, the Western Empire trembled to its foundations under the shock of a second wave of the great migration of nations.

The Mongol tribe of Huns, which had given the first impulse to the movement, had since forced its way to the plains of the Lower Danube and into the tract now called Hungary. Most of the German tribes which had been subjects of Hermanric had joined them. The Huns were seen to be valiant warriors; their manners became somewhat assimilated to those of the Germans, and thus the aversion of the Germans to them wore away. To the German mind it was no disgrace to serve the most valiant. From the year A.D. 428, Attila (Etzel) was king of the Huns, and ruled over all that is now Hungary, and the sadly ravaged land that extended thence almost to the Rhine. Between the Theiss and the Danube, near the Carpathian Mountains, stood his capital, a large Mongol village. In this was a great four-sided court, surrounded with a palisade; and in the midst of it his palace, a wooden structure, with many passages around it. Attila himself bore the stamp of the Asiatic nomads; he was short and stout, with a broad head, a huge neck, and little eyes that rolled proudly. Besides his Huns, he had many German tribes for subjects; chief among them the East Goths, and then Gepidæ, Heruli, Turcilingi, Rugii, Sciri, and even the Thuringii, far in Central Germany. These were the German tribes which still clung to heathenism. Many tribes of the Slaves (Sclavi), who had already penetrated Europe, also acknowledged him as master. Such was the power of this prince, the mightiest warrior known to the history of the great migration, whose terrible hand suddenly reached out eastward to Constantinople, and even to the Euphrates and Lebanon. He stands in marked contrast to all the other great leaders of the wandering nations, in that he was the only one among them whose work and aim seem to have been those of the destroyer alone. The chieftains of the conquering German tribes always strove to preserve the civil order and the superior civilization of the conquered; but the Hun sought for prosperity only to make it a desert; and thus earned in history the title of "the Scourge of God."

§ 7. Seeing serious difficulties in the way of his designs against the Eastern Empire, Attila suffered himself to be induced by the cunning Genseric to march westward to Gaul. For Genseric was now threatened with an attack both from

Theodoric, king of the West Goths, and from Rome, and wished to secure himself against them. In the year 451 Attila started with his host. He passed up the Danube, through Bohemia, Thuringia, and the Burgundian territory, and crossed the Rhine. In two mighty columns his army entered Gaul; wherever his horse passed, a desert remained. By Trèves and Metz he proceeded toward the Loire; he besieged Orleans. Now Aëtius drew near, and Attila, hearing this, raised the siege, and turned back to the plains of the Marne, to the Catalaunian fields (near Châlons). Here, in 451, the armies met, in one of the most extensive and frightful battles recorded in history. Attila had, first and above all, his Huns; then the East Goths, under their three kings, as faithful to him as his own people; and then Thuringians, Burgundians, Franks, Gepidæ, Rugii, Sciri—an innumerable host. Aëtius, the last defender, and now almost the master of falling Rome, commanded the Roman army of the province of Gaul; but his chief strength was in the West Goths, whom he had summoned to his help, and who now, under their king Theodoric, met in battle their near kindred, the East Goths. Besides, he had bands of Franks and Alani, who had sought refuge with him; of Saxons, who had long ago settled on the Roman canal; of Burgundians, who had recently found homes on the Rhone, and even of Britons, who, driven from England by the Saxons, had occupied Brittany. Thus Germans were arrayed against Germans, the very fragments of divided tribes against one another; the Christian and Roman world against the heathen world of the Huns. The Huns, who had been in retreat for some days before the battle, seemed dispirited; and Attila, it is said, attempted to stir them by an eloquent speech, not unlike in tone the famous addresses with which Napoleon was fond of arousing his troops on the eve of an engagement. "The same fortune which had laid so many warlike nations at their feet," he declared, "had reserved for their crowning triumph the joy of the coming conflict" (*hujus certaminis gaudia*, or, as Byron translates it, "the rapture of the strife"). He appealed to their faith in fate, and called on them to follow him, and leave the rest to heaven. They caught his inspiration, and rushed impetuously on the foe. The huge conflict ended in Attila's defeat. It was so fiercely

contested that a brook which crossed the field was swollen high with blood; yet the weary or wounded soldiers quenched their burning thirst from it. The king of the West Goths paid his life for his victory; but on the very battle-field they raised up on the shield, as his successor, his son Tuismund, who at once was furious for revenge. This battle is believed, with good reason, to have been the most destructive to human life in all the bloody annals of war. The most moderate account left to us by contemporary writers estimates the slain at one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or more than twice the entire loss of both armies at Waterloo, including the killed, wounded, and missing. When evening came, Attila retired to his traveling fortress; all night the lamentations of the Huns and their allies over the dead resounded fearfully in the ears of the victors. It is of this "battle of the nations" that the painter Kaulbach, of Munich, has depicted the legendary spirit in the most impressive of his great historical frescos in Berlin. The story told was that the conflict was so bitter that the dead of the day rose, like ghosts, in the night, fighting in the air; and it doubtless suggested to the poet of "Marmion" an image in his spirited battle-piece:

"They close, in clouds of smoke and dust,  
With sword-sway, and with lance's thrust;  
And such a yell was there  
Of sudden and portentous birth,  
As if men fought upon the earth,  
And fiends in upper air."

The king built of the trappings of his horsemen a funeral pyre, to burn himself and his nearest friends, if Aëtius should renew the battle in the morning, since he could no longer resist. But Aëtius, too, was glad of the rest from combat, and permitted Attila to retreat unmolested across the Rhine and into Hungary.

A year later (A.D. 452) Attila, with the Huns, again attacked Italy. The city of Aquileja was destroyed; the people fled from the coast to the lagoons, among which the beginnings of Venice had already arisen; and the whole peninsula lay defenseless before the invader. But the great Roman bishop, Leo, prevailed on Attila to withdraw his

army, which was in danger of want and disease. The next year he died. The Huns sang coarse hymns for the dead at his burial; the Germans adopted him as their own, immortalizing him in their heroic ballads among their great national heroes.

§ 8. The Western Empire had now but a short time to live. The dastardly emperor Valentinian III., suspicious of the independent position of Aëtius, recalled the conqueror of Attila from Gaul, and slew him with his own hand (A.D. 454). He was himself murdered soon after, and his widow, Eudoxia, though forced to marry the assassin, determined to avenge her husband. She invited the Vandals, for this purpose, from Africa across the sea to Rome. This German tribe, still ruled by the aged Genseric, was the only one which possessed a fleet; and by this means the Vandals had already made themselves masters of the great islands of the Mediterranean, of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. The "sea-king" eagerly obeyed the summons (A.D. 455), and now "golden Rome" was given up for fourteen days to his soldiers, and was sacked with such horrors that the name of Vandal has ever since been a proverb for barbarity and destruction. Yet the mediation of Leo the Great, then Bishop of Rome, saved the city from utter ruin. From this time onward the emperors, who followed one another in quick succession, were mere tools of the German generals, and symbols of power before the common people; for the whole imperial army now consisted of the remnants of various German nations, who had sought service for pay. These, too, at last, like their kindred in the provinces, demanded lands in Italy, and would have no less than one third of the soil. When this was refused, Odoacer, at the head of his soldiers—Heruli, Sciri, Turcilingi, and Rugii, who forced their way thither from the Danube—put an end to the very name of the Roman Empire, stripping the boy Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor, of the purple, and ruling alone in Italy, as German general and king. Thus the Western Empire fell by German hands, after they had already wrested from it all its provinces, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. This occurred in the year 476. Ancient history ends with this event; but in the history of the Germans it is merely an episode.

But while the Roman Empire, as an organized government, ceased to exist, the Roman Empire, as an idea, as the conception of a universal dominion, conferred by God, and elevated above kings, held its place in men's minds as firmly as ever. Odoacer could compel the successor of Augustus to lay down the imperial purple; but he could not destroy the rooted conviction of the people that there was still somewhere a successor to his dignity and authority. In the very acknowledgment of the abdication of Augustulus, the Roman Senate resolved that "it was not necessary or desirable to continue the succession in Italy, because one sovereign monarch could rule and protect both the East and the West. They therefore consent that the seat of the world's empire be removed to Constantinople;" and they actually sent an embassy to Zeno, the Emperor of the East, asking him to acknowledge Odoacer as patrician of Rome and deputy for Italy. To the Gothic king this was practically an idle form. He was as independent on the Tiber as his ancestors had been beyond the Danube. But to the people of Rome it was a sacred reality, as the form and name of the holy Roman Empire continued to be to the people of nearly all Europe for ages. We shall often see the living power which this idea afterward exerted upon all the nations that had ever been subject to Rome; so that it continued to be an important element in European history until after the Reformation.

§ 9. Upon the fall of the Western Empire, the Eastern emperors, whose capital was Constantinople, regarded themselves as heirs to the entire dominion of Rome. It was their first concern to save at least the semblance of supreme power. To this purpose Theodoric, the young king of the East Goths, lent his aid. When Attila died, the kingdom of the Huns was broken up, and the several tribes regained their independence; among them the East Goths, who then dwelt in the plains of the Danube, in Pannonia, and were neighbors and allies of the Eastern Empire. Theodoric, a prince of their royal house, and a descendant of the Amali, had been educated in Constantinople; and having approved himself by heroic deeds in youth, was chosen their king soon after the fall of the Western Empire. The emperor called on him to subjugate Italy, gave him the titles of general and patri

cian of Rome; and, nominally as viceroy, but really in entire independence, Theodoric marched against Odoacer in 489. There was a fierce conflict, German against German. Theodoric gained the victory over Odoacer, and forced him into the stronghold of Ravenna; but the latter broke forth again, and attacked the Goths, so that success hung long in the balance. At last Theodoric, reinforced with West Goths from Gaul, again defeated Odoacer at Edda, and, after a siege of three years, took Ravenna (A.D. 493). Odoacer surrendered himself on conditions, but he and his family were soon after put to death. Theodoric now laid aside his Gothic attire, assumed the Roman purple, and, with Ravenna as his residence, ruled Italy. It was his aim to combine the Roman and the Gothic policies, and to restore to prosperity the countries that were desolate. Odoacer had already colonized the deserted territory from the Alps to the Danube with Germans. Theodoric followed out his plan, but set over the new province, in which remnants of the former Heruli and Sciri had been mingled with the ancient Allemanni, a duke dependent on himself. This people, inhabiting the ancient land of the Boii, became known as the Bojoarii, or Bavarians, and are henceforth reckoned as a new German tribe.

§ 10. Although the reign and character of Theodoric the Great was not without blemish, as the murder of the noble Boëthius at a later date is enough to show, yet he governed Italy wisely and justly, so that even the Roman people celebrated his reign as "a golden time" (A.D. 489-526), and likened him to their great emperors. He preserved, though in seeming independence, his friendly relations with the Eastern Empire. But all the Germans regarded him as the greatest and mightiest of their warrior kings. Far and near his counsel was sought and followed; and when, during his reign, Clovis with his Franks subdued Gaul, the Allemanni, West Goths, and Burgundians found in him a protector, who saved them from utter subjugation. He even formed the plan of uniting all the Germans in one great national league. But this was impracticable in his time, and their arms had now reached the highest point of power that they were destined to attain for ages.

This will be obvious from a review of the changes now



wrought in the old Roman Empire. In its seat of power, Italy, the East Goths occupied the land, and were masters of it from the Danube and the Rhone to the southern point of Sicily. The Vandals were supreme in North Africa, Sardinia, and Corsica, and on the Mediterranean. Spain was in the hands of the West Goths, by whose side the Suevi retained their independence in the northwestern part of the peninsula. The Franks had just spread over Gaul, extending their possessions across the Rhine. Next to them came the Burgundians, in the southeast of Gaul, on the Rhone, and in Switzerland, where they took refuge when the former kingdom of Gundahar around Worms was laid waste (A.D. 435 and 437) by Romans and Huns—an event whose bloody memory was preserved in heroic song. Britain now belonged to the Anglo-Saxons. The Scandinavian nations were also of the German race, and closely akin to their southern brethren in language, law, and customs. In the interior of Germany, the Saxons, Thuringii, and Allemanni, in a body, retained their former possessions. But the east had assumed a new aspect, for the territory east of the Elbe belonged no longer to Germans, but to Slavonic tribes. Southward, between the Danube and the Alps, was the new tribe of Bavarians. Farther down the Danube were two German tribes, the Heruli on the right bank, and the Gepidæ on the left, toward the Carpathian hills. On the north the Langobards were gradually approaching the Danube, but at that time lingered in what is now the Austrian province of Moravia. Thus the entire western half of Europe was under German rule, which had taken the place of the former universal Empire of Rome; and that empire was only lingering out its long decay and slow dissolution in the East (in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt).

§ 11. At the time of the great migrations, the German tribes were barbarians, in that they were destitute alike of humanity toward enemies and inferiors, and of scientific culture. Neither the pursuit of learning nor the practice of mercy to the vanquished could seem to them other than unmanly weakness. Their ferocity spread misery and ruin through the whole arena of history, and made the fifth and sixth centuries of our era the crowning epoch in the annals

of human suffering; while their active, passionate contempt for learning destroyed the existing monuments of intelligence and habits of inquiry and thought, almost as completely as they swept away the wealth, prosperity, and social organization of the Roman world. Their ablest kings despised clerical accomplishments. Even Theodoric the Great could not write, and his signature was made by a black smear over a form or mould in which his name was cut. Nevertheless these nations were not what we mean by savages. Their originally beautiful and resonant language was already cultivated in poetical forms, in heroic songs. There was intercourse and trade among the several nations. Minstrels, especially, passed from one royal court to another, and the same song which was sung to Theodoric in Ravenna could be heard and understood by the Vandals in Carthage, by Clovis in Paris, and by the Thuringians in their fastnesses. A common language was a strong bond of union among these nations. Messengers, embassies, and letters were sent to and fro between their courts; gifts were exchanged, and marriages and alliances entered into. Thus the nations were informed concerning one another, and recognized their mutual relationship. It was this international intercourse that gave rise to the heroic minstrelsy—a faithful relation of the great deeds of German heroes during the migrations; but the minstrel boldly transforms the order of events, and brings together things which in reality took place at intervals of whole generations. Thus they sing of Hermanric, of Theodoric the Great (Dietrich the Strong, of Berne), and of his faithful knight Hildebrand; then of the fall of the Burgundian kings, of the far-ruling Attila, and of Sigurd, or Siegfried, who was originally a Northern god of spring, but here appears as a youthful hero, faithful and child-like, simple and unsuspecting, yet the mightiest of all—the complete image of the German character.

§ 12. In the conquered Roman provinces the Germans settled as masters. They had obtained in most of the countries one third of the soil, in some of them as much as two thirds; and thus each soldier in a German army of conquest became a landed proprietor or nobleman. Thus they lived in these once Roman provinces, in the midst of the older population,

but not mingling with them. The "Welsh," as the Germans called the former subjects of Rome, continued to speak Latin; they had been much mixed with strangers during the long wars, but still formed the mass of the country population, and almost the whole of the inhabitants of towns. They preserved their Roman law for the government of their own communities, while the Germans administered justice among themselves according to their own traditions. On the whole, after their first irruption, which was often fierce and cruel, the Germans were mild masters. While the old residents had been deprived of much of their land, they were freed from a great part of the terrible taxes which had burdened these already impoverished subjects under the later Roman Empire. In this respect the Germans were liberators even to the conquered people, and raised them into a fresher and more active life. Yet the two layers of the population failed to come into friendly relations, chiefly because of religious differences. Most of the Germans were indeed Christians in name, when they conquered these provinces; the only exceptions were the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons. But Christianity had come to them in the form given it by the Arian sect, and this creed was afterward driven out by the Athanasian, which became the acknowledged Catholic belief, that is, the creed of the Universal Church. The difference between the two creeds was in the doctrine of Christ's person. The Arians taught that Christ, though immeasurably above angels and men in dignity and power, is still a creature, whose existence is dependent upon that of the absolute Deity. The Athanasian or Catholic creed regards Christ, the Logos, as "consubstantial," of one substance and essence with the Father, "very God of very God." The Roman population had adopted the "Catholic" creed, and hated their German conquerors the more bitterly that they regarded them as not only oppressors, but heretics also; though the Germans themselves were generally very forbearing toward differences of belief. The Germans retained their military organization. At their head was the king, whose power became steadily more absolute; under him were dukes and counts, as officers, deputies, and judges. These noblemen took to themselves the land, plunder, and tribute exacted from the conquered; and thus their wealth,

importance, and power among their own people were enormously increased, and the distinctions of rank became sharper and more oppressive to the lower classes. The Germans in the conquered Roman territories were really but an army, that had taken up quarters there for an indefinite stay, and their rule took no firm root. None of them but the Anglo-Saxons in Britain had made thorough work: there the old Roman settlers and the aboriginal Celts alike disappeared, and the German language, customs, and laws, and even German heathenism, again possessed the land.

§ 13. These wild times of warfare and wandering could not, of course, favorably affect morals and character. They did much to root out of the minds and lives of the people their ancient heathen faith and practices. Their old gods were associated with places, scenes, features of the country and the climate; and, with these out of sight, the gods themselves were easily forgotten. Moreover, the local deities of other places and nations were brought into notice. The people's religious habits were broken up, their minds confused, and thus they were better prepared than before to embrace the new and universal doctrines of Christianity. But the wanderings had a bad effect on morality in all forms. The upright German was still distinguished by his self-respect from the false, faithless, and cowardly "Welshman," whose nature had become deformed through years of servitude. But Germans, too, were now often guilty of faithlessness and cruelty; and some tribes grew effeminate and corrupt, especially the Vandals in luxurious Africa. They imitated the style of the conquered in dress, arms, and manner of life; and some adopted their language also. For instance, even Theodoric the Great corresponded in Latin with foreign monarchs; and as early as the sixth and seventh centuries, the Germans recorded their own laws in Latin, the West Goths and Burgundians introducing the practice, which was followed by the Franks, Allemanni, Bavarians, and Langobards. These laws, and the prohibitions they contain, are the best sources of information upon the manners of the time, and especially upon the condition of the lower orders, the peasants and slaves. The most frequent cases provided for are of bodily injuries, murder, wounds, and mutilations, showing that the warlike disposition

had degenerated into cruelty and coarseness. For all these injuries, the wergeld, or ransom, was still a satisfaction. The life of a nobleman, that of a freeman, of a slave, and the members of the body—the eye, ear, nose, and hand—were assessed each at a fixed money valuation, to be paid by the aggressor, if he would not expose himself to the vengeance of the wronged man or his family. But crimes committed by peasants and slaves were punished by death, sometimes at the stake, where freemen might escape by paying a fine. The oaths of parties and witnesses were heard; and they were sustained by the oaths of others, their friends, relations, or partisans, who swore that they were to be believed. If an accused party swore that he was innocent, it was only necessary for him to obtain a sufficient number of compurgators, or jurors, of his own rank to swear that they believed him, in order to secure acquittal. But the number required was much larger for men of lower rank than for the nobles; and the freedmen and slaves had no rights of the kind, but were tortured at will to compel them to confess or testify. The slaves were often tried by an ordeal, and were held guilty of any accusation if they could not put their hands in boiling water without harm. For freemen, if no other evidence was accessible, a trial by battle was adopted, as an appeal to God's judgment. The heathen tribes in Germany proper—the Frisi, Saxons, Thuringians, and Allemanni—lived on in their old ways; yet they too failed to maintain the spotless character assigned them by Tacitus. It was a time of general ferment; the new elements of civilization had brought with them new vices, and the simplicity of earlier days could not survive.

§ 14. The loosely formed kingdoms of the German warriors could not withstand a serious attack from an organized power. Two of them were thus assailed by the emperor Justinian (A.D. 527–565), who, for a time, raised the Eastern Empire again to power and consequence. He also codified the Roman laws, and carried on successful wars, aided by eminent generals. In the year 533 he sent Belisarius to Africa, where the Vandals had grown effeminate and were at strife among themselves, while the conquered people were sorely oppressed, and were at heart inclined to the Eastern Empire, as of the same creed with themselves. Belisarius arrived in Africa

with his fleet, after many dangers; defeated Gelimer, the king of the Vandals, and compelled him to take refuge at last in a rocky fortress called Pappua, where Pharas, a lieutenant of Belisarius, besieged him the winter long. Believing, at length, that Gelimer would be compelled, by want, to surrender, Pharas summoned him; and he refused, sending this answer: "If you, my dear Pharas, wish to do me a favor, send me a loaf of bread, a sponge, and a harp." When Pharas, in surprise; asked what such a request could mean, the messenger said: "The king asks for bread, because he has seen none since he entered Pappua; for a sponge, to cool his eyes, now fiery with wine; and for a harp, to sing to it of his misfortunes." Pharas was moved, and granted the request; and soon after, in extreme hunger and want, Gelimer surrendered. Belisarius carried him, in silver chains, with all his treasures, to Constantinople, where he was treated kindly. The Vandals now disappeared from Africa, which again became a province of the Empire (A.D. 534).

§ 15. The East Goths made a more heroic opposition to Justinian. Theodoric the Great died in the year 526. He left but one child, a daughter, Amalasantha; and the hopes of the Goths centred upon her son, Athanaric, as the last of the Amali. But he lived a dissolute life, and died young. Amalasantha resolved to associate with herself in the government Deodatus, a kinsman of her house, whom Theodoric had always despised. Wishing to be sole monarch, Deodatus had Amalasantha assassinated in her bath. Justinian felt bound, by the friendship which had long existed between the Eastern emperors and the Amali, to avenge her; her death at least gave him a pretext for adding Italy to his conquests. In the year 536, Belisarius led an army against the East Goths, who, however, had quickly rid themselves of the shameless and dastardly murderer, and elevated Vitiges, one of their own princes, on the shield. The conflict in Italy was for a long time doubtful. The whole country was exhausted of men, especially the cities of Rome and Milan; while the Franks, Burgundians, and Allemanni also took part. Finally Belisarius took Ravenna, the strongest city of Italy, and carried off Vitiges as a prisoner to Constantinople, regarding this as the end of the war. But the Goths chose

another king, Totilas, who held his ground bravely, and at last led the remnant of his people against the emperor's new lieutenant, Narses, who had brought a mixed army of Greek, German, and Slavonic mercenaries into Italy. The forces joined battle at the passes of the Apennines, near the ancient Sentinum, and Totilas was slain. But the East Goths, with unbroken spirit, chose young Teias king; and he led them bravely through a thousand perils, to their last battle-ground, that of the Lactarian Mountain. It is on the Gulf of Naples, in the beautiful valley by which the torrent Sarno reaches the sea, near Nuceria and the buried Pompeii, and opposite to Vesuvius. Here Narses first cut off their retreat to the sea; and then drove them back upon the mountain, where there was neither food for the beasts nor even water for the men. They turned their horses loose, and formed themselves in a great, close square of battle, Teias himself standing at one corner like a tower, and offered a last desperate resistance to the foe. For a whole day the outnumbered Goths fought like the giants of the Nibelungen lays, till at last, while Teias was changing his shield, a lance laid him dead on the ground. Through another day the struggle continued, and on the third morning, Narses determined to give quarter to the last remnant of a once great and famous people, now reduced to one thousand fighting men. They marched undisturbed across the Alps, and were merged in the other German tribes. Thus the Ostrogoths, too, were finally overthrown (A.D. 553), and Italy became a province of the Eastern Empire. It was governed by Narses, as viceroy of the emperor at Byzantium; but, as we shall soon see, it was not long retained, the Empire soon suffering terrible losses.

§ 16. Scarcely a half-century after this time the Arabian prophet Mohammed appeared, with his new doctrines. He was born at Mecca A.D. 569, four years after Justinian's death. He was of a noble Arab family; and when forty years of age proclaimed himself the prophet of a new divine revelation. He labored for many years in vain to make disciples, and in A.D. 622 was driven from Mecca (the Hegira); but was received at Medina as a prince, and soon after acknowledged as priest and king. In ten years more he had subdued all Arabia. He died at Medina, June 7, 632, leav-

ing a military religion to be propagated by arms, to the "Caliphs," or "successors," with the assurance to warriors who should fall in its cause of a luxurious paradise hereafter. The caliphs, with their hosts of Moslem, stormed their conquering way against all Asia, but, above all, against the Eastern Empire. Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Africa were subjected to the new faith. Thus a new Mohammedan and Arabian power arose in the East, as a German Christian supremacy had arisen in the West. In the year 711, Tarik, the lieutenant of Musa, ventured to cross from Africa into Spain, and overthrew the kingdom of the Visigoths, a people who had long degenerated from their German ancestors, and whose king, Roderic, lost his crown and his life in the battle at Xeres de la Frontera.

§ 17. Italy, as we have seen, had been made by Narses a province of the Eastern Empire. Narses became the governor of the conquered country. But, like Belisarius, he was treated ungratefully, and he sought revenge by inviting into Italy a new German tribe, the Langobardi, who now obtained a permanent supremacy there. They were North Germans, akin to the Saxons, and dwelt first on the left bank of the Elbe, in what is now Hanover; afterward in Altmark, and finally, as we have seen, in Moravia. Spreading thence along the Danube, they came in conflict first with the Heruli, and then with the Gepidæ, whom they defeated, and in part subjugated. The history of their kings, their wanderings, and their wars, is told in old heroic poems; and is recorded with great traditional fullness in the writings of their annalist, Paulus Diaconus, who lived in the time of Charlemagne. When the invitation of Narses reached them, accompanied with specimens of rich southern fruits, to show the excellence of the soil, their king was the mighty Alboin, who had slain Kunimund, king of the Gepidæ, in battle, with his own hand, and had taken to wife his daughter Rosamund. He accepted the invitation, and in the year 568 the Langobards marched into Italy. They subdued nearly the whole peninsula. The Greeks retained only what they could protect with their fleet—Sicily, and a few strips of land on the coast, Ravenna, Naples, and Genoa, the whole being afterward known as the Exarchate. Rome, too, remained a nominal dependency of



the Empire; but, in fact, it was almost independent, under the ecclesiastical government of the pope. The situation of Venice, under its Doge (Herzog, duke), was much the same. All the rest of Italy fell into the hands of the Langobards, and was distributed by the king among his dukes or generals. But Alboin himself soon fell a victim to the vengeance of his wife, Rosamund. In a fit of drunkenness he compelled her to drink to him from her own father's skull, of which he had made a cup, in memory of his victory. She prevailed on her paramour, Helmichis, one of Alboin's noble attendants, to murder her husband in his sleep (A.D. 573).

§ 18. The dukes chose Clepho (A.D. 573-574) to succeed Alboin; but he, too, was murdered the next year, and then Italy was distracted for ten years by their attempt to govern their several duchies, during the minority of Clepho's son, Antharis, without a king. But Antharis, on coming of age, ascended the throne (A.D. 584-590), and set up his spear at the Straits of Messina, in token that he had subjugated Italy to its very end. Tradition and song celebrate his courtship of Theudolinda, daughter of Garibald, the Duke of the Bavarians. It seems that the king was fascinated by the reports which reached him of Theudolinda's charms and virtue; and not only sent a noble embassy to ask her hand, but, too impatient to await the reply, escaped in disguise from his own court, and visited the court of Bavaria in the train of his ambassadors. Here he was fortunate enough to find opportunities for conducting his courtship in person, and thus won the heart as well as the hand of his bride. Antharis lived only long enough for his queen Theudolinda to become the idol of his people; and at his death, A.D. 590, the nation with one accord called on her to dispose of her hand and of their crown together. She married Agilulf, who was at once accepted as their king. Theudolinda built the cathedral at Monza, in which was thenceforth preserved the crown of Lombardy, called "the iron crown," because a nail from the cross of Christ had been worked into it. Her reign did much to civilize the still rude Lombards, who, though already converted to Christianity before they entered Italy, were still attached to many heathen customs. In this work she found support in Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 590-604). Many of the

Lombards, at this early period, united with the Catholic Church; though others retained their Arian faith, until, under King Grimwald (A.D. 663-671), the whole body of the people accepted the creed of Rome. The Lombards, though a fierce and wild race of old, were yet of a nature open to culture; and they now became industrious agriculturists, in whose hands the wasted land recovered its fruitfulness. Afterward the kingly office, which was elective, constantly declined in importance among the Lombards, as the dukes grasped at greater independence. This was especially the case in the border districts, in Benevento, Friaul, and Trent. The land soon after suffered much from the inroads of the Avari—a tribe, not of German origin, which entered Hungary from the East when the Germans left it, but kept marching out, like the Huns, in fierce mounted swarms, upon distant expeditions in search of plunder. The Langobards, or Lombards, became merged in the permanent population of Northern Italy. Although they had but little influence upon the language—as little as the Goths in Spain—yet something of their character and traditions may still be traced among the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia, where, indeed, down to the time of the Crusades, German manners and customs prevailed among a large part of the people.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FRANKS, THE MEROVINGIANS, AND THE FAMILY OF PEPIN, A.D. 481-768.

§ 1. The Franks and Clovis. § 2. His Conquest of Gaul. § 3. He Marries Clotilde of Burgundy. § 4. Conquers the Allemanni, and becomes a Christian. § 5. Subdues Brittany and part of Burgundy. § 6. Unites the Franks under his Monarchy. § 7. The Sons of Clovis. § 8. Thuringia Conquered and Divided. § 9. Burgundy added to the Kingdom. § 10. Clothaire I. Fredegonda and Brunehilde. § 11. Origin of the Feudal System. § 12. Constitution of the Feudal Kingdom. § 13. Its Effects on Society and Relations to the Church. § 14. The Mayors of the Palace: Pepin of Landen, Pepin of Heristal, and Charles Martel. § 15. Charles Martel Defeats the Saracens, and Consolidates the Monarchy. § 16. Pepin the Short assumes the Crown. § 17. His Relations to the Pope. § 18. Christianity among the Germans. Irish Missionaries. § 19. Anglo-Saxon Missionaries. § 20. The Frisian Missions. § 21. Winfred, or Boniface, in Friesland. § 22. In Central Germany. § 23. The Episcopal Sees and the Cities. § 24. Martyrdom of Boniface. § 25. Church, Religion, and Morals.

§ 1. It became evident soon after the fall of the Western Empire that the Franks, of all the great German tribes, were the most capable of founding a stable government, and of becoming a powerful nation. They had always been robbers and pirates, like the other tribes; but were distinguished from the others by their superior military discipline, and especially by their pride and ambition. No other Germans were equal to them in the appreciation of heroic deeds and the thirst for fame. They formed two distinct bodies—the Salic Franks and the Ripuarian Franks. The former were the descendants of that branch of the original stock which settled along the lower waters of the Rhine and the Maas, and became incorporated with the Roman military colony of the Sigambri. Their territory included what is now Brabant and South Gelderland, between the Rivers Yssel, Maas, and Schelde. The other branch, the Ripuarians, were a mixture of Bructeri and Chatti, and dwelt at first in the mountains between the Sieg and the Ruhr, but pressed forward to the

Rhine in the neighborhood of Cologne. The Salic Franks spread along the Maas and the Sambre, into the neighborhood of Lüttich, and through Belgium into Gaul. All the Franks were regarded as formidable warriors. Few of them wore helmets and mail; their breasts and backs were covered only by the shield. From the hips downward they wrapped themselves in close-fitting linen or leather, so as to display each man's tall, upright form. Their principal weapon was the two-edged battle-axe, which served for throwing as well as striking. They also carried frightful javelins with barbed points. Their own laws describe them as brave warriors, profound in their plans, manly and healthy in body, handsome, bold, impetuous, and hardy. But their enemies, perhaps with some justice, denounced them as the most faithless and cruel of men. The distinguishing ornament of the kings was their hair, which was left uncut, flowing freely over the shoulder. The people were still heathen, untamed and uncivilized, yet in constant intercourse with the Romans in Gaul. But they gradually began to make conquests for themselves among the Gauls, advancing from the north, and Aëtius was the first to check them. Childeric, son of Merovæus, their first king, being driven out by the Salic Franks for his immorality, took refuge with Basinus, king of the Thuringi, who received him hospitably. His return was to seduce the wife of Basinus. He married her when he was able to return to his own realm, and she bore him Clovis.

§ 2. Clovis was the founder of the kingdom of the Franks. In 481, on reaching the age of fifteen, he accompanied his father in war, and in 486 led his Salic Franks to the conquest of Gaul. The last remnant of this province, after the fall of the Western Empire, had become an independent kingdom, first under Aëtius, and, after his assassination, under Ægidius. At this time Syagrius, son of Ægidius, ruled what was left of Roman Gaul. Clovis, in the German fashion, challenged him to appoint a place and time for a decisive contest, and the Roman eagerly accepted the challenge. The battle was fought at Soissons in 486. Syagrius was defeated, and fled to the king of the Visigoths, but was basely given up to Clovis, who put him to death. Clovis and his Franks occupied Gaul as far as the Loire. This river now separated

them from the Visigoths, and the Moselle from the Allemanni, while the Côte d'Or was their frontier toward Burgundy.

§ 3. The Burgundians, whose possessions extended from the comb of the high Alps to the Cevennes and to the Rhone at Avignon, were ruled by two brothers, Gundobald and Godegisel, the former having assassinated a third brother, Chilperic, and slain a fourth, Godeman, in battle. Clovis asked for Chilperic's surviving daughter, Clotilde, in marriage, thus making a pretext for war, whatever the result of his suit might be. If the kings of the Burgundians should reject it, he would have an insult to avenge; if they should give him Clotilde, he would become the joint heir with her of part of the land, and of the duty of avenging her murdered father. The brothers did not dare to refuse him; but Clotilde, though a Christian, gave orders, while on her bridal journey to Clovis, to burn the villages on the borders of her uncle's territory, and when she saw the country lighted up with burning homes, gave thanks to God for preserving her to this day of vengeance. Clovis, however, still kept quiet. But the marriage was also significant in another way. Clotilde urged her husband to become a Christian. He hesitated long, but yielded during his war with the Allemanni.

§ 4. These Allemanni, who first settled along the Upper Rhine, and down the Danube as far as the Lech, had now spread down the Rhine and to the Moselle, and were pressing upon the Ripuarian Franks at Cologne. King Sigbert, a kinsman of Clovis, appealed to him for aid. Clovis came, and met them in the year 496, in a hard-fought battle, the scene of which it is difficult to identify, though it was long known as the battle of Zulpich. While the result was in doubt, Clovis, in the face of his army, called upon the new God, Christ, and vowed to serve him, if he would help him now. He was victorious; received instruction from St. Remigius, and was then baptized, with three thousand of his noblest Franks, in the cathedral at Rheims. "Bow thy head in silence, Sigambrian," said the saint; "worship what thou hast hitherto destroyed; war against what thou hast worshiped." This was by no means the only instance of wholesale conversions to Christianity in consequence of a victory. The heathen, when defeated by Christians, commonly ascribed the result to the

superior strength of the Christian God, and often resolved to seek his protection for themselves. It was the Catholic, not the Arian faith, which Clovis adopted. He was straightway recognized by the pope as "the most Christian king," the appointed protector and propagator of the true faith against Arian Germany. The Allemanni were subjected, as far as the Rhine and beyond it. The country upon the Lalen, the Main, and the Neckar, up to Laufen, was taken from them, and was thenceforth called Franconia (Franken); though those who lived in the land, stretching from the Neckar across the Danube and to the Alps, were protected by Theodoric the Great from destruction.

§ 5. Soon afterward Clovis marched against the Burgundians. King Gundobald, betrayed by his brother, Godegisel, was defeated at Dijon, A.D. 500. He fled to the fortified city of Avignon, and took the oath of homage to the king of the Franks. But he broke his oath, slew his brother, and united all the Burgundians under his own rule, so that he was stronger than before. Clovis was compelled to let him alone; but compensated himself by subduing at this time the Celtic population of Armorica (Brittany). The country of the Visigoths, south of the Loire, was now the only part of Gaul not subject to him. A series of illustrious kings had followed Adolphus (Althaulf) here, but their throne was now filled by the weak Alaric II, son-in-law of Theodoric the Great. Religion gave Clovis his pretext and support in this new enterprise. "It annoys me that these heretics hold the finest part of Gaul," he said to his followers: "let us, with God's help, march forth and subdue them." In spite of warnings and threats from Theodoric the Great, he attacked Alaric; Gundobald accompanied him, though perhaps on compulsion. The Catholic population of the country took part with Clovis, and against their Arian masters, and aided him on his way to a victory at Bouglé, near Poitiers (A.D. 507). Alaric was slain, and Clovis became master of the country as far as the Garonne. Since Theodoric the Great took young Amalric, his grandson, under his protection, the south of Gaul was left to him; but Provence was annexed to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, and Avignon, too, was wrested from Gundobald. Henceforth Spain is the chief seat of the still flourish-

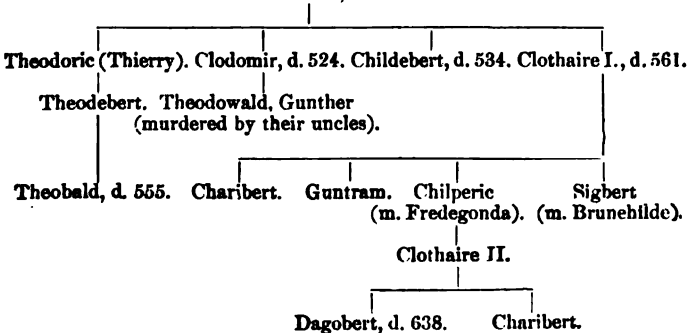
ing kingdom of the Visigoths (until A.D. 711), with Toledo for its capital instead of Toulouse.

§ 6. In order to unite all the Franks under his crown, Clovis went on, by fraud and violence, to secure to himself the remnants of the tribe, which had hitherto remained in their ancient homes, ruled by petty independent kings, his kindred. He sent to the son of Sigbert, the Ripuarian king, who had long been his faithful ally and friend, this message: "Your father is lame, and too old to remain king." But when the son, listening to this wily suggestion, had his father assassinated while hunting in the beechwood (Buchonia, now Vogelsberg, in Hesse, perhaps Cæsar's Bacenis), Clovis caused the youth to be slain, to avenge his father, and himself to be acknowledged as king of the tribe. Against another prince he stirred up his noblemen, bribing them with gifts to dethrone him; and then struck him down with a battle-axe before his army. For every such deed he had an apt saying ready, with that sort of rough wit for which his race are still noted. When he had put all his kindred out of the way, he was often heard to lament that he was left friendless and alone; but this, too, was out of cunning, in order that any of his relations who might have escaped him should be induced to reveal himself, and so fall into his power. Nevertheless the sharp contrast between his brutal and bloody conduct and the Christian faith he professed seemed strange to no one, in that wild time, and in this, the wildest of the German tribes. Even Bishop Gregory, of Tours, the annalist of the ancient Franks, says of Clovis: "Thus God daily cut down his enemies under his hand, because he walked before him with an upright heart, and did that which was well-pleasing in his eyes." Anastasius, the emperor of the East, was eager to recover at least such a semblance of sovereignty over Clovis as he possessed over Theodoric; and with this view he sent him a message of congratulation upon his victories, and nominated him to the dignity of a Roman Patrician and Consul. Clovis rode proudly out before his Franks, in the purple mantle sent to him from Constantinople; for still the name of Rome and of the empire retained even among barbarians that magic power which it had exercised for centuries; and it was now for the first time that

the throne of the King of the Franks seemed to the former subjects of Rome to be established in right. Clovis was the founder of the kingdom of the Franks; he built it up with many a deed of blood, but with extraordinary vigor and daring. Beginning at the Garonne on the south, following the course of the Cevennes and the Côte d'Or, it then extended eastward far beyond the Rhine, to the Neckar, Main, and Werra, and, farther north, embraced the plains of the Lower Rhine down to the sea. On the west it was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean. This empire comprised German as well as Roman territory; but struck root firmly in the old native soil, from which it drew ever new strength; and therefore it was that its duration was not merely momentary, like that of the Gothic kingdoms, but it proved the beginning of the monarchy of the Middle Ages, the beginning of a new national life, in which Roman form was animated with fresh German strength. Clovis ruled his wide realm from Paris, a city which had existed even before the days of Cæsar and the Romans in Gaul. In Paris he died, in 511, at the early age of forty-five.

§ 7. Clovis left four sons,\* among whom, by the custom of the Franks, the country was divided. They inherited their father's bloody and violent disposition. The oldest, Theodoric, though the child of an early marriage with a heathen woman, had the largest share. The whole eastern division, including all the strictly German territory, fell to him; it was thenceforth called Austrasia, and his royal residence was

\* CLOVIS, died 511.





at Metz. The three younger brothers, sons of Clotilde, divided the western and formerly Roman part, now called Neustria, between them; Clodomir reigning in Orleans over the country around it, Chilbert in Paris, and Clothaire in Soissons. But the more remote provinces were so divided among the brothers that no one of them could visit all his own possessions without passing through those of the others. Nor was the division an absolute partition of the sovereignty. The kingdom of the Franks was still regarded as one, ruled by the Merovingian family, the descendants of Clovia. The sons carried on their conquests in common.

§ 8. In the kingdom of Thuringia, the sons of Basinus had also made a division; but Irmenfried, the eldest, who married a niece of Theodoric the Great, a princess of the house of the Amali, was induced by her to dethrone and slay his two brothers. Certain Franks had already shared in these proceedings; and they now complained of this violation of a compact, and of other cruelties long ago perpetrated by the Thuringi, but still unpunished. "Old men," they declared, "had been laid in the way of heavy wagons, and their limbs crushed; boys had been hung up on trees by the sinews of the side." To such a degree had the character even of the unmixed German tribes degenerated. On this pretext Clovis's sons Theodoric and Clothaire made war on Irmenfried. After a first reverse, Irmenfried retreated; but the Franks still saw no prospect of a triumph until the Saxons offered to aid them. The two nations together succeeded in overthrowing the kingdom of the Thuringians. Their last fortress, Burgscheidungen, was taken; Irmenfried gave himself up to Theodoric, and soon after, while walking unsuspectingly by his side on the walls of Zulpich, was basely hurled down by him to the plain. Such is the account given by Gregory of Tours; but Widukind of Corbei, a Saxon chronicler of the tenth century, evidently with Saxon heroic minstrels for his authorities, amplifies and richly adorns the story, making the fall of Irmenfried and his knight Irinc glorious. Both these heroes were celebrated afterward in the popular songs of the Germans, and appear in the Nibelungen, where they are said to have been slain by the swords of Hagen and Volker. The Saxons and the Franks divided the land; the

former taking the rich valley of North Thuringia, and the region south of the Hartz as far as the Unstrutt, while the rest of it was annexed by the Franks, A.D. 530.

§ 9. Burgundy remained free through the life of Gundobald, who died in 516. He was succeeded by his sons Godemar and St. Sigismund, the latter the founder of the monastery of St. Maurice, in Wallis, where the holy spear was preserved. This king married first a daughter of Theodoric the Great, but she soon died; and he then married one of her attendant women, who, when seen proudly arrayed in the ornaments of her late mistress, was insulted by Siegrich, the son of the deceased wife. She now demanded of his father the life of Siegrich, and he was strangled in sleep. By this act Sigismund not only defied the vengeance of the Ostrogoths, who had hitherto protected Burgundy, but exposed himself defenselessly to the attacks of the Franks. The three sons of Clovis and Clotilde—Clodomir, Childebert, and Clothaire—joined in an attack on him, A.D. 523, and defeated him; and Clodomir had him, with his wife and children, thrown into a well; but was soon after drawn into an ambush by Sigismund's brother, and slain. Childebert and Clothaire divided Clodomir's land between them, though he had left two sons, who were under Clotilde's protection. The uncles brought the boys to Paris, and sent their grandmother a sword and a pair of shears, indicating that she must choose whether they should be slain, or shorn and confined in a convent. "Let them rather die," cried Clotilde; and the bloody Clothaire, unmoved by their touching prayers, slew them with his own hand in the royal court-yard at Paris. Thus violence and murder prevailed in the house of the Merovingians. Meanwhile Godemar, Sigismund's brother, made himself master of Burgundy, and sustained himself eight years, till he fell in 532. Then the Franks seized the country, and thenceforth Burgundy formed, besides Austrasia and Neustria, the third grand division of the kingdom of the Franks.

§ 10. The Franks also took part in the death-struggle of the Ostrogoths in Italy, to further their own conquests, faithlessly taking sides, now with the Goths, and now with the Eastern Empire. In this way they obtained, besides all Provence, the remnant of Allemannia, which, as we have seen,

had formerly been in alliance with Theodoric. After the fall of the Ostrogoths, in 553, Bavaria, too, fell to the lot of the Agilulfingers, a ducal house dependent on the Franks.

As the families of other sons of Clovis became suddenly extinct, and Clothaire survived his brothers, the entire empire of the Franks was once more united, with him as its sole sovereign. On his death, in 561, his sons made a new division, and again fraternal war and bloodshed became general among the Franks. Barbarous manners spread frightfully. There is scarcely a record of any people richer in cruelties than the Franks, or of any royal house more abundant in crimes and blood than the Merovingians. Above all others, two of their queens distinguished themselves by their inextinguishable thirst for revenge; and their names are still memorable for their crimes. Chilperic and Sigbert, two of Clothaire's sons, married two sisters, Galeswintha and Brunehilde (Brunehaut), daughters of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths. Chilperic for this purpose put away his previous wife, or mistress, the low-born Fredegonda; but she murdered her favored rival, and resumed her place beside the weak Chilperic. Brunehilde undertook to avenge her sister, and stirred up her husband, Sigbert, to war against his brother. A long series of battles and murders followed, during which Fredegonda caused her own husband, Chilperic, to be assassinated. It was not until the house of the Merovingians had been nearly exterminated in their fraternal strife, and the gray-haired Brunehilde, after long endurance of tortures and insult, was dragged to death, lashed to the tail of a wild horse, that peace was given to the kingdom by her conqueror, Clothaire II., son of Chilperic. He reigned from 613 to 622 over the entire kingdom, once more united. He was succeeded by his sons Dagobert and Charibert, who again divided the land; the latter taking only a small territory stretching from the Garonne to Charente; but he increased it by conquering what was left of the kingdom of the Visigoths between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. This conquest remained in the possession of his descendants as the duchy of Aquitaine.

From the time of Dagobert, the history of the Merovingian kings—the very little that is known of it—is quieter and less

bloody indeed; but the vigor of the dynasty was also gone, and the kings became mere shadows of power, beside their high officers of state. In after-days, the degeneracy of the house was pictured in a fabled dream, which Basina, Clovis's mother, was said by magic art to have caused her husband to see. In his dream, Childeric saw, as their own immediate offspring, a lion (Clovis); then, in the next generation, ravenous bears and wolves (the sons and grandsons of Clovis); and finally playful puppies (the "do-nothing kings," "les rois fainéants"). Certainly the dream well represented the facts.

§ 11. In spite of these disorders and civil wars, the Franks had from the first a more settled and stable government than the rest of the Germans. After Clovis overthrew Syagrius, he left the conquered population in possession of the soil; but the public domains and abandoned estates were so extensive that they afforded rich prizes for him and his friends. Upon his victory over the Allemanni, he had taken for his own the estates of their nobles and of all the slain, forming a great royal domain. The same policy was afterward followed by the sons of Clovis in Burgundy, Thuringia, and Bavaria. Thus most of the conquered territory became the booty and property of the king. It was necessary, indeed, to distribute lands among the people who had followed him to victory. Every man had a portion of the newly acquired territory allotted to him as his private and exclusive property, his *allodium*, as the Latin writers of the Middle Ages call land held in absolute ownership. But, in addition, the king distributed to his faithful friends and highest officers, out of his own domain, which was too large for him to superintend alone, lands the ownership of which remained in him. These lands were regarded as lent for the use of the holders; they were called *feuds*, *fiefs*, *fees* (Anglo-Saxon *feoh*, a reward), and were therefore said to be held by *feudal* tenure. Thus the land still belonged to the lord paramount, under whose favor the occupant (fiefee, or vassal) held it, though the tenure, unless forfeited by a breach of faith (called felony, from *fee* and *lon*, price or value, because the crime was the price or forfeiture of the fee), was commonly for life. No rent was paid, money being a rare commodity. The vassal was simply bound to join the lord's army in all wars; not

only in those of national concern, in which the community must be consulted, but in the merely personal disputes of the lord himself; and he must from time to time appear at court to do homage. Thus the feudal system grew up in the kingdom of the Franks, and afterward became the foundation of the monarchies of the Middle Ages. Similar relations between lord and vassal grew up elsewhere also, among the Goths, Lombards, and other nations, but as yet in a less complete form.

The victorious Franks were at first but an army, of which the king was the commander, with his lieutenants or counts dependent on him. But as the nation became more settled, these military officers became high ministers of state in the civil government. Thus arose barons, counts, and local judges, with jurisdiction to administer the king's laws in greater or smaller districts. The Franks having adopted the Catholic faith, the priesthood was not disturbed. The Germans preferred a military career for themselves, so that the priests were nearly all from the conquered people, and spoke Latin. Like the soldiers, they received their pay, not in money, but in land; and the churches were endowed with land, partly by gifts, and partly by the grant of fiefs. To each of the higher clergy—the bishops and archbishops—the king granted a fee around the cathedral, or principal church of his diocese, valuable enough to set them high among the lords of the land. Thus men of Latin origin found their way into the council of the king, and mingled with the chief noblemen of the Franks. The Church soon grew rich, and became able to grant minor fees of its own, just as the great nobles did. Thus subordinate fees came into being; smaller estates, held, not like those of the great noblemen, directly from the king, but from these nobles or from the Church; and the holders afterward grew into the lower orders of nobility. The general freedom and equality of the earlier Germans, which was founded on the people's absolute proprietorship of their lands, nearly disappeared in the conquered territories, in Allemannia and Thuringia; the original owners being dispossessed, and the great fees held of the king taking their place. Indeed, many even of the Franks found it to their advantage to yield up their proper-

ty, their *alodium*, to the Church or to some great nobleman, and to receive it back, usually with additions, as vassals and in fee. Thus, from this time, the number of free citizens among the Franks was steadily on the decrease, the more so that the kind of dependence and service connected with a feudal tenure was no longer associated with humiliation in the German mind; although it reduced the tenant in rank from a freeman to a vassal.

§ 12. Over all men in the nation the King of the Franks was supreme. The dynasty in power was still regarded by the Germans as having something of that sacredness with which their ancient traditions clothed royalty, and remained on the throne until it became extinct, when the right of election revived in the whole body of the people. The chosen one received their homage, in the ancient German style, by being elevated on the shield. As the badge of his high office, the king wore about his head, from which his long hair fell unshorn, a golden band; and in war this band was put on his helmet. In his hand he held the royal staff, which afterward became the sceptre; then but a rod, cut from the tree and whitened. In this fashion he traversed the country, in a car drawn by oxen, visiting his domains; and, at every place designated as a seat of justice, presided on a lofty throne, administering the laws in person. His immediate vassals, who were bound to attend his court, the great nobles of the land (called *antrustiones*, or confidants), were at his side. Out of these were chosen the officers whose duty was the personal service of the king; the royal treasurer, who kept the crown-jewels; the marshal, whose province was the royal stables; the steward, who furnished the king's table; and the butler, who provided and served the wine. To these four offices was added that of the king's deputies, or counts palatine (*pfalz-grafen*), who, in the absence of the monarch, exercised the royal prerogative in the royal domains, and sat as supreme judges there; and that of the major-domus, or mayor of the palace, who commanded the king's horsemen or knights, and rapidly acquired great influence in the confiscation and distribution of fiefs. The last-named office soon became the most important in the kingdom.

§ 13. Thus the original condition of the Germans, as described by Tacitus, had already been greatly changed. The freemen of the small communities and district assemblies, during the great migrations, became the soldiers of an army, and received as their pay a part of the conquered land, in absolute ownership. These again, in the kingdom of the Franks, became vassals of the king, who was acknowledged as the lord paramount of the whole land. The feudal relations grew into a complicated network, binding the Germans together in a national unity; although it was their nature always to aim at a free and individual life, and this peculiarity, deeply rooted in their character, made it very difficult to combine and organize them, or to fuse them into a state. Thus it was upon the basis of the feudal system that their civil society first took the form of a state, which deserves the name of a kingdom, because it was under the control of a single purpose and of an orderly constitution. Upon this state the Church already exercised a great influence, although it was as yet but loosely connected with Rome and with the pope. Yet the Church retained a remnant of Roman culture; it clung to the Latin language, and, with all its rudeness, still seemed, in contrast with the rough, fierce Franks, to be the representative of civilization and morality. Often enough did a priest mediate with a cruel Frank master in behalf of an abused slave, and sometimes the remonstrance of a bishop touched the heart of a wicked king. But, above all, the churches afforded a sanctuary for refugees of every class; they had what was called the right of asylum. Not only the altar and the temple, but the whole sacred inclosure of courts and buildings, with their appurtenances, was revered as inviolable. In the popular faith, the violator of these sanctuaries brought upon himself the vengeance of their guardian saints, in the form of frightful injuries; and pursuers preferred to keep watch for a long time around such a holy place rather than to invade it with violence; as, for example, Chilperic, when his son Merovæus took refuge from him in the church of St. Martin of Tours. This saint and his asylum were especially revered by the Franks ever after the time of Clovis. Thus the Church, though slowly and gradually, contributed to the education

of the people, who were as yet Christians only in name, and whose morality was really lower than that of the ancient Germans in their heathen days.

§ 14. The important office of mayor of the palace, which existed in each of the three great divisions of the kingdom—Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy—was obtained in Austrasia, under Dagobert I. (A.D. 628–638), by Pepin of Landen. He belonged to a noble Frank family, akin to the Merovingians, which had extensive possessions on the river Maas, in the neighborhood of Namur, Lüttich, and Maastricht. The power of this office was already so great that Pepin's son, Grimoald, who inherited it, endeavored to set his son, Childbert, on the throne of the Franks. But the ancient reverence of the Frank nobility for their royal house was still too strong; and both father and son lost their lives in the enterprise (A.D. 656). The only heirs to the great estates of Pepin's family were the two sisters of Grimoald, Gertrude and Begga. Begga was the wife of Anchises, son of Arnulf, bishop of Metz—one of the marriages by which great Frank families sometimes allied themselves with those of the subject race, whose ecclesiastical dignities had ennobled them. Thus Latin and German blood were mingled in the descendants of Pepin. Of this marriage was born Pepin of Heristal, who inherited the whole of the family estates, and obtained the ancestral office of mayor of the palace in Austrasia. He ventured to make war upon the King of Neustria and his mayor of the palace, defeated them (A.D. 681) at Testri, near St. Quentin, and obtained the office of his mayor also; so that he now held the same dignity and power in all the great divisions of the kingdom. The distribution of all the fiefs which were forfeited to the king fell into his hands, and he was able to proclaim himself Duke and Prince (*Dux et Princeps*) of the Franks. But, warned by the fate of his grandfather, he contented himself with wielding the power of the kingly office without seeking its name and honor. He left his son Charles Martel his heir; and this prince had to endure hard struggles in his own family, as well as among the Franks and against the heathen Frisians, before his position was fully achieved. But he showed himself worthy of it. The dukes of the countries dependent on the crown of the



Franks, those of Aquitania, Allemannia, Bavaria, and Thuringia, were unwilling to obey the mayor as they had once obeyed the king. It seemed that the fall of the Merovingians must bring with it the breaking up of the kingdom of the Franks into tribes and districts. But Charles upheld his own dignity; and his house was soon more regarded by the Franks than that of the Merovingians had ever been.

§ 15. The Arabs took advantage of a revolt in Aquitania to invade the country of the Franks. Inspired by their new religion, they had fled from their desert peninsula, and spread over Egypt and North Africa. Thence they attacked and destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths, or West Goths, in 711, and subdued almost all Spain. They now, under the Emir Abderraman, moved against the kingdom of the Franks. Here were two peoples in conflict, both in their youthful vigor; two religions, each in the course of its development. The contest was to decide whether the Mohammedan civilization of the Arabs was stronger than the Christian civilization of the Germans. Charles Martel summoned his feudal vassals, but above all the Austrasians, who were of pure German blood. A great battle was fought at Poitiers in 732, scarcely inferior in horror or in the importance of its results to the renowned defeat of the Huns in the Catalaunian fields. For six days the ground was contested; at length, on the seventh day, Charles, thenceforth called Martel, or the Hammer, secured the victory, saving Western Christianity and German independence. He afterward wrested from the Saracens the territory upon the Lower Rhone, which, with the aid of rebellious Burgundian nobles, they had long occupied, defeating them a second time at Narbonne, and capturing Avignon (A.D. 738).

Charles Martel exercised the kingly office with such vigor that he reduced within still narrower limits than before the remnants of freedom which the people had retained. Before his time, it was still their custom, as it had been that of their remote German ancestors, to come together in the spring of every year, in the so-called "Marchfield" (März-feld, because the meetings were held in the month of March), to determine questions of war and peace, and to administer justice, under the presidency of their princes. Clovis introduced the cus-

tom of summoning to these assemblies, with the freemen, his own feudal vassals. They were of especial value to the king, because they carried on his personal wars, even if not sustained by a resolution of the people; and they soon came to be preferred before the freemen. But now Charles Martel compelled the freemen, too, to muster on the field of assembly, and to join his army, without asking them to deliberate or to resolve. His son Pepin afterward postponed the regular time of assembling till May. All the nobles then came together, as vassals either of temporal or of spiritual lords, thus forming a sort of "Reichstag," or Imperial Diet, with which the king used to consult. Thus the constitution of the feudal state put an end to the general freedom of the people.

§ 16. Charles Martel died in 741, leaving his sovereignty in common to his two sons, Carloman and Pepin the Short. The mayors of the palace still kept up the shadow of the Merovingian house, with the title of king. It was nothing more, for the king had no revenue but a fixed allowance paid him by the mayor; and no duties, but to perform certain ceremonies at public gatherings and festivals, reciting what the mayor put in his mouth. But this farce of royalty was now near its end. The descendants of Pepin of Heristal were rude and hardened men, who hesitated at nothing to gain their ends. They were continually at war; now with their own kindred, and again turning aside to subdue the dukes of Aquitania, Allemannia, and Bavaria, who resisted them as they had their father. Sudden conversions and monkish notions of penance were common in those times; and Carloman, in 747, retired from his conflicts and his power to the convent of Monte Casino, leaving his younger brother, Pepin the Short, the undisputed ruler of all the Franks. He soon won the pope's friendship. The popes of Rome, ever since the Lombard conquest of Italy, had held that city and its suburbs as part of the Exarchate, in nominal dependence upon the Eastern Empire; but were often hard pressed by their neighbors, and could get no protection from Constantinople. The Lombards had much less reverence for the successors of St. Peter than the more remote Franks. At this time Pope Zacharias was in imminent danger of losing his possessions, the Lombard king, Astolph, threatening to in-

corporate Rome with his kingdom. Zacharias tried to win the friendship and aid of Pepin, with the Franks, against the Lombards. Pepin sent to inquire of him, "Who ought rightly to be king: he who sits at home in idleness, or he who bears the toils and dangers of the government?" The pope answered the question in favor of Pepin, and sanctioned by the countenance of the Church the deposition of the last Merovingian king, taking care, at the same time, to seize the opportunity to aggrandize the Holy See. For he decided the case in such a form as to imply that the throne was the gift of the pope, and added a threat of the ban of the Church upon any Frank who would not accept Pepin as king. This was the beginning of the assumption that the popes might dispose of kingdoms, and interfere with their political destinies by the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdiction. The Frank nobles seem now to have been more willing than before to see their king removed. Pepin therefore assumed the crown in 752; the principal bishops of the kingdom, by authority of the pope, anointing him, and the Franks with enthusiasm elevating him upon the shield. The last of the Merovingians, Childeric III., suffered the loss of his royal locks of hair, and was secluded in a convent.

§ 17. Thus Pepin, with the pope's help, founded a new dynasty. He soon had an opportunity to show his gratitude. Stephen II., the successor of Zacharias, engaged in another war with the Lombards, visited Pepin at St. Denis, and completed his consecration as king, anointing both him and his sons Charles and Carloman with his own hand. Pepin then escorted him back to Rome, at the head of a victorious army (754 and 755), and in two successful campaigns wrested the Exarchate from the Lombards. The Emperor of the East demanded its restoration to the empire; but Pepin collected the keys of the cities, and sent them to the altar of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. This famous "donation of Pepin" became "the patrimony of St. Peter," the foundation of the temporal power of the papacy. The pope conferred on the king the title of Patrician of Rome, and promised him a sort of protectorate over Rome and the Church. Thus the mayor of the palace was indebted to the pope for the throne which his son built up still higher, until

it overshadowed Europe; and the pope was indebted to the new-made king for that temporal sovereignty which has ever since been the chief care of his successors and the curse of the Church. We can hardly accuse Gibbon of exaggeration, therefore, when he says: "The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical, history." This remark is further illustrated by the career of Pepin's son, Charlemagne. Pepin maintained his authority over the Franks with vigor until his death in 768.

§ 18. The character of the Germans had changed for the worse during their migrations and conquests. The evil influences of their unsettled life, their constant wars, and their introduction to the vices and luxuries of degenerate Rome, wrought so rapidly and deeply upon them, that they were threatened with premature decay and ruin. Nothing could save them for the great career which lay before them but some power which should elevate and reinvigorate the individual mind. This power came in the Christian religion, which was gradually taking ever deeper root among the Germans. It is true that nearly all the German tribes had professed Christianity at the time of the great migrations; but their new faith had as yet had little effect upon their moral nature, least of all on that of the Franks, as this sketch of their history has fully shown. The work of reforming them went on very slowly for a long time; and only made progress as Christianity assumed the definite and organized form of the Roman Catholic Church. This influence also was exerted more powerfully in Germany proper, where the population was most free from the admixture of foreigners, than in any other country, and it was mainly through other German tribes that Christian ideas and practices were impressed upon the Franks.

Interior Germany—that is, the country of the Allemanni, Bavarians, Thuringians, Saxons, and Frisians—was but little disturbed by the wanderings of the tribes which sought for homes within the Roman Empire. Thus Christianity did not reach them until nearly the sixth century. It was from Ireland (then for its Christian zeal called the Island of Saints) that missionaries went forth to preach to them the

new faith. The Irish had embraced Christianity in the fourth century. They had little or no connection with Rome and the pope, and their religion had not assumed the form which the Catholic Church afterward gave it. Nothing but the love of Christ drove these missionaries to their work; but they lacked one thing which was essential—unity of direction. St. Columban was the most active of them. He first of all founded the convent of Luxeuil, in the Vosges Mountains, among the Allemanni, and thence spread the Christian doctrine in every direction, laboring to subdue the wild land to fruitfulness, while he planted the truth of Christ in the wild hearts of the people. The vile queen, Brunehilde (Brunehaut), drove him away; and he betook himself to Lake Constance. All the country here, far and wide, was a forest, and almost a desert since the marches of the great migrations. Here he preached the Gospel to the ruined inhabitants, while his companions shattered their idols. He then crossed the Alps; but a disciple of his, St. Gallus, who was left behind sick on the journey, founded in the wilderness, on the Steinach, the monastery of St. Gall. Columban died among the Lombards, in the convent of Bobbo, on the Apennines. In the same pious and humble manner, a similar work was done by St. Fridoliu at the monastery of Seckungen, on the Rhine; by St. Parmin, founder of the convent of Reichenau, on Lake Constance; by St. Kilian at Würzburg; and by St. Emmeram, a Frank, in Bavaria. The last two became martyrs to their faith.

§ 19. But these Irish missions struck root only at a few scattered points. The missionary work became more thorough and extensive in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. When they conquered Great Britain, which was already Christian, they restored their ancient German heathenism, and maintained it for a century and a half. Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), who was moved to pity by the beauty and innocence of some Anglo-Saxon youths brought as prisoners to Rome, exerted himself for the conversion of the nation. Ethelbert, their chief king, married a Catholic, the daughter of a Merovingian king of the Franks. To him Gregory sent a numerous embassy, who were well received; and gradually all the kingdoms on the island accepted the Christian

religion. The Anglo-Saxons now became inspired by a missionary zeal, such as no German tribe had ever felt; and naturally their efforts were directed at once to their still unconverted kindred among the Germans. Many men of noble birth, and even of royal blood, devoted themselves to this pious calling. They first turned to the Frisians, who dwelt on the coasts opposite to them, and who spoke a language so much like their own that no interpreter was needed between them.

§ 20. The Frisians were a free tribe, governing themselves in little communities, like the more ancient Germans. They were led by nobles or princes, sometimes mistakenly called kings. Their country ran from the Zuyder Zee along nearly the whole coast of the North Sea, and into Northern Schleswig; it was only between the Weser and the Eider that the Saxon borders reached the sea. Over against this coast there was a circle of islands, most of them then of large size, though now worn away to mere remnants by the storms of the aggressive sea. They extended from the Texel to the island of Sylt in the north. The Frisians occupied these islands; and the best part of what they held on the mainland had been wrested from the ocean, and was only retained by a continual struggle against the waters. Dikes, in what they called a golden hoop (*geldene hōp*), protected the land against the regular reflux of the tide. Behind these the free Frisian, whose wealth was in his cattle, lived in his marshes. He traversed the dangerous North Sea, too, in his small vessel; nor to this day can bolder or better seamen be found than his descendants. The Frisians were restless neighbors to the Franks, who, from the time of Pepin of Heristal, had striven to conquer them. Charles Martel fought against them his first battles, and they laid siege to him in Cologne. But their border districts had now been subjugated. The Franks were, of course, desirous to see this unruly people brought by Christianity into a more orderly state; and Charles Martel, and still more zealously Pepin the Short, did all they could to help the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Yet their interference made Christianity seem to the Frisians, as it did afterward to the Saxons, to be one with subjugation and slavery. Radbod, one of their greatest no-

blemen, was its fiercest opponent. Of the missionaries, Willibrord was the most influential; though many others, such as Suidbert on the Lower Rhine, and Wilfred and Wigbert on the coast, had preceded him. Willibrord was very successful in his work, and Charles Martel founded for him the episcopal see of Utrecht, as a point of support for the Frisian missions.

§ 21. Among the companions of Willibrord was Winfred, a youth of noble family, born at Kirton, in Devonshire, England, in 680, who, while very young, became zealous for a convent life and for missionary work. When Radbod stirred up a fierce persecution of the Christians, Winfred came at once to Friesland, and labored for two years with hardly any result. He perceived the necessity, in order to succeed, of finding another field for work, and, above all, of forming closer relations with the pope, whom the Anglo-Saxons already recognized as the head of the whole Church. He went to Rome, and the pope designated him for missionary work among the tribes of Central Germany. He proceeded first to Bavaria, where he found some pitiful remnants of the Christianity which had been placed there under the Roman Empire, as well as the insignificant beginnings of the Frank missions. He then chose as his centre of operations Würzburg, where St. Kilian had met with a martyr's death.

§ 22. On his second tour, he visited Trèves, in the Rhine province of the Franks, where heathenism still lingered, and taught among the Hessians. Here he founded the monastery of Amöneberg, as a centre of support for further mission work. At Fritzlar, near the Saxon frontier, stood a sacred oak, consecrated to Donar, the god of thunder. Winfred cut it down with his own hands, in the presence of the terrified people, who were now converted in multitudes. The pope recalled him to Rome, made him a bishop, and gave him the name of Boniface (A. D. 723). He in turn took an oath to extend the supremacy of Rome over all whom he should convert. At once he entered Germany as an ecclesiastical prince, in humility yet in power; a throng of missionaries, mostly Anglo-Saxons, labored under his direction. Charles Martel and Pepin the Short did their best to help him. Thus all Hesse and Thuringia were brought to Christianity, and Ba-

varia was strengthened and instructed in the faith. Boniface introduced into Germany the Roman system of Church government; he founded episcopal sees, the centres of large dioceses, into which the country was divided; and from the year 732 he was over them all as the sole archbishop of Germany. In Bavaria he established four sees: Salzburg, Freisingen, Regensburg (Ratisbon), and Passau; and two in the kingdom of the Franks, Würzburg and Aichstädt. He also appointed Büraburg, in Hesse, and Erfurt, in Thuringia, to be episcopal sees; but these were not established, the monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld serving in their stead, under the Archdiocese of Mayence.

§ 23. At each episcopal see were built a church and palace for the bishop. The churches were at first modest structures of wood; but it gradually came to be the custom to build very large and handsome buildings for cathedrals. The bishop's palace was a centre around which artisans and laborers of all grades settled; free landowners and vassals of the Church also came, and thus in most cases a city grew up. Boniface may be fairly regarded, not merely as a teacher of Christianity in Germany, but as the missionary of a higher civilization, and the founder of cities. He and his disciples founded and endowed many monasteries, most of them upon rich lands newly cleared for cultivation. These monasteries became centres of civilization, exerting a wide influence. They relieved the poor, and afforded shelter to pilgrims and travelers, a refuge to fugitives and suppliants, and, more than all, a quiet home for learning, in which the Benedictine monks, then the only order in existence, could vary their labors on the soil, by copying, and thus preserving books. Boniface himself became archbishop of Mayence in 745, and actually ruled the entire Church of Germany. He was subordinate to the pope, but not slavishly so, for he censured and rebuked him freely, when it seemed necessary. He had kings among his friends, and to them, too, he spoke the language of a spiritual father. Thus, in his more than princely position, Boniface was a real benefactor of Germany, and has often been called the Apostle of the Germans. The order, majesty, and magnificence of the Roman Church now gained as great an ascendancy over the German people as the Roman Empire



had acquired long before. Boniface was the exponent of that Church in its order and its power; and was delegated, in the name of the pope, to anoint and to crown Pepin king of the Franks in 752. The Saxons were the only tribe which now continued to reject and exclude Christianity. They murdered the two Ewalds and other missionaries who were sent to them.

§ 24. Part of the Frisians were still heathen. Boniface, now seventy-four years of age, was neither too dignified nor too old, he thought, to resume the labors of his youth. His favorite disciple, Lullus, often found him praying earnestly, with tears, for a martyr's death. He now went to the bishopric of Utrecht, which had been added to his dignities after Willebrord's death, and moved down the Rhine, in full expectation of his speedy end, and with his shroud ready. He preached to the Frisians with success. But while his tent was pitched at Doccum on the Borne, a fierce horde of heathen Frisians rushed from the woods. They were at first supposed to be new converts, coming to ask for baptism. When their hostile purpose was seen, Boniface forbade his attendants to make any defense, and fell under the axes of the assassins, holding up the Gospels over his head with his expiring strength (755). His body was rescued and brought to Mayence, and afterward to Fulda. No man before Charlemagne had a greater influence upon the destinies of Germany than Boniface.

§ 25. But the Christianity of the Germans, and even that of the Roman provinces, for many generations after the date of their "conversion," was a very different kind of religion from that which is now held by enlightened Christians. Constantine and several of his successors were actually worshiped after death by multitudes of the Christians of those days. The apostolic doctrines were not conceived as a system of belief by the people, nor even by their teachers; the personal sovereignty of Christ as a king and warrior, and the future heaven or hell to be awarded by him, were apprehended as practical truths, but were overlaid with a dense mass of superstitious notions and observances, many of them legacies from heathenism. Above all, the Germans indulged without stint their passion for the wonderful; and the power of Chris-

tianity over them depended largely on the supply of miracles and of potent relics which it could furnish them. The workers of miraculous cures were numerous; they were esteemed as the favorites of heaven, and cities and princes contended with one another for their bones. Some of the popes were wise enough to discourage the zeal for miracles; and as late as A.D. 590, Pope Gregory I. wrote to St. Augustine, of England, cautioning him against spiritual pride as a worker of them. But it was not long before the papacy became the great centre from which relics of the saints were distributed throughout the Church. The Roman catacombs were ransacked, and bones of saints found in an abundance sufficient to supply Christendom for ages. The pope's guaranty of genuineness was final; and this resource contributed immeasurably to increase the wealth and power of the Holy See. The legends of the saints, as circulated and preserved, mainly by tradition, were for centuries the intellectual food of the Church at large; and were filled with idle and monotonous tales of wonderful cures in mind and body, wrought by the holy men and women in their lives, or by their corpses or their tombs. No doubt was entertained, even by the most intelligent, of the truth of these miracles. The modern conception of nature, as the work of a divine will which is unchangeable, and which therefore expresses itself in fixed, uniform laws, was then unknown. The spiritual conception of Christianity, as life by a personal trust in a pure, holy, and loving God, was set forth, indeed, by a few writers and preachers, and was doubtless verified in the experience of many a humble heart; but it was far above the thoughts of the people, or even of the clergy at large. To them no religion was of any value which was not magical in its methods and powers, and a charm to secure good fortune or to avert danger. In short, the Church was one thing, Christianity another; and the priestly ambition of the great organization to rule over men's lives and estates entirely eclipsed and obscured the spiritual work of the kingdom which is not of this world. Nothing in the early German character is more attractive than the habitual and general chastity of the people, and their reverence for the marriage tie. But the great migrations corrupted them; and the degradation of marriage in the succeeding centuries was promoted and com-

pleted by the influence of the Church. Hardly any agency can be traced in history which has wrought greater social and moral evil than the contempt for human love and for the marriage tie, which was sedulously cultivated by the Roman Church from the beginning, and especially after the middle of the fourth century. Yet, while the true picture of social morals at this time among public men, in Church and State, is one which can not be unveiled with decency, there are indications enough to satisfy us that the doctrines of the New Testament had not lost their power; and that truth, purity, divine charity, and Christian heroism were kept alive in many hearts. Thousands of men and women, whose minds and lives were darkened by the teachings and practices of asceticism and monasticism, and by the gross superstitions fostered by the clergy, still cherished a devout, self-sacrificing love for their unseen Master and Lord, and stood ready at all times to die for him. Even the idea of Christian brotherhood was not utterly lost; and the common worship of the same Redeemer by master and slave did much to mitigate the horrors which grew out of their relation. Thus a law of the Visigoths, dating from the fourth century, declares that every man is made in the image of God; and therefore forbids a master to kill a slave, or to mutilate his body by cutting off hand, foot, or nose, or putting out an eye, without the approval of a judicial tribunal, on penalty of a pound of gold or three years' banishment and infamy. But none of the other German tribes seem to have made such progress in humanity until much later.



Charlemagne (768-814).

## CHAPTER IV.

CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 768-814.

- § 1. The Sons of Pepin the Short. § 2. Charles sole King; his first Campaigns in Saxony and Italy. § 3. Obstinate Resistance of the Saxons. § 4. They are Subjugated. § 5. The Church in Saxony; "the Heliand." § 6. The Frisians. § 7. Charles in Spain. Roncesvalles. § 8. The Bavarian Dukes deposed. Defeat of the Avari. § 9. Successes against the Slavonic Tribes. § 10. The Pope of Rome and the Church. § 11. Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans. § 12. Significance of the Title.

§ 13. Relations of the Empire and the Church. § 14. Civil Order under Charlemagne. § 15. Military Organization. Revenues of the Crown. § 16. Personal Power of Charlemagne. § 17. His Intelligence and Mental Activity. § 18. His Character and Fame.

§ 1. THE kingdom of Pepin the Short was more extensive than that of his Merovingian predecessors; and its moral strength, in the sanction of the Church and the reverence of the people, was greater than that of Clovis. The vigor of his arms and policy showed no abatement to the last. Bavaria, Thuringia, and Frisia were incorporated with his possessions; his sovereignty was undisputed; the power of the princes who at first threatened to be his rivals was broken down; and the crown was acknowledged to be hereditary in his family. Aquitaine, Brittany (Armorica), and Bavaria still retained their native dukes; but all the other provinces were governed by counts, who were officers of the crown, and not hereditary rulers. In the year 768, Pepin felt that death was near, and summoned a Diet of the kingdom; from which he had but time to obtain the ratification of his will, disposing of the kingdom, when he died, September 24. This will divided the country between his sons Charles and Carloman, the latter to reign in the southern, the former in the northern provinces. The two brothers united in carrying out Pepin's plans against Aquitaine, and humbled and deposed the duke in 769. But Carloman gave Charles but a feeble support in this work, and dissensions arose between them, which would have led to civil war but for the mediation of their mother, Bertha. The reconciliation was imperfect, however; and the stronger nature of Charles entirely overshadowed his brother during the short time of their joint reign. In very early life Charles married a princess of the Franks; but soon after Pepin's death, at Bertha's instance, he put her away, and married Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius (Didier), king of the Lombards. Carloman married another daughter of the same king. Pope Stephen III. protested against this act, and in 771 Charles divorced his second wife also. In the same year Carloman died, leaving his infant sons under the guardianship of their grandmother, Bertha.

§ 2. Charles at once resolved to be sole king, and endeavored to obtain possession of his nephews. But their mother fled

with them to Italy, and claimed the protection of her father Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who recognized the little princes as kings of the Franks. Charles led a crusade into Saxony in 772, laid waste the country, and desolated the great heathen sanctuary of the people, the Irmensäule, at Stadtbergen, on the Diemel, a monument supposed to stand where Arminius had destroyed the legions of Varus. He even advanced to the river Weser, the Saxons every where submitting, and vowing allegiance to him. But the attitude of the Lombards now demanded his attention. King Desiderius was embittered against Charles, both by the divorce of Desiderata, and by the exclusion of his grandchildren from the succession. He had also been for a long time engaged in controversies and disputes with the Papal See. Pope Stephen III. now died, and was succeeded by Adrian I. Desiderius demanded of the new pope that he should anoint the infant sons of Carloman kings of the Franks. But Adrian, too, was well inclined to Charles, and anxious to obtain his support against the Lombards, and he refused to obey. Desiderius undertook to compel the pope to his will; but Adrian appealed for aid to Charles, who at once collected a vast army at Geneva, and marched into Italy by the pass of the Great St. Bernard. Desiderius fled before him, and took refuge in his capital, Pavia, which was strongly fortified. Charles, joined by a multitude of Italians who were well inclined to the Franks and to the pope, took possession of all Northern Italy. He then advanced to Rome, where the pope welcomed him as a deliverer, and songs of praise resounded, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" A personal friendship was formed between the emperor and the pope, which was uninterrupted, amid all political changes, until the death of Adrian, more than twenty years afterward. The Easter festival was celebrated in the Cathedral of St. Peter (A.D. 774) with great devotion and splendor. In the spring Charles reduced Pavia, compelled Desiderius and his nephews to enter a convent, and annexed the Lombards to the realm of the Franks; but without depriving them of their own laws or even of their native dukes. He assumed the title of King of Italy, and his possessions extended to the river Garigliano. South of this, from sea to sea, a remnant of the Lombards,

under Arichis, retained a sort of independence, under the name of the Duchy of Benevento. When the ambassadors of Charles arrived, the Lombard nobles were standing at the threshold of their citadel to receive them, in all pride and circumstance, with falcons on their wrists, their duke rising from a golden throne before the embassy, with reverence, but not with fear, and offering homage and a tribute, which Charles accepted. Venice, too, remained independent. Adelgis, the son of Desiderius, refused to submit, preferring to sink into poverty. According to tradition, he was a strong youth, who used to strike down his foes in battle with a staff of iron; and once he entered in disguise the palace which had been his father's in Pavia, and sat down with Charles at dinner, breaking up the bones of stags, oxen, and bears like hoppers, and drinking out the marrow as lions do. But when Charles learned who his guest had been, he was gone.\*

Soon afterward insurrections broke out in favor of Adelgis, and Charles returned to Italy in 776, and again in 787, to put them down. In the latter year the native dukes were deposed, and the Lombards were afterward governed like all the Franks, by counts appointed by the king. The feudal system was gradually extended over them, adding vastly to the possessions and influence of the clergy. The policy of Charles was now clearly formed and defined; and his great genius had begun the work, to which it was afterward steadily devoted, of building up together the absolute monarchy of the Franks and the spiritual ascendancy of Rome.

§ 3. The principal German tribes were now subjects of the

\* "Then said a knight, 'Master, if you would give me the ring on your arm, I pledge myself to bring him back alive or dead,' and then pursued Adelgis, who had gone down the Ticino in a boat. He overtook him, and motioned him to the shore, holding up the bracelet, and crying that Charles had sent him a pledge of hospitality. Adelgis came up without suspicion, but was surprised when the knight offered him the gift upon the point of his spear. He threw on his breastplate, and presented his own spear, saying, 'If thou offerest me gifts upon the spear's point, on the spear's point will I also receive them.' Thus he took the bracelet, but, being too proud to accept a favor from Charles, he gave his own bracelet in exchange. And it was this, not Adelgis, that the knight brought home. But when Charles tried it on, it passed over his arm, all the way up to his shoulder, and the king said, 'No wonder this man has such prodigious strength.'"—Grimm's *Sagen* and the *Chronicon* of Novalesse.

Franks, with the single exception of the Saxons. Clothaire I. had claimed and exacted tribute from these heathen warriors; but after his death they asserted their independence, and neither Charles Martel nor Pepin the Short ever carried out the traditional plan of the Frank kings to subdue them. Charles now made it one of the great aims of his life to incorporate this wild people into his kingdom, and into the Christian Church. The Saxons formed three tribes, the Westphalians, the Angrarians (Engern), and the Eastphalians. They were led in sacrifice and counsel, in judgment and in war, by their noblemen; but in other respects they were freemen, retaining the old German organization in marches and districts, while a general assembly of the nation came together once every year at Marklo, on the Weser. They had obtained their territory by conquest, and the descendants of the subjugated people formed a very numerous class among them; partly *Laten*, or serfs, partly slaves, without any personal rights. The Saxon character was that of a wild, obstinate freedom, and their enemies called them cruel and treacherous. On the borders they plundered the property of the Franks, their neighbors, and constantly brought war and confusion upon them, making it a national necessity, in Charles's view, to subdue this people and to convert them to Christianity. But his expedition of 772 produced no lasting results. During his campaign against the Lombards in succeeding years, the Saxons rebelled in a body. Witikind, their duke, a man of illustrious descent and of immense estates, exercised a great influence over the people, and used it to the utmost to stir them to revolt. Legends of his bravery and cunning are still preserved in Westphalia. After two more campaigns, Charles succeeded in obtaining the homage of all the Saxon nobles, and their consent not to oppose the Christian religion. But Witikind did not take the oath of allegiance, but sought refuge among the kindred race of Danes, who were also heathens still. War and revolt were continually renewed.

§ 4. In 782 Charles sent a strong army of Franks, under two generals, through Saxony, to subdue the Sorbs, who dwelt east of the Saal, summoning the Saxons in a body to his aid. But the Saxons, though they had just renewed their



vow of allegiance, rose against the army of the Franks, and destroyed it with its generals at the Sünfel. Charles hastened thither, and, expecting to terrify the rebellious people by a great slaughter, beheaded four thousand five hundred Saxons at Verden on the Aller. But this bloody act only stimulated the Saxons to greater efforts. As in old times Arminius had stirred up his people against the Romans, so now Witikind flew from place to place, calling the Saxons to arms. It was the first time Charles had a really hard and dangerous struggle. He finally won a victory at Detmold, and again at the river Hase (783); and now, at length, Witikind himself proffered homage and subjection. Charles accepted the offer, and the Saxon leader was baptized at Atigny, in Northern France. Legend affirms that he stole in disguise into the winter-quarters of the Franks in Saxony, which Charles established there for the first time in 785, and was so impressed with the majesty of the king, and the splendor of the Christian worship, that he bowed his haughty spirit before them. Thus the very heart was taken out of Saxon resistance. But it continued to spring up again, in the form of occasional revolts. Thus the people, feeling oppressed by the general levy of troops and the exaction of tithes for the Church, seized the opportunity, during the war with the Avari, to rebel again; and the king then removed ten thousand Saxons, with their families, into Frankish territory, replacing them in their own land with colonies of Franks. From this time forth, occasional marches, at the head of his army, through the Saxon territory, sufficed to keep the people in peaceful subjection. In the year 797, by a special capitulary, or royal statute, promulgated at Aix, the popular assembly of the Saxons was dissolved, the whole arms-bearing population was made liable to be drafted into the Frankish army, and the land of the Saxons was subjected to the constitution of the kingdom of the Franks. The last transportation of people was effected in 804. The Saxons of North Albingen, dwelling in what is now Holstein, also submitted, and in 811 the Eider was fixed as the boundary of the kingdom of the Franks.

§ 5. The fact that Christianity was imposed upon the Saxons by foreign conquerors with cruel severity, led them to

hate it like slavery. The freeman was embittered by the necessity of paying tithes, as a tribute, to the Church. Charles found it necessary to make special efforts for the establishment of the new faith; and for this purpose he followed the plan of Boniface, and founded bishoprics. The following sees were established by him or his son in the Saxon territory: in Westphalia, Paderborn, Münster, and Osnabrück; near the Weser, Bremen (in 798), Minden, and Verden; and farther eastward, Hildesheim and Halberstadt. Around these sees, in the course of time, flourishing cities grew up. But the Saxons, who at first resisted the Christian faith with such obstinacy, soon became devoted to it. Scarcely a generation had passed after their subjection, when "the *Heliant*" was produced among them, that deep and glorious song in honor of the Saviour, which introduced into their language—the old Low-German, or old Saxon—the story of the Gospels in a poetical form. This memorable monument of a long-silent tongue is precious not only as a philological study, but as a beautiful expression of the faith of that age. It is a transcript, indeed, from the Gospels, but is imbued with a deep spirit of utter faithfulness to Christ; and, with its amplifications, and the warmth and earnestness of its tone, presents a picture of Him as a rich, mighty, and kind king of the German people, whose followers are faithful unto death. It has no metrical character but that of alliteration, in the simple old heathen style, like the *Visions* and *Creed* of *Piers Plowman*, in early English. These Saxons became one of the most powerful nations in the empire. In independence, Charles himself compared them with the Franks. They showed an obstinate attachment to the manners and customs of their forefathers, and, in particular, the feudal system of the Franks found no acceptance with them.

§ 6. The Western Frisians had been defeated by Charles Martel and Pepin. The Eastern Frisians, who had kept their freedom till the fall of the Saxons, were now also subdued by Charles. But these people retained their own laws, and Charles gave them a pledge that they should not be compelled to reinforce his army. As their law expresses it: "It is right that the free Frisian should not go upon any military service farther than the flow and ebb of the tide:

because he must every day defend the shore against the salt sea and the wild pirates, with five weapons—his spade, fork, shield, sword, and the point of his spear." Thus they remained as a whole independent, and isolated from the rest of the kingdom.

§ 7. While these were his most momentous achievements King Charles had meanwhile been engaged in several other noteworthy deeds and expeditions. When he was in Paderborn, a Saxon town, in 777, a Saracen prince from Saragossa, in Spain, came to him, begging for aid against his caliph, Abderraman, who threatened to depose him. In Spain the supremacy of the Arabs, who had overthrown the Visigoths, was already weakened by internal dissensions, and by revolts of the great officers of state. Charles seized this opportunity to cross the Pyrenees. He captured Pampeluna and Saragossa in 778, subjugated the country as far as the Ebro, and formed it into a Spanish county, or viceroyalty. Here the two races lived side by side. The Franks learned from the Saracens more delicacy of manners and of thought, and taught them love of freedom and reverence for woman. Thus arose that fresh, poetic view of life and duty which afterward became widely spread under the name of chivalry. But in spite of his victories, the king met with misfortune on his return. In the Pyrenees, in the valley of Roncesvalles, the Basque mountaineers fell upon his rear-guard, which was loaded with booty, and slew many of his bravest noblemen; among them Roland, count of the march of Brittany. The most ancient records give no further information, but this Roland afterward became a favorite subject of legend and song. The treason of the wicked Ganelon, who betrayed him, and his own heroic death in battle with the unbelievers, were favorite themes of minstrelsy and of popular tales for ages after. William the Conqueror, on leading his Norman hosts to England, sang the song of Roland before them; and the Basque peasant still points out the spot where the flower of heroism fell.

§ 8. The Bavarians were the only people in the kingdom who still retained their own national duke at their head. This prince, Tassilo, married Luitberga, daughter of Desiderius, and was thus brother-in-law to Adelgis, the exiled heir

to the old Lombard throne. Called by Charles to a reckoning for his rash effort to restore Adalgis, and closely watched, he still ventured to enter into a conspiracy with the Avari, who then ruled over the Slavonic tribes of Bohemia and Moravia. But Charles was beforehand with him, eagerly seizing his opportunity to do away with the last of the German princes who was partly independent of him. Tassilo, his wife and child, were driven into a convent, and Bavaria, too, was incorporated into the kingdom of the Franks (A.D. 788). Charles then, in 791, marched against the Avari, a Tartar tribe, which had taken possession of Hungary after the migration of the Lombards. He drove them far back into their country, and his son, Pepin, captured one of their "Rings," or inclosures made with embankments of earth, containing the booty which they had been collecting for generations. This was the end of their power, and almost of their existence as a people. Charles wrested from them the land from the Ems to the Raab, and formed of it the Avarian viceroyalty. Bavarians were planted there as colonists, and the country was annexed to the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg. It became the germ of the Austrian Empire.

§ 9. As soon as his Saxon conquests were assured to him, the plans of Charles took a wider range. The country lying eastward of the Elbe, the Saale, and the Bohemian forest, had once belonged to Germans; but during the great migrations they had abandoned it, and it had been occupied by Slaves, or, as the Germans called them, Wends. They were still heathen, and were divided into many petty tribes. The Abodrites dwelt in what is now Mecklenburg; the Wilzi in Brandenburg; the Sorbi east of the Saale; and the Czechs, as now, in Bohemia. Charles wished to bring them into the empire and the Church; and began the work, which was, however, only to be completed centuries later by the slow, gradual advance of the German nation to its ancient frontiers of the Oder and the Vistula. Charles employed the Abodrites at an early day as allies against the Saxons, and afterward against the Wilzi. The latter tribe was subdued by him in 789; and the Sorbi and Bohemians also accepted a sort of dependent relation to him. As a protection against these Slaves, Charles founded his frontier governments, and

built fortresses, such as Halle on the Saale, and, on the Elbe, Magdeburg and Büchen, though Hamburg was afterward substituted for the latter. In his Saxon viceroyalty (march), as we shall see hereafter, lay the earliest germ of Brandenburg and of modern Prussia.

The dominions of Charles were now bounded on the north by the Eider; on the east by the Elbe and the Raab; and on the south by the Garigliano and the Ebro. They embraced all the people of German descent, except the Anglo-Saxons and the still heathen Northmen of Scandinavia. His masterly mind combined all these nations under one government, which was so organized as to carry out efficiently his will. The throne thus built up, by Charles's conquests and statesmanship, was without any counterpart in history save that of the Cæsars, and it justly challenged the name of empire. But the king assumed no title corresponding with his dignity, until the pope bestowed on him the imperial crown, with the blessing of the Church.

§ 10. The Church was still more thoroughly organized than the State. The bishops, who had at first been the shepherds and guides of the individual churches, soon came to be acknowledged as the most important officers in them; and those who presided over the Christian communities which the apostles had founded were invested with a peculiar dignity. This was especially true of Rome, where Paul and Peter were believed to have labored, and where, according to the traditions of the Church, they died the death of martyrs. It was supposed that the Christian faith would here find its purest fountain, and that all other churches must endeavor to keep themselves in harmony with Rome. In all the great schisms and conflicts over the faith which agitated the Church from the fourth century to the ninth, the bishops of Rome had steadfastly held to the orthodox doctrines: those, namely, which were approved by the general councils as true. Their importance grew still greater after the fall of the Western Empire; for the German conquerors were Arians, and therefore heretics, while the old subjects of Rome were attached to the orthodox faith, and looked to the Bishop of Rome—so lately the capital of the world—as their spiritual protector. Able men, obtaining the office, increased

its dignity by their own deeds; as Leo the Great, who, in 452, induced Attila to retire from Italy; or Gregory the Great (590-604), who converted the Anglo-Saxons, and who gave to the Catholic form of worship that magnificence which had so memorable an influence on the popular mind. Even in his time, the Bishop of Rome was already distinguished from other bishops by the name of pope.

§ 11. The Franks, in the time of Clovis, had adopted the Catholic creed, though all the rest of the Germans were Arians or heathens; and thenceforth there was a close friendship between the Franks and Rome. They now were the centre of an empire which included all the Germans, and the Roman Catholic Church, by their means, became the prevailing form of Christianity. From the time of Pepin, his house had been in intimate alliance with the pope, who had consecrated his usurped crown. Their relations became still closer under Charlemagne, and the union of the two great powers of the age—the Empire and the Church—found its complete expression and symbol in his coronation by the pope. In 799, while Charles was at Paderborn, he was visited by Pope Leo III., who, having been attacked by the kindred of his predecessor, while engaged in a procession at Rome, and grievously maltreated, had fled in great distress. He was accused of many crimes, and Charles at once instituted a rigid investigation of his conduct. He then escorted him to Rome in person, at the head of his army. Here, on Christmas-day, in the year 800, in St. Peter's Cathedral, the pope set the imperial crown of Rome on the head of the great king of the Franks; while all the people shouted, "To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peaceful Emperor of the Romans, life and victory." For the words "Empire" and "Rome" were still inseparably associated in the minds of men.

§ 12. It was his title of emperor that gave to the power of Charlemagne its complete significance. From that time, the people regarded his reign as the revival of the old Roman Empire, which had so long ruled the world. To the people the emperor was the head of the whole Christian world, its supreme governor and protector. He was the source of all earthly authority and government; which from him extended downward step by step to kings, dukes, counts, and

even to the lowest vassal. His office was, first of all, that of guardian of the Christian Church and of the true faith. In this calling he regarded himself as belonging to all nations, and not peculiarly to any; yet the new universal empire depended on the Germans, as the old one had upon the Romans. But the conception of the empire, grand and attractive as it was, was too lofty to be realized. Even Charlemagne was not the emperor of all German Christians, much less of the whole of the Christian Church. Beside him, with equal claims, though without power to enforce them, stood the Emperor of the East at Constantinople; while the Anglo-Saxons remained in secure independence on their island. And where Charlemagne failed, no other emperor has succeeded.

§ 13. While the secular sword is wielded by the emperor, the spiritual is in the hands of the pope. The two authorities, it was originally believed, ought to be kept apart. The pope, in a political sense, was still a subject of the empire. But he was also the spiritual father, from whose hands the highest of earthly monarchs accepted his crown with reverence. Thus the distinctions of rank between them compensated for one another, and the two dignities assumed a sort of equality. The pope was the head of the spiritual state, or the Church. He was the source of all spiritual dignity and government; archbishops, bishops, and all the clergy, down to the lowest, derived their authority from him. The Empire and the Church were to support and serve one another, living together like body and soul; the Empire guarding the interests of the Church with the sword, and the Church consecrating the organization and work of the Empire. Such was the theoretical relation between the two great authorities in the Middle Ages; and for a time they really worked side by side in harmony, and maintained, in many respects beneficially, a beautiful balance of power.

§ 14. The civil order of the empire resembled that of the Merovingian kingdom, but was an improvement upon it. The ancient dukedoms, with the hereditary rulers of the conquered nations at their head, had constantly reminded the people of the times of their independence, and were now abolished. The whole country was divided into districts, each ruled by a count appointed by the king; and these districts or counties

were further divided into smaller districts or circuits, corresponding nearly to the ancient hundreds, under the government of subordinate noblemen, called centeniers or vicaires, and afterward viscounts. The count held, in the king's name, a high court of justice every month, assisted by from seven to twelve royal judges (scabins), selected by himself from among the most eminent men of his county. Here he administered the law in all cases involving life, liberty, and estate. He also commanded the whole militia of his district in time of war. The centenier held a court every week for cases of less importance. Upon the border were erected the "marches," where the margraves or counts of the marches exercised more extensive powers than the counts of the interior. They were, in fact, organized as military frontiers, for the defense of the empire. The proprietors of land here were all immediate feudal vassals of the king, bound to military service at the summons of the court. Thus, on the eastern frontier stood (1) Friaul; (2) the Wendish march, adjoining Carinthia; (3) Steiermark (Styria); (4) the Avarian march, or that of Eastern Bavaria; (5) the northern district, between the Danube and the Fichtel Mountains; and the (6) Thuringian and (7) Saxon marches. In his own domains, the executive power of the king was represented by his sheriffs (vogts), the judicial power by his royal judges. Every three months, all these officers were visited by two royal deputies (missi dominici), usually a count and a bishop, who communicated to them the emperor's will, and reported their conduct to him. The officers were paid, not in money, but in land, to be held by the feudal tenure.

§ 15. In war the king summoned his vassals, who led their people to join him. The higher clergy, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were among these vassals; but their spiritual dignity exempted them from personal field service, though in after-days they often waived this privilege. They were generally represented in the army by their deputies or sheriffs. The next summons was a general levy of the freemen of the empire, who served under their counts and centeniers. Each freeman came mounted or on foot, according to his wealth; while the very poor could only combine in threes or fives to fit out one soldier for the field. These found the serv-



ice a heavy burden, since they received no pay, and had to support themselves. Besides, the counts were often arbitrary in recruiting. To avoid this kind of oppression, multitudes of the freemen surrendered their estates to some great feudal lord, consenting to hold them as his vassals, and to become "his men." In this way Charlemagne introduced into his kingdom a settled order and unity of organization, such as the Germans had not before known, and made sure of always having a great military force ready for action. The ancient freedom and independence of the German communities disappeared, and the strength of the empire was thenceforth founded upon the system of vassalage, and depended upon the feudal nobility. Charlemagne indeed continued to hold every year, in May, the general assembly of the freemen (maifeld); but the great spiritual and secular vassals had already attained such a predominance that they alone were consulted in promulgating the laws or decrees—the "capitularies"—which were drawn up in Latin, and regulated the government both of Church and State. At these assemblies, and at the smaller ones held in the autumn, the emperor received the regular tributary gifts of his subjects, which were regarded as a sort of tax. Apart from these no duties were levied; and the revenues of the crown lands or royal domains were the chief support of the court. Charlemagne gave his personal attention to these possessions, as his own private estates; and even prescribed what trees and flowers should be cultivated upon them, and what amounts of meat and vegetables should be kept in store. He had traveling chamberlains to superintend the management of his domains in the remoter districts. Charlemagne had no fortified residence. He traveled through the whole empire, and had palaces for his accommodation in many places. He spent much time on the Rhine, at Ingelheim, Mayence, or Nimeguen; but was especially fond of Aix, for the sake of the baths; and here he built a splendid residence and a noble cathedral. He was zealous in encouraging trade; opened roads, and even undertook to connect the Main and the Danube by a canal. Yet the migratory and active Greeks, Arabs, and Jews kept trade almost entirely in their own hands; while the Germans despised it, and clung to the plow or the sword.

§ 16. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, is the name which history has agreed to give to the founder of the German Empire—incorporating the epithet with the name itself. We have recited in outline the facts of his wonderful career, as they are recorded in the meagre records of contemporary historians, and must rely upon the same authentic testimony in attempting to estimate his mind, character, and work. But the Charles of history is one; the Charles of heroic legend and popular fame is another. The former is a powerful conqueror and a politic statesman, whom some eminent writers regard as the greatest of all monarchs; the latter is a Christian saint, superhuman in strength, beauty, and wisdom, incapable of defeat in war, of error in judgment, or of infirmity or corruption in his own will. Thus the song of Roland says: “His eyes shone like the morning star; his glance was dazzling as the noonday sun. Terrible to his foes, kind to the poor, victorious in war, merciful to offenders, devoted to God, he was an upright judge, who knew all the laws, and taught them to his people as he learned them from the angels. In short, he bore the sword as God’s own servant.” As Theodorich had been the centre of the ancient popular minstrelsy, so Charles the Great became the central figure in that more cultivated heroic poetry, chiefly the work of the clergy, in which were celebrated the deeds of the twelve Paladins, with Roland and the fight of Roncesvalles—

“When Charlemain with all his peerage fell  
By Fontarabia.”

When we consider the profound impression made on the popular mind by his person, as represented in legend and song, we are almost ready to inquire whether its influence upon later German history was not greater than that of his authentic achievements. But it is true that the entire German race owes to him its first political organization. It was the purpose of his life, which never wavered, to unite all the German tribes under the control of one imperial government and of one Christian Church. In the greater part of this work he succeeded, and thus left the stamp of his mind upon the following centuries, through all the Middle Ages. The national consciousness of the collective German tribes dates from his reign, and it is at the beginning of the ninth century that

“the Germans” are first spoken of in contrast with the Roman peoples of the empire, although the national name did not come into general use until four generations later, in the reign of Otto the Great. When Charles mounted the throne, he was twenty-four years of age, in the strength and prime of his youth. His person was huge and strong, combining the presence and muscular power of the heroes of song; so that he found it sport to fight with the gigantic wild bulls in the forest of Ardennes. His passion for labor, war, and danger was that of the adventurous warriors of the great migration. In the momentous affairs of state, he exhibited the want of feeling and the unscrupulousness which have been common to nearly all great warriors; but in daily intercourse with those around him, he had the mildness, cheerfulness, and freshness of spirit which add so much grace to true greatness. These characteristics were those of his people; but that which especially distinguished him was the far-seeing mind, which had caught from ancient Rome the conception of a universal state, and was wise enough, without slavish copying, to adapt this conception to the peculiar requirements of the widely different race he ruled. This lofty intellect appears the more wonderful, that no one can tell how he obtained his mental growth, or who were his instructors; he seems to shine out of the darkness of his age like a sun.

§ 17. Charlemagne's active mind gave attention to all matters, great and small. His untiring diligence, and his surprising swiftness in apprehension and decision, enabled him to dispatch an amount of business perhaps never undertaken by another monarch, unless by Frederick II., of Prussia, or by Napoleon Bonaparte. He was simple in his own attire, usually wearing a linen coat, woven at home by the women of his own family, and over it the large, warm Frisian mantle; and he demanded simplicity in his followers, and scoffed at his courtiers when their gorgeous silks and tinsel, brought from the East, were torn to rags in the rough work of the chase. Hunting in his favorite forest of Ardennes was the chief delight and recreation of his court. Next to this, he enjoyed swimming in the warm baths at Aix, which became his favorite residence. At his meals he listened to reading; and even condescended to join the monks, detailed for the

purpose, in reading exercises. He founded schools in all the convents, and visited them in person, encouraging the diligent pupils, and reproving the negligent. He also introduced Roman teachers of music, to improve the church-singing of the Franks; while he required that sermons should be preached in the language of the people. Thus he diligently promoted popular education, while he strove to make up by study what he had lost by the neglect of his own culture in youth. He gathered men of learning—poets, historians, and copyists—around him, the most prominent of them being Anglo-Saxons, of whom the wise and pious Alcuin was chief. Even when an old man, he found time, though often only at night, to practice in writing his hand so accustomed to the sword; and having long been familiar with the Latin language, which he tried to diffuse among the people, undertook to learn the Greek also. He highly esteemed his native language, too. He gave German names to the months and the winds; caused a German grammar to be compiled; and took pains to collect the ancient heroic songs of the German minstrels, though his son, in his monkish zeal, destroyed them. He revered the clergy highly: granted them tithes throughout the empire, and every where watched over the increasing endowments and estates of the Church, in whose possessions at that time both agriculture and morality were better cared for than elsewhere. Most of the bishops and abbots were selected by the king himself.

§ 18. Charlemagne's personal character must not be judged by the standards of a time so remote from him as ours. He has been called dissolute; and it is true that he utterly disregarded the marriage tie, when it would limit either his pleasures or his ambition. He married five wives, only to dishonor them. He even encouraged, as it seems, his own daughters to live loose lives at home; refusing to give them in marriage to princes, lest their husbands might become competitors for a share of the kingdom. But he was never controlled by his favorite women, nor did he neglect state business for indulgence. Charlemagne has been censured as cruel; and, indeed, there are few acts recorded in history of more wanton cruelty than his slaughter in cold blood of thousands of Saxons at Verden. Yet this was not done in the exercise

of passion or hatred, but as a measure of policy, a means deliberately devised to secure a definite end, in which it was successful. Charlemagne was never cruel upon impulse; but his inclinations were to gentleness and kindness. The key to his character is his unbounded ambition. In the pursuit of power he knew no scruple; the most direct and efficient means were always the right means to him. There is no doubt of his earnest attachment to the Christian Church and to the orthodox doctrines, as he understood them. But this was not associated with an appreciation of Christian morality, or a sense of human brotherhood. His passion for conquest was in large part a fanatical zeal for the propagation of a religion which he regarded as inseparable from his empire.

Charlemagne was held in high honor by foreign nations. The Caliph of Bagdad, Haroun-al-Raschid, wielded in the East a power comparable with his own. To Charlemagne he sent a friendly embassy, with precious gifts, and it was reciprocated in the same spirit. The kings of the Normans expressed their respect for him in a similar way. But his own taste esteemed the ring of a good sword more than gold. His person and his private life have been vividly depicted to us by Einhard (Eginhard), a youth educated at his court, to whom, according to legend, the emperor gave one of his daughters for a wife. Charlemagne was tall and strongly formed, measuring from crown to sole seven times the length of his own foot. He had an open brow, very large, quick eyes, an abundance of fine hair, which was white in his last years, and a cheerful countenance.



Lewis the Pious (814-840).

## BOOK II.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE GREAT INTERREGNUM,  
814-1254.

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### CHAPTER V.

THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPERORS, 814-918.

§ 1. Death of Charlemagne. His Children. § 2. Lewis the Pious and his Sons. § 3. Dissensions in the Family. Death of Lewis. § 4. Division of the Empire. § 5. Its distinct Races and Languages. § 6. The Ro-

mance Races. § 7. High and Low German. § 8. The Carovingians. Reunion of the Franks under Charles the Fat. § 9. Decline of the Royal Authority. § 10. Arnulf. The Kingdom of Burgundy. § 11. The Normans. § 12. Arnulf Defeats them. § 13. Disintegration of Germany. § 14. The Magyars. § 15. Conrad I. His Failures and Death.

§ 1. As Charlemagne advanced in years, he sought in still closer union with the Church, and in the favor of its authorities, the consolation which neither his family nor his people afforded him. His eldest son, Charles, who most resembled the great emperor, died in 811, leaving no children. His second son, Pepin, also a valiant and able youth, died in 810, leaving one child, Bernard. There remained only the youngest son, Lewis, who was educated by the Church, and formed while quite young an ineradicable passion for a monastic life. Charlemagne lamented his lost sons, and hesitated for a time how to dispose of the empire. But in 813 he became conscious of the rapid approach of death, and called together an assembly of his nobles in the cathedral of Aix, where he caused Lewis to be proclaimed and crowned as joint emperor. It was provided that Lewis should be sole emperor at his father's death; but that Bernard should be King of Italy, subject only to the feudal supremacy of his uncle's crown. On January 28, 814, Charlemagne died.

§ 2. Lewis, who now, at the age of thirty-six, succeeded to the most powerful monarchy on earth, has ever since been known by the Germans as Lewis the Pious, by the French as Louis the Gentle (*le débonnaire*). His claim to the former title seems to lie in his superstitious ignorance; to the latter in his cowardly weakness, which sometimes resembled cruelty. But he diligently served the Church. The merry court of Charlemagne now put on the aspect of a monastery. The new emperor was zealous in prosecuting the missionary work in the north, on the Scandinavian frontier, with the convent of Corvey on the Weser as its centre. It was to support these missions that Hamburg was founded, and, with the older Bremen, made an archiepiscopal see. St. Ansgarius, distinguished for his unwearied activity among the northern heathen, although his labors had borne little fruit, was the first archbishop of this double see, so influential in North Germany. In the government of the empire, Lewis soon dis-

played a deplorable weakness. He relaxed the strict regulations for levying troops which his father had devised, distributed in multitudes exemptions from taxation and independent judicial authority, and neglected to exercise his rights over his vassals to such an extent that they began to regard their feudal tenures almost as hereditary. The empire seemed already to tremble. But a strong clerical party, which had a great influence over him, sought to meet this danger by inducing him, in 817, though he was but thirty-nine years of age, to associate his three sons with him in the government, and to partition the realm among them. The oldest, Lothaire, was made joint emperor with his father; Pepin took Aquitaine, and indeed all the south and southwest of Gaul; and Lewis took Bavaria and Bohemia. The rest of the empire was ruled by Lothaire and his father together. Thus a division was made; but it was accompanied with a convention or covenant, which was to secure the empire its unity. Lothaire, as associate emperor, ruled directly over by far the largest part of the realm, and his brothers were subordinate kings, who were required to recognize their elder brother as their sovereign, and could make neither war nor peace without his consent.

§ 3. Bernard, to whom Charlemagne had given Italy, believed that, as the son of the great emperor's eldest son, he was entitled to a large share of the realm. Offended that he was entirely neglected in the partition, he threatened to rebel against the emperor. But he soon saw the hopelessness of resistance to the empire, and penitently submitted to his uncle, upon a promise of pardon and favor. Lewis, however, sat in judgment upon his conduct, with the greater nobles and clergy, and condemned him and three of his nearest friends to lose their eyes. Under this cruel punishment they all sank and died, and Italy was given to the favorite son, Lothaire. Lewis suffered bitter reproaches from his own conscience for this deed; and was further deeply afflicted by the death of his wife in the same year, 818. He would have been glad to seek refuge and rest in the cloister, but his favorites easily induced him the following year to marry again; and his new wife, Judith, daughter of Count Welf of Bavaria, obtained a great influence over him.



She brought him a son, Charles, afterward called the Bald, and Lewis determined to make a new division of the empire for his benefit. At this time the Spanish margrave, Bernard of Barcelona, who had distinguished himself in suppressing a conspiracy against Lewis, was made by him chief minister of the empire. Bernard was the favorite of Queen Judith, and was even believed by many to be the father of young Charles. Out of hatred to him, and of fear for their own possessions, Lothaire and Pepin united their forces in rebellion. The youngest son, Lewis, at first joined his brothers in their enterprise; but when he saw that the success of the rebellion was likely to benefit no one but Lothaire, he led the East Franks, Bavarians, and Saxons to join his father, and secured the victory to him. In a new division, in 833, the emperor attempted to give his youngest son, Charles, the kingdom of Aquitaine, of which he had dispossessed the rebellious Pepin; but this at last led all the three sons of Irmengard to take arms together, and wage a parricidal war against him. The old Lewis had still a strong party. He took up a position at Colmar, in Alsace, opposite his sons' camp. The pope came to him there, as a mediator and judge in the dissensions of the empire, and made a show of attempts at negotiation and reconciliation, but in reality threw all his influence in favor of the sons; and then the commanders of the army secretly abandoned the father and joined the sons. The emperor stood alone in his deserted camp, thenceforth called the Field of Lies. He gave himself up to his sons. Lothaire not only treated his father harshly as a prisoner, but employed priests to work upon his religious feelings, and to terrify him by threats of eternal punishment into abdicating the throne. He failed in this; but the old king was so depressed and humiliated that he consented to appear publicly in the church, in the garb of a penitent, and to read aloud a long confession of his sins. This act had all the moral effect of an abdication. The younger sons were indignant at the treatment of their father, and, strongly supported by public opinion, they rescued him and set him on his throne again. There was now an interval of peace, the family feud pausing until the year 838. The old emperor endeavored to extend the dominions of Charles the

Bald at the expense of Lewis the German, the youngest son of his first marriage; and when Pepin died, he assigned to Charles his share also. Lewis again took up arms against his father; but the latter, while engaged in a campaign against him, died, upon an island in the Rhine near Ingelheim, A.D. 840. The bishops around the dying emperor besought him to forgive his son. He answered, "I do forgive him; but let him know that he has brought me to my death."

§ 4. Lothaire, succeeding alone to the title of emperor, now endeavored to make himself sole master of the whole empire. But Lewis the German and Charles the Bald demanded a partition, according to precedent among the Franks. Thus arose a new fraternal war. Lothaire formed an alliance with the surviving sons of his brother Pepin, who had been entirely excluded from their inheritance. Lewis the German was supported not only by his Bavarians, but by the other tribes which afterward formed the German nation—the Saxons, Suabians, and Northeastern Franks; and thus, characteristically, the first great enterprise in which these tribes were united was to throw off the yoke of that united clerical empire which the priesthood strove to secure to Lothaire. A great battle between the two parties was fought in 841 at Fontenay (now Fontenaille, near Auxerre), at the "Brook of the Burgundians." Lothaire was defeated, but the knightly strength of the empire was left on the field. Lothaire protracted the struggle, with no scruple as to the means he used. He invited the piratical Normans to invade the country and attack his brothers. He stirred up the Saxon peasantry to desert Lewis, and to return to heathenism and to their ancient freedom. But the battle of Fontenay had decided the future of Europe, and the clerical and Roman idea of universal empire was practically a thing of the past. At last, driven to extremities, Lothaire signed in 843 the treaty of Verdun with his brothers, and a new division of the empire was made. Lothaire, with the title of emperor, received Italy, and a strip of land extending from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, along the rivers Rhone, Saône, Rhine, and Maas, and also Friesland. This strange form was given to his empire in order to preserve to him Rome and Aix, the two ancient capitals of Charlemagne. The

country west of it, almost corresponding to what is now France, fell to Charles the Bald; and that east of Lothaire to Lewis the German, who also obtained those districts on the left bank of the Rhine which belonged to the archbishopric of Mayence, among others the cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spire. Thus the empire of Charlemagne was carved into three divisions—Italy, including Burgundy; France (the Western Franks); and Germany (or the Eastern Franks).



Lewis the German (876).

§ 5. The idea of a Christian empire which should unite the whole Western world—that grand conception of Charlemagne, supported by the Catholic Church—was destroyed

by this partition. But the end thus reached—the division of the vast empire into nations—was inevitable. For the Romance nations were already taking form, in distinction from the Germans. At the foundation of the old Frank kingdom by Clovis, the Franks occupied all Roman Gaul, as ruling noblemen and proprietors of the soil. They preserved for a long time their German peculiarities, and especially their language. The influence of the older and more numerous “Welsh” people grew again into prominence, but was suppressed by Charlemagne. His descendants at their imperial court in France continued in the tenth century to speak the German language. But the popular dialect of the country was, in structure and substance, a corrupt form of Latin, though it borrowed many words and forms from the German; and it rapidly gained ground, even among the Franks, after it was adopted by the Church. Thus the French language grew up in Gaul, out of a mixture of the Latin with a few German elements; while in Austrasia, where the masses of the people were Germans, their original language was of course retained. This was called the Folks-speech (Thiudisc or Dintisc, Deutsch), in contrast with Latin, which was the language of dignity, of learning, and of the Church. When Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, in 846, renewed their oaths of friendship at Strasburg, the knights of Austrasia and those of Neustria could no longer understand one another. The former took the oath in the old German language; but the oath taken by the West Franks or Neustrians, which has been preserved, is the earliest record of the language in which it is written. It was the popular language of Gaul at the time, and could no longer be called Latin; although a century more of gradual change was necessary before it could be recognized as French.

§ 6. French was formed before the other Romance languages. The Lombards in Italy held the same relation to the masses of the people, in respect to their language, as the Franks in France. These, too, from the tenth century, gradually abandoned the use of German; and the popular language, afterward called the Italian, grew out of the mixture of foreign elements with the corrupted Latin. The Visigoths in Spain, who had been driven into the northern mountains of the

peninsula by the Arabs, had long given up their German dialect. Among them was formed the Spanish language, which also contains German elements, and from a branch of which, as the Christians gradually drove the infidels before them, the Portuguese was developed. Thus the German language disappeared from these several countries, though not without leaving, in the Romance languages named above, deep traces of its former supremacy; just as the feudal organization of society, which prevailed in the Romance nations during the Middle Ages, was also of German origin. In short, the Germans left their stamp upon all the nations of the Middle Ages, in their language, their civil polity, their modes of thought, and habits of life.

§ 7. In the German language there were two very distinct branches: the High and the Low German, the latter (*Plattdeutsch*) being the language of the Saxons, and closely resembling the Frisian and the Anglo-Saxon. The High-German included the local dialects of several tribes, known as the Frankish, Allemannic, and Bavarian dialects, the first being at this time predominant. This language, as it was spoken before the middle of the eleventh century, is known to philologists as the Old High-German (*Althochdeutsch*).

§ 8. After the division of the empire of Charlemagne, the history of the Germans is properly limited to the countries in which the German language was spoken. It only remains to glance at the fate of the Carlovingian monarchies as a whole.

The direct line of Charlemagne first became extinct in Italy. Lothaire died in 855; his son Lewis II., who succeeded him in Italy as emperor, died without heirs in 875. Another son of Lothaire, called Lothaire II., obtained his northern domains, extending between the Rhine and the Maas to the sea, and named the country after himself, Lorraine (*Lothringen*). He died in 869, and in 870, by the convention of Mersen, his possessions were divided between his uncles, Charles the Bald and Lewis the German. Lewis thus obtained the dioceses of Utrecht, Strasburg, and Bâsle, and the ecclesiastical provinces of Trèves and Cologne, with all the secular territory that lay within or between them, so that the boundary between the West Franks and the East Franks, or between France and

Germany, became almost identical with that between the French and German languages.

Lewis the German reigned over Germany till 876, with some degree of strength and ability. The various tribes, long so jealous of their isolation, the Saxons, Bavarians, Allemanni, and Franks, gradually began to accustom themselves to the idea of national unity. But all that had been gained in this respect was again imperiled by the division of his dominions among his sons. Here, again, as beyond the Rhine and the Alps, the curse of family dissensions destroyed the house of Charlemagne. The two elder sons, however, died young—Carloman in 880, and Lewis in 882; and thus, in the latter year, the youngest son, Charles the Fat, reunited the kingdom of the East Franks. At the same time the throne of the West Franks became vacant. Here the weak and tyrannical Charles the Bald had steadily yielded more and more of his royal prerogative before the encroachments of his noblemen, who for a long time had held their fiefs as hereditary possessions, and not as the personal grants of the king. At his death, in 877, he left a ruined kingdom to his son, Louis the Stammerer, who, after a reign of but two years, left it to his sons Louis III. and Carloman. These young kings died in quick succession, like their German cousins. A third son, Charles the Simple, was but five years of age; and the French nobles elected for their king Charles the Fat, already king of the East Franks, the only legitimate survivor of Charlemagne's family who had attained manhood.

§ 9. Charles the Fat had now been able to make himself master of Italy also, and to assume the title of emperor; so that the whole of the Carlovingian empire was for the moment united in his hands. Its boundaries, at least, were nearly the same as under Charlemagne; but its power was sadly changed. The popes were already sovereign in Italy. Amid the distractions and strife which divided the empire, they had constantly been rising in influence and power; and now, besides their spiritual supremacy, they began to aspire to a sort of universal secular lordship. The popes claimed the sole right to confer the imperial crown. They supported their most exaggerated claims by appealing to the so-called Decretals of Isidore—forged documents, which came to light



Charles the Fat (876-887.)

in the ninth century, purporting to be the decrees of ancient Church councils under the early popes, from Clement I. (A.D. 91) to Damasus I. (died A.D. 384). They ascribed to the Bishop of Rome a dignity far above that of all other bishops in Christendom, and declared the spiritual power entirely independent of the temporal. These decretals, though forged in the barbaric Latin dialect of the ninth century, and full of gross anachronisms, continued to be regarded as genuine throughout the Middle Ages, and the forgery was not fully exposed and admitted until after the great Reformation. They may have been the work of some Frankish priest, whose aim was the freedom of the Church; but they represented the pope as having been, in early Christianity, the centre and source of

dignity and power; and, being generally received as true, they became a powerful agent in breaking down the independence of the metropolitan bishops, as well as the royal power. In Italy, especially, the imperial authority ceased to have any real significance. The bishops, each in his diocese representing the pope, were respected as the lords of the land. Under the favoring influence of Pope John VIII., a separate kingdom was formed on the Rhone, called Burgundy, or Arelat (A. D. 879). It was founded by Boso of Vienne, a noble Frank, who had married a granddaughter of the Emperor Lothaire.

But the empire was now attacked on every side. In the east a Slavonic throne, founded in Moravia by a king named Swatopluck (Zwentibold), rapidly extended its power, and threatened the frontier. In the south the Saracens crossed the sea from Africa, and took possession of Sicily and Lower Italy; meeting here the Eastern Romans or Greeks of Constantinople, who had never relinquished their claim to Italy, and who had just seized Apulia. The whole northern coast of the Franks, from the Elbe to the Garonne, was infested by the Norman pirates of Denmark and Norway. Besides all this, the interior administration of the empire was in utter confusion. No law was obeyed, no discipline enforced. The nobles oppressed the people, and the people formed themselves into bands of robbers. The empire of Charlemagne was hastening to utter ruin.

§ 10. It was in vain that Charles the Fat was called on for aid in these distresses. Afflicted in body and narrow in mind, he was utterly unequal to the difficult task. Twice he bought of the Normans peace, by paying a heavy tribute; and he finally assigned them winter-quarters in Northwestern Germany. The patience of the German nobles was now exhausted, and they busied themselves with constant conspiracies and revolts. In the year 887 they deposed Charles, and chose in his place Arnulf of Carinthia, a natural son of Carloman, son of Lewis the German. This act finally divided the Carlovingian dominions, and the thought of a united empire was abandoned. The French at the same time took for their leader Odo (or Eudes) of Paris, who had distinguished himself in the recent defense of that city against the Normans. He was the son of a German warrior of inferior birth, named





Arnulf (887-899).

Robert, who raised himself by his valor, and married a daughter of Lewis the Pious. Charles the Fat was crushed by shame and misfortunes, and died wretchedly, January 12, 888. His followers, who were especially numerous in Southern Germany, gathered around Duke Conrad, a nephew of Judith, wife of Lewis the Pious; and he founded in the country between the Jura, the Alps, and the Rhine (afterward Switzerland) a new kingdom, called Burgundy, and distinguished from the older Burgundy on the Rhine as Upper Burgundy. Rudolph I., the son of Conrad, became king of this country, and his title was recognized even by Arnulf. Thus the two neighboring kingdoms, Upper and Lower Bur-

gundy, came into the hands of kindred of the Carolingians. The two were united by Rudolph II., son of Rudolph I., in 933, in the Kingdom of Burgundy.

On the death of Charles the Fat, Odo (Eudes), whom Charles had made Duke of France, was chosen king, in spite of the claims of Charles the Simple, now but nine years of age. But the kingdom was full of disturbances, and a strong party was formed in favor of Charles, who was crowned at Rheims, in Odo's absence, in 893. After a short war, a treaty was made, by which Charles obtained part of Flanders at once, and was acknowledged as heir to the whole kingdom, to which he succeeded peacefully at the death of Odo, January 3, 898. But Charles and his successors were weak. The great vassals of the empire had obtained the authority of princes, and in their own territories paid little or no regard to their feudal lord the king. In the year 987, by the death of a fifth Louis ("le Fainéant," the lazy), the family of the Carolingians ingloriously died out in France. Its end in Germany came sooner, though less shamefully. All these transformations in the former empire of Charlemagne were accompanied with immeasurable suffering among the people. Amid these convulsions the three great nations, Germany, France, and Italy, took their distinct and characteristic forms.

§ 11. In these days, when the Carolingian Empire seemed to be suffering the sad fate of the Roman, whose counterpart in so many respects it had been, hordes of Northern invaders again marched in search of conquest and plunder. Their movements might almost be regarded as the last waves of the great migrations. The Germans of the North, commonly called Northmen, or Normans, were still heathen; and in their adventurous passion for war and booty, they were like the Goths, Franks, and Saxons of earlier days. They now began to make threatening inroads upon the empire of the Franks, along the whole coast. Their homes were in Denmark and Norway. According to a popular legend, Charlemagne, in his old age, once saw their swift little vessels sailing by a port of Southern France, and predicted with tears that these bold adventurers would one day be a great evil to his successors. In his last years he gave diligent attention

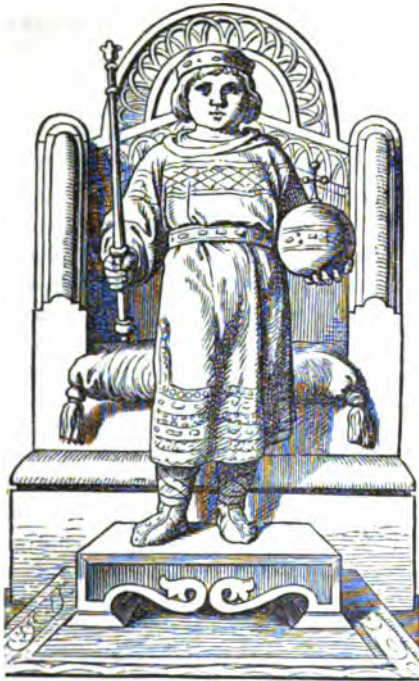
to the establishment of a fleet and the protection of the coast. But his successors neglected the work; and his grandson, Lothaire, even invited this terrible foe into the country, to fight against his brothers. The whole military strength of France was now in the hands of the great noblemen, who gradually destroyed one another in their civil wars. They were no match for these new and powerful foes, who besides were masters of the sea, to which the Franks had long been strangers. Indeed, the sea seemed to be the real home of this people. Their swift expeditions in search of plunder followed "the path of the swans" southward, the ancient way of victorious Northmen to plunder and luxury. They came in light vessels, their "steeds of the sea;" and woe to the coasts on which these vikings fell. Cities and villages were burned, movables carried off, and the people led into slavery. Nor was the interior safe from them. With their light boats, they pursued the course of the great rivers, and carried into the heart of the country the terror they inspired on the sea. They conveyed their boats across from river to river, on men's shoulders or on wagons, so that even the land was no barrier to them. They began their inroads in the time of Lewis the Pious; and in 845 they burned Hamburg. Soon afterward they sacked Aix, stabling their horses in the cathedral built by Charlemagne. They then laid in ashes Cologne, Nymwegen, Trèves, and many other towns. A little later, they ventured to invade England, and entirely subdued it; until Alfred the Great (A.D. 871-901), the grandson of Egbert, who first united the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, succeeded in throwing off their yoke. In the same way they entered the channel, moved up the Seine, took Rouen, and repeatedly threatened Paris, at one time besieging it for ten months. Finally, when their piratical expeditions were over, they founded kingdoms, like the Germans of the great migrations. Charles the Simple first ceded to them, in 911, a province in Northern France, afterward called Normandy; and their duke, Rollo, married Charles's daughter Gisela. The Normans who settled here became Christians, adopted the French language, and tempered their rough and quarrelsome bravery with finer knightly manners, like those of Southern France. It was these people who afterward, under William

the Conqueror, son of Robert of Normandy ("the Devil"), crossed to England, and overthrew the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons in the battle of Hastings, 1066; but their conquest, though it greatly modified, did not destroy the German characteristics of the government and the people. In Sicily and Southern Italy another Norman kingdom was founded as early as 1016, and it afterward became closely involved in the history of the German Empire. Here, too, the Northmen gave up their own language, adopting the Italian. Even the beginnings of the Russian Empire may be traced to the Normans; for under Rurik, the Waring, they founded, in 862, a monarchy reaching eastward to Novogorod, and afterward made Kiew, on the Dnieper, its capital. Thus a number of states were called into being by the migrations and conquests of the Norman branch of the German race.

§ 12. Nevertheless, at the time when the German nobles deposed Charles the Fat, and chose Arnulf of Carinthia their king, these Normans were still fierce pirates, and were terrible enemies of the people on the Saxon and Frisian coasts. But though Arnulf was guilty of faults enough, and even of crimes, yet the mighty spirit of Charlemagne seemed once more to appear in him. He brought the deliverance which was expected of him. At the head of the Saxon nobles and others, he attacked the Normans in their fortified camp, in the swamps of the Dyle, near Löwen. The nature of the ground and the position of the enemy were singularly unfavorable to such fighting as the knightly noblemen had practiced in France; but Arnulf set the example of dismounting, and, taking in his hand the banner of the empire, led the way to storm the camp. The Normans were here so utterly defeated (September 1, 891) that they thenceforth gradually ceased to worry the German coast. Arnulf then turned against the new kingdom of Moravia, which, under Swatopluck II., had already wrested from Germany Bohemia and a large part of Pannonia, and whose people were just at this time converted to Christianity by the preaching of Methodius. Here, too, Arnulf's strong sword was, on the whole, victorious; but Moravia was subdued rather by its own misfortunes than by the German king. At the death of Swatopluck II., in 894, his realm was divided; and his peo-

ple, hard pressed by the Magyars, again sought the friendship of the East Franks, while Bohemia returned to its allegiance to Arnulf. The pope finally invited him to Italy, and conferred upon him the imperial crown (896). He now seemed to be on the point of restoring the great Carlovingian Empire. But he soon after fell into troubles, especially in his own family; and, bent by sorrow and sickness, or, as many affirm, by a slow Italian poison, died at Oettingen in the year 899, on his return to Germany.

§ 13. The glory of the Carlovingians never revived. In Germany, Arnulf himself fell short of the ancient royal dignity. Now that the empire began to fall apart into distinct nations—Germans, French, and Italians—Germany, too, was threatened with division in the lines of the ancient tribes: into Saxons, Franks, Thuringians, Allemanni or Suabians, Bavarians, and Lotharingi. These several tribes stood out in bold contrast to one another, like so many distinct nations, nor had they as yet in general use any common name; the national appellation “Deutsch” being then applied to the common language, indeed, but not yet to the people who spoke it. At the head of each tribe, ancient families, prominent for wealth and birth, had taken their places, and revived the old title of duke. These took the lead in public affairs, and usually had possession of former royal domains within the territory of their tribe. The king retained no authority, except as he could, like Arnulf, maintain it by his own vigor. After Arnulf’s death, the title of sovereign fell to his only legitimate son, Lewis (899–911), a child of but seven years, so that it would soon have lost all its significance, but that the great clergy of the realm still wished to guard the unity of Charlemagne’s empire. The primate, or foremost bishop in Germany, was the Bishop of Mayence, the ancient see of Boniface, which at this time was occupied by the severe and obstinate Hatto, who conducted the government in the name of the boy Lewis. He still holds an unenviable place in popular legends; one of which, for example, tells of his faithlessness to a Frank nobleman, one Adalbert, of Babenberg. Adalbert intrusted himself to Hatto, under the bishop’s pledge of a safe conduct until his return. But Hatto bet him just beyond the walls, and asked him for breakfast.



Lewis the Child (900-911).

Adalbert "returned" with him, and entertained him hospitably; and afterward Hatto declared his pledge fulfilled, and gave up his ward to death. But this warrior bishop had undertaken a hard task in defending the king's authority, and he deserves the credit of preserving the unity of the empire, and thus of saving Germany, though not without a struggle, nor without cruel severity. The popular view of his character is expressed in the well-known legend of the "Mouse-Tower," made familiar to English and American readers by Southey's ballad. This tower still stands on a small island in the Rhine, opposite Bingen. During a famine, Hatto is said to have enticed a multitude of the poor, who begged him for bread, into a great barn, and there to have burned them; mocking at them as vermin who only consumed corn. Un-

numbered mice started up, as in a new plague of Egypt, pursued the bishop, swimming the stream even to his tower, and devoured him there :

“ They have whetted their teeth against the stones,  
And now they pick the bishop’s bones ;  
They gnawed the flesh from every limb,  
For they were sent to do judgment on him.”

§ 14. The empire was threatened with something more than disintegration. An external enemy, more terrible even than the Normans or the Slaves, had appeared in their place. The plains of Hungary, which had been successively the temporary homes of the Huns, the Germans, and the Avari, were now invaded from the East by the Magyars—a fierce tribe of Finnish origin, who lived on horseback, and constantly made reckless and destructive incursions into neighboring lands. Like the Huns, they carried light armor, which, with the speed of their horses, made them dangerous to pursuers, as well as to those they attacked. Arnulf called on them for help against the Moravians, whom they overthrew. But they soon began to threaten Germany itself; and broke through the eastern frontier. It now became evident how dangerous the system was which had grown up since the time of Charlemagne—of abandoning the general levy of troops by the sovereign, and relying upon the individual noblemen to summon their vassals. The result was that each tribe was concerned only for itself. Many a duke, indeed, fought and fell heroically at the head of his tribe; among them Duke Leopold of Bavaria (907), and Duke Burchard of Thuringia (908), who had made out of the former margraviate of Thuringia a tribal dukedom. His territory after his death was annexed to Saxony.

But defeat followed defeat, till the barbarous hordes reached Saxony and Lorraine. A panic, like that caused by the Huns, went before them; and the whole martial valor of Germany seemed to have departed. At last the king himself was driven to pay them tribute. Amid all this disaster and confusion, Lewis died in 911, not having attained manhood.

§ 15. With Lewis, the German branch of the Carlovingians became extinct. It almost seemed that the several tribes, under their dukes, would have no king again, and needed

none. Yet the strongest of these tribes still cherished the great thought Charlemagne had taught them of a united empire. The election of another king was insisted on by both Franks and Saxons, and especially by the noble Saxon duke, Otto the Illustrious. The two tribes came together at Forchheim, on the Regnitz. The Carolingians of the Western Franks pressed their claims; and, indeed, Charles the Simple was able the next year to annex Lorraine temporarily to France. But the assembly, while adhering to the Franks, and to the kindred of the old royal house, did not choose a Carolingian. They first offered the crown to Otto of Saxony, and upon his refusal, chose Conrad, Duke of Franconia, a



Conrad I. (911-918).

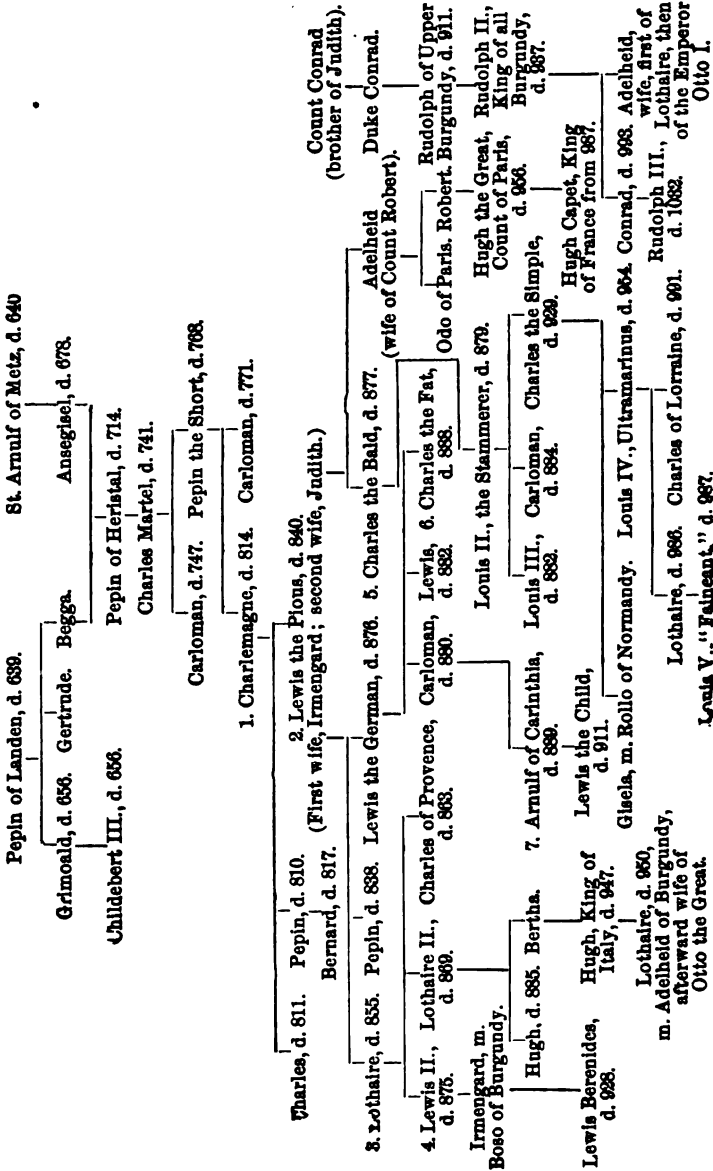


member of the noble family of the Conradini, and nearly akin to the Carolingians, through a female branch. He reigned, as Conrad I., from 911 to 918. He was a man of presence and dignity, but of popular manners; and, on assuming his office, he asserted its authority with vigor. But he forgot that times were changed, and that the throne could no longer subject to itself powerful tribes and dukes, if they refused to accept it. Hatto's influence continued to preponderate, and, in spite of the king's limited power, he expected to succeed by forcibly asserting and insisting on his supremacy. But the result was that he failed in almost every thing. He could not even recover Lorraine from Charles the Simple, though he secured Alsace. He also committed the error, at the death of Otto the Illustrious, in 912, of quarreling with his son Henry and the Saxons. They chose Henry for their duke; but the king refused to confirm to him all his feudal grants, and seems even to have denied him the royal domains in Saxony and Thuringia, which the dukes had always possessed in fee. Henry made war against the king, and defeated him utterly at Merseburg in 915, so that Saxon bards, in their minstrelsy, used to inquire what hell could be found large enough to hold the slain Franks. The legends describe cunning ambushes laid by Hatto, from which the gallant young duke narrowly escaped. The king also quarreled with Duke Arnulf of Bavaria, and with the two most powerful counts in Suabia, the imperial fiscal agents, Berthold and Erchanger. The Suabians up to this time had no tribal duke. While Conrad was thus carrying on an unsuccessful struggle, the Hungarians marched through the country to Bremen, in the extreme north. The king finally overcame the Suabians and Bavarians; and then put to death Berthold and Erchanger, though they were his brothers-in-law, and had been the first to win a victory over the Hungarians—that of Passau, in 913. The Duke of the Bavarians was driven to take refuge with the Hungarians, who now again spread over South Germany. The king marched against them, but was wounded, and returned home. A still deeper wound was in his heart; for he could not conceal it from himself that, with the best purposes, he had failed in all his undertakings as king, by mistaking the means to be employed. He felt that his death

was approaching; and it was while dying that he accomplished his greatest achievement, conquering himself and his own passions for the good of his kingdom. He called his brother, Eberhard, and exacted from him a promise to deliver his crown and his crown-jewels to his enemy, Henry, the powerful Duke of the Saxons, as the only man who could wear them with honor. Conrad died December 23, 918, and was buried at Fulda. The ancient annals represent Conrad as a genuine hero and a patriot. His short reign of seven years was devoted to the great object of uniting the Germans in one nation. He was personally kind and gentle, yet statesmanlike, and capable of a wise severity. He administered the laws faithfully, and made others respect them by setting the example. But it is his crowning merit, and that which has always endeared him and his brother Eberhard to the historians and people of Germany, that they deliberately sacrificed the prospects of family aggrandizement for the peace and union of their fatherland.

“Nothing in his life  
Became him like the leaving it.”

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.



NOTE.—The numbered names are those of the successive emperors.



Henry I. (919-936).

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE SAXON EMPERORS, A.D. 919-1024.

- § 1. The Saxons and Henry the Fowler. § 2. His Family, and Election as King. § 3. He Unites the Great Duchies. § 4. His Policy toward the Hungarians. § 5. He Conquers the Wends. § 6. Defeats the Hungarians. § 7. His Achievements and Death. § 8. Otto I., the Great, Succeeds to the Throne. § 9. Rebellion of Eberhard and Thankmar. § 10. Henry of Bavaria Revolts; Otto Victorious. § 11. Progress of National Union and of Christianity. § 12. The King's Personal Life, Revenues, and Military Resources. § 13. Otto I. Visits Italy; Marries Adelheid. § 14. The Rebellion of Ludolf and Conrad. § 15. Last Hungarian Inva-

ation; Battle of the Lech. § 16. Otto Crowned as Cæsar; his Troubles in Italy. § 17. His Power, Character, and Death. § 18. Otto II.; his War with France. § 19. Adventures in Italy, and Death. § 20. Otto III., "the Child;" Confusion in Germany. § 21. Regency of Theophano and Adelheid. § 22. Otto's Fanaticism and Death. § 23. Claimants of the Throne; Henry II. § 24. He Restores the Unity of the Empire. § 25. Growth of the Nobility in Power; the King and the Clergy. § 26. Henry II. in Italy; his Death. § 27. The Imperial House of Saxony extinct.

§ 1. THE accession of Henry I. (the Fowler, 919-936) to the imperial throne was the event to which it may almost be said that the existence of the German nation in after-times is due. The Saxon tribes of the North, in the tenth century, were the most warlike and powerful branch of the German race. While the empire was in the hands of the Franks, the Saxons regarded it as the sovereignty of their conquerors; and all their strong love of independence turned against the cause of German unity. Had the Carolingians survived, or had the family of Conrad continued to assert its claims, North Germany might have been socially and politically separated from the Franks and Bavarians throughout the formative period of national life. But the Saxons loved their duke, and were proud of him. The election of Henry to the German throne gave them, for the first time, the position of an equal among the tribes of a nation, and they looked upon the empire as their own country. The Franks, too, easily transferred to the new monarch all the loyalty they had shown to their own dynasty, so that Henry I., on assuming the crown, had under him a more united people than any previous king of the Germans. Hitherto the "King of the Romans" had been regarded as the successor of Constantine and Charlemagne, and the rightful head of all Christendom; and, indeed, this conception of the empire as Roman and cosmopolitan was its bane in later times, when the solid interests of the German kingdom were steadily sacrificed to the empty name of an imperial dignity with its seat in Italy. But Henry was the first emperor chosen and accepted by the whole German people as their king, and he is often called distinctively the founder of the German Empire.

§ 2. The independent and warlike Saxons occupied the broad plains extending from the Rhine to the Elbe, and from the Hartz Mountains to the North Sea. They were constant-

ly engaged in wars for the defense of their own frontiers against the barbarous tribes east of them, and thus preserved their military discipline and strength. But their social organization had undergone great changes during the ninth century, and their ancient freedom and equality were largely lost. The noble families had steadily gained in wealth and power. A daughter of Witikind, who led the Saxons against Charlemagne in 777, married a nobleman of influence; and one of their descendants, Ludolf, who was made Duke of the Saxons by Lewis the German, founded the great house of the Ludolfs, which rapidly became the most powerful and popular among the Saxons. This duke declared his independence of the imperial crown, by establishing his authority as hereditary in his own family. He was thus one of the pioneers in the great movement by which the rising territorial aristocracy now steadily encroached on the power of the empire, a movement efficiently supported by the popes. Ludolf's son, Brun, called the founder of Brunswick, fell in battle with the Normans in 880. The other son was Otto the Illustrious, who yielded the throne of Germany to Conrad the Frank in 911. The family had vast possessions in Eastern Westphalia (now Brunswick), about the river Ocker; and in the rich and famous "golden meadow" of the Helme and the Unstrutt; besides extensive royal domains in Saxony. Henry, the son and heir of Otto the Illustrious, married Mathilde, of an equally noble Saxon house of Westphalia, also descended from Witikind. This Duke Henry, previously King Conrad's most dangerous foe, but now designated by him as his successor, was elected King of the Germans at a general assembly of Saxons and Franks held at Fritzlar, on the frontier between the two tribes, in the spring of 919. The whole people heartily applauded the choice; for Henry was an admirable man, and well approved in battle with the Slaves. When the Archbishop of Mayence, at the coronation, offered to anoint him, according to the ancient custom in the empire of the Franks, he humbly declined the honor, pleading his own unworthiness. The ecclesiastical chroniclers do not clearly explain his motives; but there can hardly be a doubt that he had resolved not to be, in any respect, dependent upon the Church, and wished in the most solemn manner to declare

that priestly consecration was not the source of royal authority, nor essential to its exercise.

§ 3. Henry's first task was to secure recognition from the people of Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, who had no share in his election. But he was too familiar with the unmanageable character of the Germans, and, when duke, had himself felt his own independence of the king too well, to imitate Conrad's violent manner of proceeding. For a time he contented himself with the actual power of a king among the Saxons and Thuringians, and the nominal sovereignty over the dukes of the other tribes, without interfering in the internal government of the latter. He respected the tribal peculiarities which had now become so conspicuous. Thus, in 920, Duke Burchard of Suabia voluntarily did homage to him as feudal lord. Henry reserved to himself the right to designate the bishops, and also the possession of the royal domains in Suabia. Bavaria was harder to win over. Arnulf, who had been driven by Conrad I. to take refuge with the Hungarians, persisted in refusing to recognize the royal dignity. Henry met him at Ratisbon (Regensburg), and prevailed upon him, not by arms, but in a friendly discussion, in which he convinced him that it was ruin to set up his own will against that of the whole people. Yet he left Arnulf even greater prerogatives than the Duke of Suabia, including the appointment of bishops in his territory. Lorraine still held aloof. Its nobles were noted for fickleness and want of faith; they had shifted their allegiance to and fro, between the Eastern and Western kingdoms, so as ultimately to obey neither. Their duke, Giselbert, was the very embodiment of their fickleness. He had once, when a fugitive, been hospitably received by Henry in Saxony; but now he adhered to the French king, Charles the Simple. Here, too, Henry avoided an appeal to arms. He waited until France fell into such disorders, under the anti-kings and Charles, that Giselbert grew weary of them, and, in 925, attached himself to Germany. Henry then bound him to his own family and kingdom by giving him his daughter Gerberga to wife. Lorraine thus became finally incorporated in the German Empire, of which it continued for more than eight centuries to form a part (till 1734).

§ 4. Henry succeeded in this first great achievement by his wisdom and moderation; and all the five great dukedoms were again united in the empire. It was fortunate for him and his people that the Hungarians had nearly suspended their inroads during his early years. But they now came upon the still weak emperor with renewed fury; again they penetrated the heart of Saxony; and Henry, who was very sick, was driven, in 924, to take refuge in his residence at Werla, behind the swamps of the Ocker. But happily one of the princes of the enemy was made prisoner. The Hungarians were ready to pay a great ransom for him; but Henry demanded nothing for his release but an armistice of nine years for Saxony and Thuringia, during which he offered even to pay a tribute to the Hungarians. And now he began the second great work of his life: that of restoring his own people to their ancient military efficiency, especially the Saxons and Thuringians, and so protecting the exposed country. The old constitutions of Charlemagne, relating to the frontiers or marches, were renewed in the east. There were still but few cities in Germany, especially in the north; the Germans lived, like their ancestors, in their open farms, and even the royal and episcopal palaces were but feebly fortified. Henry established walled fortresses in the eastern districts of Saxony and Thuringia. He manned these, by drafting every ninth man from the population settled in the marches, who had long been held bound to military service. The other eight ninths were required to cultivate their crops, and to deposit one third of their harvests in these fortresses. In case of a sudden inroad, the people could take refuge within the walls, and find provisions there. He also required the markets and public festivals to be held within these cities, in order to accustom the Germans to a more social life. This was the origin of Quedlinburg, Merseburg, and Meissen. But it was necessary, besides fortresses, to have also good soldiers. The Saxons had preserved, better than any other race, the old practice of the universal levy of the freemen for military service; but they also retained their ancient preference for fighting on foot. Since infantry were no match for the mounted Hungarians, Henry practiced his followers in fighting on horseback, and is said for this purpose to have devised and instituted tourneys.



§ 5. After these preparations, he disciplined his troops in a war of conquest against the Wends, who dwelt east of the Elbe and the Saale. These included the Abodriti and Wilzi, the Redarii, the Havelli (on the river Havel), and the Daleminzii, in what is now Meissen. All these tribes were still heathen; some of them had hitherto been allies of the Hungarians, and persistent enemies of the Saxons. War with them was regarded as a crusade. The Saxons, fighting under the banner of St. Michael, regarded themselves as the Lord's people, called to a war of extermination against his enemies. As early as 928, Henry conquered the Havelli, and, marching on the ice, took their fortified city of Brennabor (Brandenburg), surrounded with lakes. The Daleminzii, too, submitted to him, and Meissen was founded in their territory, on an eminence near the Elbe. In Bohemia, Wratislaw, the son of the Christian Ludmilla, had maintained his power by embracing heathenism, and allying himself with the Hungarians. He married Drahomira, a princess of the Havelli, who instituted a massacre of the Christians. Ludmilla, with her son, afterward called St. Wenceslaus (Wenzel), fled to Henry; and Wenceslaus, upon doing homage to Henry as emperor, was established by him in Wratislaw's place as Duke of Bohemia.

After all this, in 929, the northern Slavic tribes, the Wilzi, Abodriti, and Redarii, united in a revolt against German supremacy, and laid waste the borders of Saxony. Henry sent his Saxon nobles to meet them, and defeated them with frightful slaughter at Lenzen. This battle put an end to the encroachments of the Slavic tribes, and finally secured the northeastern frontiers of Germany. It opened, indeed, the whole region between the Elbe and the Oder to the gradual occupation of German colonies. The joyful tidings of this complete victory came at a happy moment for Henry. He had asked the hand of a sister of Athelstan, king of the Anglo-Saxons, for his eldest son Otto. Athelstan felt highly honored by the request, and sent both his sisters to Henry at Cologne, that he and his son might choose between them. Editha, a princess whose character was as superior as her beauty, was chosen, and became Otto's wife. Henry was now justly regarded as the mightiest sovereign of the Western world.

§ 6. The victory at Lenzen gave Henry new confidence in his own strength. He now called to council the most eminent of his Saxon nobles, and made an earnest appeal to them in behalf of the unity and dignity of the nation, contrasting the triumphant policy of defiance, by which they had crushed the Slavonic tribes, with their shameful attitude as tributaries of the Hungarians. The country, he declared, was drained by the exactions of the barbarians, and nothing remained to buy their forbearance, unless he should plunder the shrines of Christ for these unbelievers. Encouraged by their recent success, and confident in their king, they unanimously pledged him their aid in throwing off the Hungarian yoke, and he at once answered the annual demand for tribute with a defiance (A.D. 932). The Hungarians in large force invaded Thuringia and advanced into Saxony; and gained some advantages over Henry, who, however, was continually strengthened by reinforcements, while the Hungarians could not support their vast host in a body, but divided, a large army of them ravaging Thuringia. This force was destroyed by a German army, after an obstinate fight; the rest of the Hungarians then marched southward to aid them, and were attacked and routed by the king himself. The next spring, 933, the Hungarians returned in immense numbers, and at Riade, near Merseburg (the exact spot is unknown), fought one more desperate battle with Henry, who obtained such a complete victory that Germany was finally freed from danger of subjection to them. They afterward made several incursions into the German territories; but their strength was broken.

Henry finally restored the ancient frontier of the empire on the north against the Danes; and even added to its dominions on that side the margraviate of Schleswig, which remained a part of the empire until Conrad II. ceded it to Canute in 1032. Under Henry's protection, Unni, the pious Archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, and a worthy successor of St. Ansgar, preached Christianity to the Danes and Swedes; and the Gospel found disciples there, though Gorm the Old, King of Denmark, hated Christianity "like the serpent of old."

§ 7. Henry accomplished a great work; his calm, moder-

ate, and practical mind, of the genuine Saxon stamp, aiming only at what was attainable. The German Empire owes its foundation to him. He opened to German colonists the land east of the Elbe, from which the Germans who formerly possessed it had been driven by the Slavonic tribes. He revived German valor, and conquered the Magyars, the persistent enemies of the empire. And while he thus served the general welfare, he built up his throne for his own family. Yet all these achievements are not his chief title to German gratitude; but rather that, both by guarding civil order, and by his own influence and aid, he steadily strove to build up the industry and trade of the nation, and did much to elevate the standing of men engaged in these pursuits. Upon experiencing a stroke of apoplexy, at his palace of Bodfeld, in the Hartz region, he accepted it as a warning of his speedy death; and summoning to Erfurt the great noblemen of all German tribes, exacted from them a promise to choose his son Otto for his successor. He then went to Memleben, on the Unstrutt, where he had a palace, and died, surrounded by his own family, and deeply lamented by all the people (A.D. 936). It is characteristic both of him and of his worthy queen, Matilda, that in his last farewell to her he expressed his earnest gratitude for the influence she had exerted over him in exciting his compassion for the oppressed. He was buried in the abbey of Quedlinburg, which he had founded.

§ 8. Otto, the son of Henry I., now twenty-four years of age, was chosen King of the Germans (A.D. 936-973) by the vote of all the tribes, assembled in the cathedral of Aix. This event shows how firmly the nation had been united by his father. The Archbishop of Mayence crowned him, and girded him with the royal sword; all the people hailed him as their chosen monarch; and the dukes of the several tribes did him the same personal services, at table and in the court, as cup-bearers, stewards, marshals, and chamberlains, which great feudal lords received from their vassals. Otto I. took a view of his kingly office very different from that of his father. Charlemagne was his model. Henry had treated the great dukes almost as independent princes, but Otto regarded them as his officers and vassals, and assumed the power



Otto the Great (936-973).

to depose them if they failed in their duty to him or to the empire. But his first task was to protect the frontiers. The Wends took the opportunity of the change in the government to revolt. But Otto kept them in subjection, with the efficient aid of Hermann Billing, Count of the Northern March of Saxony, who extended the German domains farther and farther in this direction. The Bohemians, too, rebelled; and while Otto was engaged in the internal affairs of the empire, they succeeded in maintaining their independence for nearly twelve years. The Hungarians made a few incursions, but soon perceived that Otto was not inferior in strength and resolution to his father, and became quiet again.

§ 9. The internal condition of the empire was less satisfactory than its outward serenity. The Franks were displeased that Otto assumed such high prerogatives, and that the proud Saxons were preferred to them. At their head was still Duke Eberhard, Conrad's brother, who had brought the crown to Henry I. Otto refused to confirm to him the rich fiefs which his father, Henry, had granted him. While uneasiness was growing in this quarter, in 938 the Duke of the Bavarians, also called Eberhard, openly revolted. Otto marched against him, gained a victory, and at once deposed him and deprived the dukedom of Bavaria of all the prerogatives which Henry I. had left it. Meanwhile the threatened conspiracy in North Germany was fully matured. Thankmar, an elder half-brother of Otto by Henry's first marriage, which had been dissolved by the Church because his wife had previously taken the vows of a religious life, was dissatisfied with his inferior position, and he made common cause with Eberhard. The two together devastated Westphalia; and Eberhard made a prisoner of Henry, Otto's younger brother. The emperor hastened thither, and Thankmar shut himself up in Eresburg. The fortress was taken by storm, and Thankmar fell, fighting Otto's men bravely to the last, at the altar in the church. Eberhard was forgiven, upon surrendering young Henry, his prisoner, who interceded for him.

§ 10. But the influence of Eberhard awakened in Henry distrust toward his brother. Otto was indeed an elder son of Henry I.; but he was born while his father was still duke, Henry after he had become king. Henry was also the favorite of his mother, Matilda; and the ambitious youth thought it just that he should succeed his father. He negotiated with his fickle brother-in-law, Duke Gisibert of Lorraine; and his first step toward revolt was to join him, in 939. But before the insurrection spread farther, Otto crossed the Rhine with a small force, and defeated Henry and Gisibert at Birthen; so that they had no resource but to appeal to Louis IV. (Ultramarinus) of France for aid, and he was able to do Otto little harm. Henry then pretended to seek a reconciliation, through the intercession of his mother, Matilda, but only made use of it to stir up the Saxon nobles

to rebellion. Saxony, indeed, remained faithful; but Frederick, Archbishop of Mayence, joined the revolt; and thus two of his great duchies, and the chief clergy, always the main support of the throne, were united against Otto. But once more fortune was on his side. Three princes, Franks by birth and kinsmen of Eberhard, but still Otto's friends, surprised Eberhard and Giselbert on the bank of the Rhine, which they had crossed, negligently leaving their army on the other side at Andernach. Eberhard was slain, and Giselbert, in his flight, was drowned in the Rhine (939). This ended the war. Young Henry again asked and received pardon. Yet he once more conspired against his brother, and this time against his life. For the third time his mother interceded for him; a third time Otto magnanimously forgave him, and thenceforth Henry was truly penitent, and lived in faithful brotherly affection toward Otto.

These victories left the ducal power in the empire at the feet of the sovereign. The dukes were once more officers dependent on the emperor. Otto now took care that the office of count palatine (pfalz-graf) should be instituted, besides that of duke, in every duchy, to rule the royal domains and to preside in the emperor's name on the judgment-seat; and these counts watched the dukes and kept them within bounds. Otto also endeavored to make the dukedoms still more dependent on him, by conferring them only upon his kindred and connections. He married his eldest son, Ludolf, to the daughter of the Suabian duke, and the youth soon succeeded to the office. He bestowed Lorraine on Conrad, a Frank, giving him his daughter to wife; and Bavaria on his brother Henry. The Franks, Saxons, and Thuringians were governed by himself in person; though in the latter part of his life he made his faithful friend, Hermann Billing, Duke of Saxony.

§ 11. Thus the great empire was firmly united, and was still more compact than in the time of Henry I. It was now that the name German (Deutsch) began to be commonly applied, not only to the language, but as a collective name to the people. And the united nation wielded its strength efficiently against the outer world. Under Hermann Billing and the Margrave Gero, the Saxons, after long struggles, im-

posed Christianity and German manners upon the Wends. The extensive region between the Elbe and the Oder was colonized. Otto imitated Charlemagne, in establishing episcopal sees among the subjugated people. Thus he founded bishoprics at Oldenburg (in Eastern Holstein), Havelberg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Meissen, and Zeitz; and even at Posen, among the Poles in the remote east. All these sees he united, before he died, under the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Christianity was also extended northward from Bremen by Germans. Archbishop Adeldag, the great successor of Unni, prosecuted missions among the Swedes and Danes. Harold Bluetooth had led his Danes beyond their boundaries; and Otto humbled them, driving them to the extreme northern point of Jutland, whence he threw his spear into the sea beyond, in token that only there was the limit of his sovereignty. With almost royal power, Otto's brother Henry, now Duke of Bavaria, extended his sway eastward to Theiss, and southward to Istria and Friaul; and thus the Bavarians began to colonize the south, as the Saxons did the north. Among their colonies, the bishoprics of Regensburg and Passau actively carried on the mission work. This was the period in which the real power of the Germans was extended most rapidly. Otto, who now began to be called "the Great," already had some influence in the distracted affairs of France, whose king, Louis IV., had married Gisbert's widow, and thus become Otto's brother-in-law; and at one time Otto marched to the very gates of Paris, to aid him against his rebellious nobles. The King of Burgundy, and the nobles who were fighting for supremacy in Italy, already appealed to him as arbiter. In short, his power was now that of an emperor, though he had not yet assumed the title.

§ 12. It would be interesting, at this supreme point of the German royal authority, to picture to ourselves the life of such a sovereign in the olden time. It was not one of ease and comfort; whom the heavy crown adorned, it made restless to the grave. He had no fixed home; but kept marching through the broad empire from palace to palace. Wherever he was, he must in person sit in judgment on difficult or doubtful questions; controversies of smaller importance

being still decided, according to the capitularies of Charlemagne, or the old tribal laws, by elected judges. In dark matters, the judgment of God was appealed to; that is, the duel, or the test by fire, or by the cross. At festivals, the monarch was surrounded by the splendor of the whole empire. Princes and nobles from far and wide hastened to the episcopal see at which the festival was held, bringing voluntary gifts, while the subjugated offered their tribute. The royal domains lay scattered, in vast estates, through all parts of the empire. Immense forests, also, the property of the monarch, covered a great part of the land; and in them the wolf, the bear, the aurochs, the elk, and the wild-boar afforded the huntsman rich sport. There was still no system of taxation, for money was extremely scarce, and the Germans regarded every impost as a badge of servitude. All services to the government were rendered in person. Yet the king received certain revenues from roads and rivers; the Jews paid a capitation tax; and the mines were his property. The feudal system already prevailed throughout the empire; and the king's forces therefore consisted mainly of his feudal vassals and their followers rather than of the ancient levy of freemen. On the frontiers, the marches were reorganized under their counts or margraves. On the left bank of the Elbe lay the Saxon Northmark (now Altmark, in Prussia); south of it, between the Saale, the Elbe, and the Mulde, the Saxon Eastmark, or the North Thuringian mark; on the Upper Saale, extending to the Fichtel-Gebirge and the Saxon Erz-Gebirge, the Osterland, or the South Thuringian mark. The mark of Meissen adjoined these on the east. In the south, there was a Bavarian Eastmark, afterward Austria; a Styrian and a Carinthian mark; all of these being dependent on the duchy of Bavaria.

§ 13. Thus Otto the Great had made himself the mightiest monarch in Europe, when new difficulties and conflicts came upon him. The German kings, since Arnulf's time (899), had paid no regard to Italy. Here great families were struggling for the supremacy, some of them still claiming kindred with the Carolingians. Even the popes were deeply involved in these distractions, and, from the lofty position which they had once gained, had sunk into insignificance again. The



morals of the clergy, as of the whole people, were frightfully depraved. At this time, the most powerful man in Italy was Berengarius of Ivrea, he having put down his former rival, Hugo, who had called himself King of Italy. Berengarius was probably guilty of poisoning Hugo's son, Lothaire; and desired to obtain for his own son the hand of Adelheid, Lothaire's widow, in order to unite all claims to the crown of Italy. But Adelheid rejected the proposal with horror, and was closely confined by Berengarius in a castle on the Garda Lake. From this place she succeeded in sending messengers to King Otto, invoking him to protect her rights in Italy. Otto had lost by death his Anglo-Saxon wife, Editha, and was then a widower; and he determined to take Adelheid to wife, and so secure some claim, if a doubtful one, to Italy. He therefore undertook an expedition to help her. Before he crossed the Alps with his army, in 951, his young son Ludolf, Duke of Suabia, in his zeal hastened before him, and fought an unsuccessful battle with Berengarius. This enterprise brought him reproaches from his father and scoffs from his uncle, Henry of Bavaria. Henry had already conducted Adelheid, who after many adventures had escaped from her confinement, to his brother Otto at Canossa, and was now held in high favor by them both. Otto soon celebrated his marriage with Adelheid in great splendor, and assumed the title of King of Italy.

§ 14. But there was a dark shadow amid all this brightness. Ludolf, who had already been designated as his father's successor, could not but fear lest a son of the favored Adelheid would yet arise to exclude him from the throne. Nor had King Otto fully attained the goal of his wishes in Italy; for he already aspired to coronation by the pope as Cæsar. His failure to obtain this honor was due, as he supposed, to the bad offices of Archbishop Frederick of Mayence with the pope, and his suspicions in turn awakened the discontent of that prelate. Otto returned to Germany, leaving behind him his son-in-law, Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, who induced Berengarius to submit to the king, by assuring him of an honorable reception. But when he presented himself before Otto, in 952, at Magdeburg, he was treated with contemptuous severity; and thus Conrad, too, was offended, his pledged word being

disregarded, and his merit, as he thought, in other respects slighted. Thus there were now three powerful makcontents in the kingdom, Frederick of Mayence, Ludolf of Saxony, and Conrad of Lorraine; the last two the nearest kindred of the king. They did not regard their insurrection as rebellion against their father, but as the means of setting aside the excessive influence of the severe and intriguing Henry of Bavaria. Afterward, while the war was raging, the sons, once more penitent, threw themselves at their father's feet, but Henry made reconciliation impossible. Thus the wretched war continued; and Otto outlawed the two dukes at Fritzlar, in 952, and deposed them. At last Conrad, deserted by his own subjects in Lorraine, sought and obtained the king's pardon, as did Frederick of Mayence; and then Ludolf, too, submitted to his father. But neither he nor Conrad, though forgiven, obtained his dukedom again. Lorraine was thenceforth governed by Bishop Brun of Cologne, Otto's brother; and was then first divided into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Lorraine.

§ 15. The Hungarians took advantage of these dissensions to renew their incursions, at least into Southern Germany. In 955 they invaded the kingdom, no longer in predatory and scattered bands, such as they had hitherto formed since Henry defeated them at Merseburg, but in a great organized army, making a last great effort to conquer Germany. They laid such vigorous siege to Augsburg that the pious Bishop Adalrich was scarcely able to defend it. But Otto hastened thither at the head of the now reunited tribes. A great battle was fought on the Lech, near Augsburg (August 10, 955). The king and his army consecrated themselves for the battle, as if it had been a crusade, by the holy supper and by prayer; and Otto vowed to found an episcopal see at Merseburg if God would give him the victory. The fight was begun by three lines of Bavarians in the van, though their duke was sick and could not lead them. Then came a line of Franks under Conrad; then a fifth line, formed of select youth, the strength of the army, and led by the king himself, under the banner of the archangel Michael; then ten lines of Suabians, and finally a rear-guard of Bohemians. The Hungarians avoided the charge of the Germans; some of them swam

twice across the Lech, surprised the Bohemian rear-guard, and threw it and the Suabians into confusion. But when they met with Conrad's heroic resistance, they were repulsed, he being eager to atone for his revolt. The king in person led the attack upon the main body of the Hungarians. After fierce fighting, he gained a complete victory. The Germans drove most of the Hungarian army into the river, and put the rest of them to flight. This victory, so famous in German legend and tradition, seems to have had a still greater influence on the fate of the Hungarians than on that of their conquerors. They gradually gave up their nomadic life and their fierce, barbaric manners, settled themselves in fixed homes, and thenceforth began to yield to German influence and to Christianity. But the victory was dearly bought. Among the dead lay Conrad, slain by an arrow in the throat while raising his helmet; and many a nobleman shared his fate. Other bereavements soon fell on Otto; his brother Henry of Bavaria, his strongest and most faithful helper, died of his sickness, and soon after his son Ludolf, still in the very flower of life, after having atoned for his rebellion by valiant fighting against the Wends and in Italy. The king comforted himself in a son of his second marriage, to whom he gave his own name, Otto.

§ 16. This victory over the Hungarians more than restored Otto to his former height of power and dignity. Pope John XII. soon after invited him to Rome, in order to obtain his protection against Berengarius. Otto came and rescued him from his danger, receiving as his reward the imperial crown, which was conferred by the pope upon him and his queen Adelheid, February 2, 962. From this time the crown of the Cæsars, and with it the supreme secular authority in the Christian world, were regarded as belonging to the kings of the Germans, each of whom was bound, for his honor and by the very fact of his election, to go to Rome and receive his crown from the pope. This custom certainly brought to the German nation honor and splendor; yet the struggle to rule over Rome and Italy with the imperial authority constantly led the German monarchs into useless wars at a distance from home. Worst of all, the natural course of conquest and of missionary work, toward the north and east, was abandoned

to grasp at this magnificent symbol of honor. But while German patriotism laments so much blood spilt and effort spent in vain; while it laments a protracted struggle which led to no end, or rather led at last to the overthrow of the empire and the partition of Germany; yet it can not be denied that in government, in trade, in the fine arts, and in science, the close and long-continued intercourse between Germany and Italy, which began at this time, was of great advantage to both. Even Otto the Great could not maintain his authority in Italy without repeated expeditions to Rome. He had scarcely turned his back when John XII., who had found a master where he sought a protector, went over to Berengarius, and even sent to the heathen Magyars an invitation to invade Germany. Otto went back to Rome, and called a synod in St. Peter's to try the pope. Otto himself presided, and the most frightful accusations of profligacy, cruelty, and blasphemy were brought against John, under oath, by the clergy and the people. Otto deposed him, established Leo VIII. in the papal chair, and compelled the Romans to take an oath never to ordain a pope without the emperor's ratification (963); but immediately upon his departure new disturbances broke out, so that Otto was detained three years away from Germany, until his adversaries, John XII. and Berengarius, were both dead; and the Romans submitted. Yet one more expedition to Rome was necessary in 966, for the relief of Pope John XIII., whom the rebellious Romans had grossly maltreated and imprisoned. On this occasion the king caused his son Otto, then a child of six years, to be anointed and crowned as emperor by the pope, in order that the claims of his house to the throne might have the sanction of the Church.

§ 17. Otto's fame, like that of Charlemagne, extended to the most remote sovereigns. His embassies reached the magnificent, mild, and enlightened Caliph Abderrhman in Cordova, and the slothful, proud, and beggarly court of Constantinople, which has been described to us with bitter mockery by Liutprand of Cremona, a prominent contemporary chronicler. Yet Otto the Great thought that no alliance could be higher for his growing son than that with a daughter of the Greek emperor, and in 972 he married him to the Princess

Theophāno, under whose powerful influence Eastern manners and luxury were introduced at the German court. He then held his last magnificent imperial Diet at Quedlinburg, in Saxony. He could look proudly upon his life's work, his imperial power. Hither came with tribute ambassadors of the King of the Danes. Here the Duke of Bohemia, the archbishop of the newly founded diocese of Prague, and the Duke of Poland rendered him homage; and even the Hungarians sent their gifts. The broad lands of the Sclavonic tribes, almost to the Vistula, were subject to the Germans and to Christianity. The German nobles no longer disputed the supremacy of Otto. His wise and brilliant queen, Adelheid, was seated by his side; also his son Otto II., with his young wife, already crowned emperor and empress. Around them were princes and noblemen in multitudes. But the death of his faithful friend, Hermann Billing, occurred just at this time, warning the emperor of the perishableness of all things earthly, and of his own approaching death. He visited Magdeburg, Merseburg, and finally Memleben, where his father died. Here Otto also ended his eventful life, and was buried at Merseburg. He was, in many respects, the most brilliant and powerful of the German emperors; yet he was far from equal to his father in moderation and repose, and his influence tended to divert Germany from its own internal and national development. His personal character commanded esteem, and in humanity, even toward enemies, he was in advance of his times. He has been blamed for his excessive pride, and especially for his policy of promoting slavery, and strengthening the oppressive power of the nobles over the lower orders of the people; but these things only show that he had not attained ideas and principles which belong to a later era in political progress. He, his son, and his grandsons, called the Ottos, are associated in the recollection of the Germans with a period of glory, and of a learned culture which then for the first time reached the nation. This culture was indeed an exotic growth, of Latin and Greek origin, and a stranger in German soil, yet it left there many a new and productive seed.

§ 18. Otto II., son of Otto the Great, now eighteen years of age, had already been elected and crowned; and was at



Otto II. (973-983).

once accepted by the nation without opposition almost as an hereditary king (973-983). He undertook at once the usual royal progress through the realm. Well educated, but frail in person, he did not lack impetuous vigor; but his passionate nature was wavering, and had not the magnificent persistency of his ancestors. His mother, Adelheid, and afterward his wife, Theophano, exercised a great influence over him. Otto II. had his own conflicts to fight out for his throne. His cousin, Henry II. of Bavaria, called the Contentious, finding his lofty claims slighted by the young emperor, rebelled, hoping to succeed by an alliance with the Eastern Slaves, the Bohemians, and Poles. Otto defeated and deposed him,

gave Bavaria to his friend Ludolf's son, Otto of Suabia, and cut off from Bavaria the Eastmark, granting it in fee to the famous ancient family of the Babenbergs. This territory became the germ of Austria. But Henry the Contentious stirred up new disorders in the southeastern part of the empire, until the emperor subdued him once more, and placed him in permanent confinement. Otto II. also demonstrated his strength to the Bohemians and the Poles. As early as the year 974 he made an expedition against the Danes. In 976, Lothaire II. of France, longing to win Lorraine again, fell suddenly upon the emperor, who was quietly reposing at Aix. Otto narrowly escaped capture, in his flight leaving his dinner for Lothaire's followers to eat. Lothaire laid waste the country, and after three days retreated toward France; but was overtaken by a herald of Otto before reaching the frontier, and notified that the emperor would answer this secret and dastardly attack by open war. Otto accordingly, with sixty thousand Germans, marched victoriously to the gates of Paris (October, 978). Unable to capture this strong city, he determined at least to terrify the Parisians and their king, and to warn them that he would visit them again, by letting them hear a tremendous *Te Deum* from the heights of Montmartre. As winter drew near, Otto retired to Germany; but the French were deeply impressed with his power, and in 980 a treaty of peace was concluded, by which Lothaire, under oath, renounced all claims to Lorraine in behalf of France forever. In this year, 980, when his son and heir, Otto III., was born, the emperor had assured his own title to the whole realm ruled by his father.

§ 19. But now he turned toward Italy. Otto the Great had attached to the empire all of Italy as far as Rome; but in that city the ancient family feuds still prevailed, and the papacy was deeply involved in them. Terrible deeds were wrought here, and one pope, Benedict IV., was assassinated. Southern Italy was exposed to the attacks of the bold and aggressive Arabs, as well as of the Greeks, who would not acknowledge the German supremacy in that region. After a short stay in Rome, where he quickly established order, Otto marched into Southern Italy, in 981, to meet these enemies, and easily defeated and scattered the Greek forces. His

army were inspired with the zeal of crusaders, when he fell the next year upon the Saracens in Calabria, south of Cotrone; and he gained a victory, but an imprudent pursuit turned it into a defeat; while reinforcements reached the Saracens, and nearly destroyed the German army. The emperor only escaped capture by leaping into the sea, and swimming to a Greek ship that was sailing by. But this ship was an enemy, too, and Otto was recognized. By large promises he induced the Greek captain to approach the shore, and then the emperor and his attendants again leaped into the sea, and finally escaped. The news of this defeat spread far and wide, to the extreme northern frontiers of the empire; and the Slavonic tribes now took courage, and rose in a general revolt (983), to overthrow at once Christianity, and the German sovereignty over them, which was often exercised with cruelty. They rebelled in a body, and the Danes joined them. But the misfortunes of their chosen king excited the deepest sympathy among the Germans, and a large army was rapidly collected and sent into Italy to his support. Otto first attempted to regain his lost authority in Lower Italy, and summoned all the nobles to Verona on a fixed day. Here, as if conscious that his end was near, he caused them to choose his son, only three years of age, for his successor; and then marched southward. But he went no farther than Rome, where death overtook him, December 7, 983, in his twenty-eighth year. He was buried in Rome; the only German emperor, or "rex Romanorum," who died or was buried in that imperial capital. The empire of Otto the Great, which his son had only kept together by hard struggles, was already beginning to lose its compactness.

§ 20. The German princes were assembled at Aix, where they had just crowned the child Otto III., when the news of the emperor's death came. At the same time, the Bishop of Utrecht, to whose custody Henry the Quarrelsome had been given, released him. A dispute arose among the nobles, whether he, as the male nearest of kin to the young emperor, should have the regency, according to the ancient German law; or whether, according to the law of the Eastern Empire, it should be given to the empress dowager, Theophano, who had accompanied her husband to Italy. Meanwhile





Otto III. (968-1002).

Henry took possession of the child's person; and soon made it only too evident that he was aiming to secure the throne for himself. The Saxons and Bavarians, on whom he chiefly relied, abandoned him; while the pious and learned Willigis of Mayence kept the adherents of the young emperor faithful to him, and sustained the endangered unity of the empire. Henry soon found it necessary to give up the boy to his mother, Theophano, on her return from Italy, and to his grandmother, Adelheid; and only to ask in return his dukedom of Bavaria. After receiving this again, somewhat reduced in extent, he, like his father, remained faithful to the royal house until his death.

§ 21. Theophano, during her son's minority, conducted the government as regent with wisdom and skill, although, as a Greek, she was exposed to much jealousy among the Ger-

**mans.** But the nobility again assumed a greater independence of the crown, and the several tribes began again to choose their own dukes. Thus the Bavarians, at the death of Henry the Quarrelsome, elected his son Henry to succeed him. In other countries, as in Suabia, the duchy became hereditary for the first time. Theophano died in 991; and thereafter the great princes of the empire—those of Saxony, Suabia, Bavaria, Meissen, and Tuscany—assumed the conduct of the government, in the name of Adelheid, the young emperor's grandmother, as regent; and thus the ducal authority again grew to great national importance. Meanwhile young Otto, under the instruction of Theophano, Adelheid, and the learned Gerbert of Rheims, became a wonder of the age in culture and learning. But his culture was foreign—that of Rome and Constantinople; and he despised as rude the Saxons, on whose strong shoulders his sovereignty rested. He longed for Italy and Rome; and it was his highest ambition to establish an empire upon the model of the East.

§ 22. In 996, when only sixteen years of age, Otto, at the invitation of Pope John XV., made his first expedition to Italy, where all things had been well managed during his childhood; and, on the death of John, placed his cousin, young Bruno, on the papal throne, as Gregory V., receiving from him the crown of the Cæsars. In making this appointment, he entertained, no doubt, sincere hopes of establishing a severer morality in the Church, as well as of uniting the supreme power in both Church and State in his own family. Both emperor and pope were very young, and were enthusiastic for a reformation of the Church, which, indeed, seemed to have become a necessity in that degenerate time. On his return to Germany, Otto found the Wends still in revolt, and fought against them, with no decisive result. He soon returned to Italy, where he found Rome, under Crescentius, in insurrection against him and the pope. He punished the rebels with cruel severity: Crescentius was executed, and the antipope, John XVI., whom he had set up, barbarously mutilated. Upon the sudden death of Gregory V., who was probably poisoned by the Romans to avenge Crescentius, Otto made his instructor, Gerbert, pope, under the name of Sylvester II. But he was himself wavering more and more

as time went on, between lofty projects for crusades, and for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, on one hand, and penitent exercise and a hermit's contemplations on the other. The approach of the millennial year, A.D. 1000, which had been fixed by popular prophets and fanatics as the time when Christ should come to judgment, powerfully affected his mind, as it did that of the whole Church, in which there was great and general religious agitation. He made a pilgrimage to Gnesen, to the grave of St. Adelbert of Prague, who had fallen a martyr while preaching the Gospel among the wild Prussians. He then proceeded again to Aix; and, with a misplaced curiosity, opened the tomb of Charlemagne. A restless, fanciful spirit drove him, without repose, from one change to another. Finally, in 1001, he returned to Italy, and, under the influence of Pope Sylvester, resolved to make Rome once more the capital of the great empire of Christendom, whence Germany should be ruled as a remote province. But he could not even control the city. An insurrection broke out; Otto was besieged on the Aventine for three days, and then escaped into the Campagna. Meanwhile a powerful conspiracy of German nobles was formed by Archbishop Willigis to dethrone the emperor. But Otto suddenly died, in sight of Rome, A.D. 1002, not yet twenty-two years old. According to legend, Stephania, the marvelously beautiful widow of Crescentius, fascinated him by her charms, and then poisoned him in revenge for her husband. The bishops and priests who had accompanied him to Rome were compelled to cut a way through rebellious Italy for his body with their swords; and, as he had directed, they buried him beside Charlemagne in Aix.

Had Otto III. lived longer, he would perhaps have made a magnificent effort to fulfill his scheme of the universal Christian empire. No other ruler of Germany was ever so fully inspired with this grand conception of a world-wide State and Church, with its twofold seat of power in the Eternal City. The whole fabric of the mediæval empire rested on the conviction in the popular mind that the successors of Constantine were divinely appointed to the secular rule of Christendom, side by side with the spiritual rule of the successors of St. Peter. Otto III. fully shared this conviction, and as the

anointed of the pope, the elect of the Germans, and the heir, through his mother, Theophano, of the Byzantine throne, he was fully persuaded of his own right and duty to make of this idea a fact. Yet while he cherished his splendid dream at Rome, Germany, the real strength of his throne, was nearly lost to him. The nations on the frontiers of his kingdom, which had acknowledged his fathers as lords, were rapidly securing their independence. Hungary now embraced Christianity, under St. Stephen, and formed a more fixed and better ordered political organization. Otto III. himself aided the Poles to form an independent kingdom, by elevating Gnesen to be an independent archbishopric; for here, too, ecclesiastical and political relations were closely interwoven. Denmark also now embraced Christianity, and defined its own boundaries more closely. The Germans had ruled all these nations, by virtue of the superior organization of their state, but now this superiority seemed to be transferred to their neighbors. And had Otto III. lived to mature his plans, he would probably have lost far more in Germany than that he could, even for a short time, have gained in Italy and Greece.

§ 23. The empire now needed a mighty ruler, to save it from ruin. He must with a strong hand re-establish its unsettled order, instead of living, like the last Otto, in idle dreams. But Otto died without issue, and it seemed that the German crown was to become the apple of discord among the nobles. Three claimants appeared: first, Henry of Bavaria (Saint Henry), son of Henry the Quarrelsome, and grandson of King Henry I. During the life of Otto III., he had been persistently faithful to him, and now accompanied his corpse from the Alps to the Rhine. At the same time, he secured the possession of the crown-jewels. One of his competitors, the easy Hermann of Suabia, was now an old man, and not likely to trouble him seriously. But the other, Eckart of Meissen, was very dangerous. He was the most valiant prince of the empire, the unwearied protector of the East against the Slaves. His hopes rested upon Saxon support. But fortune deserted him; and while on a journey, he was attacked at Pöhlde, in the Hartz region, and slain, as it was supposed, by agents of the sisters of Otto III., and perhaps not without the consent of Henry. Henry II. was now



Henry II. (1002-1024).

electd and crown'd (1002-1024) by the great nobles of the Bavarians and Franks, and those of Upper Lorraine, and by his shrewd management and moderation he soon obtained acceptance throughout the empire. Yet the Saxons had long regarded themselves as the imperial tribe; and their dissatisfaction with a king from another tribe was only suppressed, not destroyed.

§ 24. Henry II. was a thoughtful, active, severe master, who, like his ancestor, Henry I., only aimed at what was attainable; and thus built up again the German Empire and the throne of the Cæsars. But he succeeded in this work only through hard fights and immense labor. His first business was to re-establish and protect the authority of the crown on

all his frontiers. On the east, in the Slavonic district, Boleslaw, the powerful Duke of Poland, surnamed Chrabry, or the Glorious, arose in strength. He extended the sway of Poland as far as the golden gate of Kiew, and also strove to detach from Germany, Bohemia, Meissen, Lausitz, and, in fact, all the territory east of the Elbe. Henry II. waged three fierce wars against him, and finally compelled him to a peace (1018), by which Bohemia remained a province of the empire, while Boleslaw received Meissen in fee, as a vassal of the emperor. But in the north all the land beyond the Elbe was lost, for the Abodrites, Wagrii, and Wends, in what is now Mecklenburg and Holstein, threw off the German sovereignty, in a great insurrection, and returned to heathenism. In the south, Arduin of Ivrea strove to make of Italy a separate kingdom, independent of Germany. Henry II. marched three times across the Alps. The first time he obtained the crown of Lombardy, in Pavia, which was burned in an attempt at rebellion (1006); the second time, he obtained in Rome, for himself and his wife Cunigunda, the crown of the Cæsars (1014); and the third time he succeeded in establishing his own imperial power in Northern Italy (1022). Arduin died in a convent. In the west Henry engaged in wars with his next neighbors in Flanders, and with rebels in Luxemburg; but above all for the throne of Burgundy. The ruler of Burgundy was Rudolf III, the emperor's uncle; but he was childless, and was not respected by his troublesome nobles. He named Henry II. his heir; so that there was a prospect of adding to the empire this important country, including most of Switzerland, with the valley of the Rhone almost to the sea. Rudolf, indeed, was ready to abdicate at once. But the Burgundian nobles would not acknowledge the succession, and their weak king himself began to waver. It required two campaigns to assure the inheritance of this crown to Henry. In the interior of Germany, local insurrections occurred from time to time, and showed the defiant spirit of the great nobles toward the emperor, and the strength of which they were conscious. It was no longer, as in Otto the Great's day, only the mighty dukes who ventured to disobey; but counts and other feudal proprietors dared, sometimes in their own strength, to resist the weakened government of the empire.

§ 25. The Ottos had wished to make Italy the seat of their empire; and in this effort had sacrificed the foundations of their power. Henry II. turned back with all his affections to Germany. He could no longer wield over dukes, counts, and margraves the powers of Otto the Great, and could decide no question of great moment without consulting them; so that the meetings of the Diet under him were frequent. In France the great fiefs held of the crown by the nobles had long been regarded as hereditary, and the tendency to treat them as such in Germany was now too strong for Henry to resist. Thus the noblemen steadily gained in independence. He however restrained their feuds, guarded with care the peace of the land, and occasionally interfered in behalf of the poor, whom they oppressed. Above all, he founded the strength of his sovereignty on the spiritual authorities in the empire; himself naming the archbishops, bishops, and abbots in Germany as well as in Italy, causing them to share the burdens of the empire, using their goods as his own, and always relying on their aid. They thus formed for him and his successors a counterpoise to the secular princes, who were constantly growing more independent; and the imperial throne was strong as long as it could command their support. This was the more easily secured, since Henry himself gave efficient aid to the papal see.

§ 26. Southern Italy was threatened, on one side, by the Saracens, on the other by the Byzantines, as it had been in the days of Otto II. The former twice besieged Salerno, but the city was delivered by forty Norman knights, on their way home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of the country, in their gratitude, invited the countrymen of their preservers to come and settle in the fair South. Thus, in 1016, the first Normans entered Italy, and began to form settlements, and to fight against Saracens and Greeks. The Greeks, however, continuing to extend their possessions, Henry II., with a large army, came once more across the Alps (1020), with the pope's approval, and marched through the peninsula, almost to its extreme southern point. He was not able to expel his enemies entirely; but he was able, on returning, to leave Central and Northern Italy in peace and good order, and closely united with his empire. And in Ger-

many he found, on his return, the same good order. The toilsome work of his life had been a success, and the empire was again made firm. The Church, too, through the emperor and other pious men, was awakened to a more serious purpose, especially in Lorraine and Burgundy. Henry II. was pious, and devoted to the Church; but was by no means the weak, monkish man represented in the legends of the Roman saints, among whom he was afterward numbered. Death overtook the emperor, whose health had long been sinking, at Grona, near Göttingen, July 13, 1024. The Saxon imperial dynasty died out on Saxon ground, whence it had sprung. His corpse was deposited at Bamberg, where he had recently erected a powerful bishopric.

§ 27. The imperial house of Saxony, which became extinct at the death of Henry II., is memorable as the dynasty which welded together the German tribes, and thus laid the foundation of German national unity. It included two great monarchs, Henry I., who created the German Empire, and Otto the Great, who rapidly raised it to the foremost rank among powers. Otto II. maintained its greatness with difficulty; under Otto III., the Child, it fell to pieces. Henry II. built up the imperial throne again, chiefly upon ecclesiastical foundations, so that it was still the first of all the Western monarchies. But the dukes, who, under Otto the Great, were still but officers of the crown, and might be displaced at the monarch's will, had now become hereditary rulers, who held in check the royal authority. The extensive subjugation and colonization of the Slavonic territory in the East began in the time of the first two monarchs. But Otto I. turned the whole drift of imperial effort toward Italy; and the predominance of this policy continued under his son and grandson; so that the conquests already made over the Wends were again for centuries neglected and abandoned. But in Germany there was at least established among the several tribes an imperial unity, and with it a consciousness of national life, that could never afterward be entirely lost.





Conrad II. (1024-1039).

## CHAPTER VII.

### EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA, A.D. 1024-1125.

- § 1. Election of Conrad II. § 2. His Throne Established. § 3. He is Crowned at Rome. Defeat and Death of Ernest of Suabia. § 4. Conrad Strengthens the Lower Nobility. § 5. His Wars in Italy, and Death. § 6. Henry III., his Conquests and Successes. § 7. The Church during his Reign. § 8. Rebellion in Germany. The Normans in Italy. § 9. Death of Henry III. § 10. Henry IV. § 11. Disorders during his Minority. § 12. His Vigorous and Arbitrary Efforts to Restore the Royal Power. § 13. He Suppresses the Saxon Rebellion. § 14. Gregory VII. Attacks the Imperial Authority. § 15. War between the Pope and the Emperor. § 16. Henry IV. does Penance at Canossa. § 17. Henry Renews the Struggle. His Success. § 18. The First Crusade. § 19. The Sons of

Henry IV. in Rebellion. § 20. His Last Days and Death. § 21. Henry V. Maintains the Struggle against the Pope. § 22. A New Insurrection. § 23. The Concordat of Worms. § 24. End of the Franconian Dynasty.

§ 1. SINCE the imperial house of Saxony became extinct by the death of Henry II., the choice of his successor belonged to the entire nation. This was so universally admitted that no one seems to have thought of usurping the throne. Strong and independent in their own possessions as were the great lords, none of them dared to defy the public opinion of the empire; and by general consent, since there was no claimant of the blood of the late king, a peculiarly formal and deliberate method of consulting the people was adopted. But "the people" at that time meant only freemen—men not held even to feudal service—and these were now comparatively few, except among the clergy and the nobility. "The German people," then, who assembled, September 4, A.D. 1024, at Kamba, on the Rhine, in full view of the hallowed plain between the Odenwald and the Donnersberg, consisted of, first, the clergy—archbishops, bishops, and abbots; next, the dukes, counts, gentlemen, and freemen, all encamped, according to their tribes, on the open land, since no building could hold them. On the left bank were the men of Upper and Lower Lorraine; on the right, the Saxons, Franks, Suabians, and Bavarians. Here were five tribes, or nations, each with its own national character, but in their consciousness already one great people, who could no longer live without a common sovereign. So much had been accomplished toward national unity by the Saxon dynasty within a century. The election was conducted by the great nobility, and the result was long doubtful. At length the choice lay between two Franks of the ducal house of the Conradini, both named Conrad. The elder had been especially prominent among the princes, since his marriage with Gisela, widow of Ernest I., Duke of Suabia. He now took his cousin aside, and agreed with him that both should cheerfully acquiesce in the result, whatever it might be. Then the Archbishop of Mayence led the way in declaring for him as the elder. The princes followed; and his competitor took an active part in preventing any disturbance or confusion, while the whole people confirmed the choice, shouting as he showed himself to them. The rejoic-

ing throug then betook themselves on the same day to **Mayence**, where, in the cathedral, **Conrad II.** was anointed and crowned.

Thus a new dynasty was seated on the throne of Germany—Franks, from the vine-clad banks of the Rhine and the fruitful plains of the Main: a resolute, fiery, hot-blooded race, very different from the cooler Saxons, but with endowments not less than theirs. The very type of this character was found in the newly elected emperor. He came forth with a noble and imposing presence, which seemed to declare that the choice could not have fallen more worthily.

§ 2. Fortune, which had favored the first Saxon emperors, smiled also upon the new dynasty. In its very first year, **Boleslaw Chrabry**, King of Poland, died; and by the disputes of his sons, who even invited the Germans into their country, his great kingdom fell to pieces as fast as it had been built up. Thus Poland gradually became again dependent on the empire. **Conrad II.** formed a friendly alliance with **Canute the Great**, under whom the Danes had returned to the Christian faith, and who also governed Norway and England. **Conrad** even voluntarily ceded to him the margravate of Schleswig, which **Henry I.** had formed as a protection to the empire on the north; and again made the Eider the northern boundary of Germany, as **Charlemagne** had fixed it. What the empire lost here he hoped to restore to it gloriously in another quarter. **Rudolf of Burgundy** was childless, and near his end; and his land was expected to fall to the empire; as had been agreed with **Henry II.** But **Rudolf** now pretended that he had granted the reversion of his kingdom to **Henry** personally, and not as king of the Germans. **Ernest of Suabia**, **Conrad II.**'s step-son, was the nearest of kin and heir to **Rudolf**, and he resisted **Conrad**'s claim, entering into a secret agreement with several other pretenders to the inheritance, with the French Count **Otto of Champagne**, and even with **King Robert of France**. The younger **Conrad**, too, who was never entirely contented with the election of his cousin, joined **Ernest**, as did the Dukes of Upper and Lower Lorraine. The danger seemed to be great. **Conrad** moved up the left bank of the Rhine against the confederates; but here he had the good fortune to welcome to his

side his previous opponent, Gozelo, the bold and enterprising Duke of Lower Lorraine, whose presence with him terrified the allies, so that peace was restored almost without a struggle. At a Diet held in Augsburg, Ernest the Suabian submitted, though with reluctance and ungraciously.

§ 3. In the same year, 1026, the third of his reign, Conrad was able to make his first visit to Rome. The ambitious and potent Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, was hoping for a patriarchate which should be independent of Rome; and, needing for this purpose the friendship of Conrad, received him with reverence, and escorted him through Italy, where he was every where acknowledged as sovereign, almost without opposition or murmuring. At Rome, March 26, 1027, Conrad received from Pope John XIX. the imperial crown. Here he also met Rudolf, King of Burgundy, who visited Italy expressly to attend his coronation, and Canute the Great of Denmark. He confirmed his friendly relations with both, and betrothed his son Henry to Canute's daughter Gunhilde. But he did not succeed in subduing Southern Italy. Here, between the Greeks and the Saracens, the Normans had already seized upon land and fortresses; and Conrad confirmed these settlers in their possessions, in return for their recognition of him as feudal lord, not suspecting what a dangerous foe to the empire he was thus nourishing. He then returned home, when he was soon again busied with his relations to his step-son Ernest of Suabia.

Conrad II., finding that Ernest, supported by Werner and others, was bent on reviving by force his claims to Burgundy, summoned a great Diet at Ulm. Ernest came to it, at the head of a strong force of vassals; but when he proposed to them to rebel against the emperor, they refused, assuring him of their fealty to him as their feudal lord, but declaring themselves bound by a still higher fealty to the sovereign of the empire. This result, the effect of Conrad's firmness and diplomatic skill, left Ernest helpless. He could only throw himself upon the emperor's mercy, and Conrad at once arrested him, and confined him in the fortress of Gibichenstein, near Halle (A.D. 1027). But within three years the intercession of his mother, Gisela, obtained once more the pardon of her son. The emperor desired to make a friend of

him, and offered to restore Suabia to him, on condition that he should betray his life-long friend, Werner of Kiburg, who was still in rebellion, and had found a hiding-place in the Black Forest. But Ernest preferred any fate to this breach of faith, and obstinately left the court, and joined Werner and his band in the Black Forest, where they lived by plunder, and defied the ban of the empire. A desperate struggle followed, in which both Ernest and Werner were slain. But the people took sides, in their legends and songs, with the unfortunate youth who had fought for his inheritance against a severe step-father, and compared his fate with that of the equally unfortunate Ludolf, son of Otto the Great. Indeed, legend merged the two stories into one, and thus arose the song of Ernest of Suabia, which was long sung in the Middle Ages, and represents the two friends as finally going to the East upon a crusade, and meeting with manifold adventures. After the death of Rudolf III., in 1032, Conrad, at an assembly at Peterlingen, in Switzerland, in 1033, formally proclaimed the union of Burgundy with Germany. But since Burgundy was ruled almost exclusively by the great nobility, the sovereignty of the German emperors there was never much more than nominal. Besides, the country, from the Bernese Oberland to the Mediterranean, except that part of Allemannia which is now German Switzerland, was inhabited by a Romance people, too distinct in language, customs, and laws from the German empire ever really to form a part of it. Thus this accession of dominion had a splendid appearance, but brought little actual power. Yet Switzerland was thenceforth connected forever with the development of Germany, and for five hundred years remained a part of the empire, which thus seemed to have made one step toward fulfilling the idea of universal sovereignty.

§ 4. Up to this time the vigorous monarch had been successful in every thing. He strove to make his power permanent. All the nobles already held their fiefs as hereditary possessions. The Diet at Ulm had shown that the sovereign might find support against them in the minor vassals of the princes themselves. It was only by making these the zealous friends of the empire that he could keep the growing power of the great dukes and counts in check. It therefore be-

came his policy to make the tenants of these nobles as independent as possible of their feudal lords, and with this in view he formally decreed that their fiefs should also be hereditary and perpetual. This policy was, on the whole, successful: all offices and estates throughout the empire became hereditary. Conrad believed that the time had come when the analogy could be applied to the crown, and sought to establish the right of inheritance in it; but in this he failed. But he accomplished more by his efforts, as the great ducal houses died out, to bring their dignities into his own family. Thus he gave Bavaria and Suabia to his son Henry. This was the first step toward doing away with the ducal power, so dangerous to the emperor. Besides, like Henry II., he found great strength in the bishops, whose nomination belonged exclusively to him; and he was especially persistent in appointing his near kindred to the great spiritual offices. By this policy, it is true, he was serving his own ambition rather than the Church. Many a bishop brought very worldly aims to his work, and the discipline of the Church grew worse and worse. Yet Conrad II. administered justice and kept the peace with a strong hand.

§ 5. Toward the close of his life, great disturbances in Italy summoned the emperor again across the Alps. He wrongly blamed, as the instigator of disorder, Aribert, whose ambition had long offended him. He found a strong support in Central Italy, especially in Tuscany, whose faithful margrave, Boniface, he had married to his kinswoman, Beatrice, the wealthy heiress of Upper Lorraine; but he laid siege to Aribert in Milan without success. Then, for the first time, Aribert armed the citizens of Milan, as they thronged about their giant "carroccio," or standard-car, and gave them an organization and laws. This was the germ of that free citizenship in the Italian cities which brought such severe conflicts upon later emperors. After reducing the rest of Italy to order, the emperor returned to Germany, and died soon after at Utrecht, June 4, 1039. He was buried at Spire, in the magnificent cathedral which he had built.

Conrad II.'s reign accomplished a great work for Germany. The growth of the ducal power had long threatened to break up the nation into distinct tribes and districts. He curbed

the arrogance of these princes, and treated them as officers of the empire. He recovered from them the ancient lands of the crown, and strengthened against them the cities and the lower orders of nobility. Thus he contributed largely to build up that consciousness of national unity on which the strength of a national organization must rest. But the personal character of Conrad II. is not attractive. He was often cruel and harsh, and his administration of Church affairs was subordinated to his own ambition and avarice, so that he notoriously sold high spiritual offices for political services, and even for money.



Henry III. (1039-1056).

§ 6. Henry III. (1039-1056), son of Conrad II. and Gisela, had long before been chosen and anointed for his successor;

and from childhood was trained by his father to affairs of war and state. His mother had besides taken care that he should be educated in all the learning of the times. Thus, though only twenty-three years of age, he brought to the government a manly maturity of mind. It was only in the neighboring countries that conflicts awaited him. The condition of Germany was such that no opposition met him there. Several expeditions to Bohemia were necessary, before the bold Duke Bretislaw, who aspired to independence, submitted (A.D. 1041). Henry III. increased the influence of the empire in Hungary. St. Stephen, who had permanently established the Christian religion there, and had also lessened the dependence of his kingdom upon Germany, was now dead; and his nephew, Peter, was driven out by a rebel. Henry restored him, but required him to cede the land as far as the March and the Leith, and made Leopold of Babenberg Margrave of Austria. The ancient margraviate of Carinthia he divided into the marks of Styria and Carniola. Henry found it necessary to make two more expeditions into the heart of Hungary; but at last Peter accepted his throne as a fief of Germany, so that the imperial sway of Henry was complete. His first great act of internal administration was to prevail on the Diet at Constance, in 1043, to decree that there should be no right of private vengeance, but that quarrels should be decided by law. Although the whole nation was now in wild disorder, with private feuds and the violence and oppression of the nobles, yet he enforced this decree with such vigor that the land soon enjoyed substantial peace, and better order than had been known for centuries. At Goslar, in 1043, among the embassies which came to do honor to the emperor, was one from Russia, which finally offered him the hand of the czar's daughter. But he proudly declined it, and took for his second wife Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Poitiers. By this marriage he allied himself with the princely nobility of France, and strengthened his position also in Burgundy. He even formed plans still more grasping than those entertained by his father, and cherished the hope that from Burgundy he could extend his sway over all France, then much weakened by dissensions.

§ 7. But Henry exercised his power as a sovereign not



merely for secular ends, but with a constant regard to the Church. The manners of the eleventh century were less civilized than those of the tenth had been; and, besides, indescribable misfortunes fell upon the people of Germany, Italy, Burgundy, and France, from wars, all kinds of deeds of violence, famine, and pestilence. At such a time of distress, the papal see, as the notions of that age taught, ought to afford relief; but Rome itself was the scene of the greatest degeneracy of all, and the popes neither received nor deserved any reverence. The distresses of the times awakened, first in the convent of Cluny, in Burgundy, a serious, penitent, and pious disposition; which found expression, however, according to the spirit of the times, in acts of penance and monkish discipline. It was from this place that the so-called "peace of God" was most efficiently promoted. This was originally proposed as an agreement among all Christians to lay aside all feuds and enmities, and live together in peace. But the Church was not strong enough to enforce this rule; and it was modified into an injunction, on penalty of excommunication, that all fighting, public or private, should be suspended from Wednesday evening of each week to the following Monday morning (A.D. 1043). Pious men did every thing in their power to establish this "treuga Dei," or truce of God, as a universal custom, under the sanction of all religious feelings; and their success was so considerable that the horrors of war were for a long time mitigated. So great was the influence of the example set at Cluny that some hundreds of convents in Burgundy and France united in the "Congregation of Cluny;" and this religious enthusiasm seized upon the best men of that time, and, among them, upon Henry III. He could see no escape from the corruptions of the age but in rigid severity of life; and thought it his calling as emperor to confer this blessing upon his people, and to set them the example. Thenceforth he appointed none but serious, worthy men to bishoprics, and took from them neither money nor presents. He regarded the office of emperor as a sacred trust, for the reformation of Christianity; and never placed the imperial crown on his brow without causing himself to be beaten with stripes. While thus humbling himself, he felt the more deeply his calling to wield the strong hand of the foremost

monarch on earth in support of the Church. There were then in Rome three popes struggling for the chair of St. Peter. Marching to Rome, Henry held in the midst of his army at Sutri a synod, in the autumn of 1046, which marks the culmination of his power, and perhaps that of the splendor of the empire. The synod passed a solemn decree vesting in the emperor the right to nominate the successor of St. Peter. Henry at once deposed all three of the popes, and in their stead enthroned a pious German, Suidgar, Bishop of Bamberg, as Clement II.; from whose hands, in 1047, he received the imperial crown in St. Peter's at Rome. The best of the deposed popes, Gregory VI., went into exile in Germany. His chaplain, Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, son of a carpenter of Siena in Italy, accompanied him, no man at that time suspecting his future greatness. Upon the death of Clement, in 1048, Henry III. named the Bishop of Brixen as his successor, and he became Pope Damasus II. But he died in a few weeks, and the Romans again sent to the emperor, begging him to appoint the universal bishop. Henry sent his kinsman, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, to Rome, where he was welcomed, and at once enthroned as Pope Leo IX. This fact alone suffices to show the wonderful height to which the influence of the empire had now been raised. Leo IX., for several years, steadily followed out Henry's plans of reforming the Church, putting down simony, and introducing a rigid discipline. Although he was much influenced by Hildebrand, and elevated the character and dignity of the holy see above what it had been for ages before, it was impossible, during Henry's life, even to claim for it that superiority to the civil power which was enforced by Hildebrand as Gregory VII. during the next generation.

§ 8. From the day of the synod of Sutri to his death, Henry III. was harassed by trials and opposition. Hungary now, upon the assassination of King Peter, again revolted from the empire; and Henry made three expeditions thither, with but moderate success. Gozelo of Lorraine, to whom Conrad II. owed so much, and to whom he had given the whole of Lorraine, also died. Henry determined to confer on Gozelo's son, Godfrey of the Long Beard, only Upper Lorraine. But Godfrey rebelled; was defeated, and confined as a prisoner

at Gibichenstein; and Henry granted both parts of Lorraine to others. Godfrey was then pardoned; but again began an obstinate rebellion, and was at last driven to Italy, where he obtained in marriage the hand of Beatrice of Tuscany, the widow of Boniface; so that this enemy of the emperor became the most powerful prince in Italy. In Lower Italy, too, changes took place that were to produce important results. The Normans, under Humphrey of Hauteville, had founded a kingdom which threatened the frontiers of the papal dominions. Pope Leo IX., himself of German descent, was at war with them; and, in the fashion of the German bishops, he led his troops in person. At the battle of Civitate, in 1054, he was defeated and made prisoner. But the Normans, who were both cunning and pious, treated the successor of St. Peter with the greatest respect; and the pope soon saw the importance of their friendship. He made peace with the Normans, who, disregarding the claims of the German emperor to Lower Italy, accepted the land in fee as vassals of the pope. This event, and the newly established power of Godfrey, compelled the emperor to make another expedition to Rome in 1055. Godfrey and Beatrice received him with submission and reverence; but could never be trusted afterward. Nor was he able to break up the treaty between the pope and the Normans.

§ 9. Upon his return, general discontent showed itself among the nobles of the empire, because Henry, like his father, endeavored to bring the great duchies into his own family, or to confer them upon insignificant persons dependent on himself. The complaints of the Saxons were especially loud; their ancient pride resenting their subjection to a Frank. The ducal house of the Billings in particular, who were allied with other great Saxon houses, thought themselves injured in their princely rights by the emperor and his friend Adalbert of Bremen. The presence of the emperor's court, henceforth held constantly among them, at Goslar, in order to keep them in subjection, was felt by the Saxons as a heavy burden. Discontent and conspiracy prevailed among the nobles throughout the empire; though the emperor still repressed them with an iron hand. But his situation was, in fact, as one of his faithful counselors and friends

saw it in a dream: "The emperor stood before his throne, with his hand upon his sword, and cried that he would yet strike down all his foes." While he was still in the flower of his age, death suddenly snatched him from a realm which never needed a strong ruler more than at that moment. The new pope, Victor II., whom he had nominated two years before, upon Leo IX.'s death, was with him on a visit. Many of the nobles were around him, at his residence in Bodfeld, in the Hartz Mountains, where he was devoting some days to the pleasures of the chase. Thither came the news of a defeat sustained by one of his armies at Pritzlawa, on the Elbe, in battle with the Wends. The death of the great sovereign suddenly followed the tidings; and his empire fell to a child six years old, who seemed to be defenseless against approaching ruin. Henry III. died October 5, 1056, in his thirty-ninth year.

§ 10. The first two emperors of the Franconian dynasty had held the reins of empire so firmly that the days of Charlemagne and of Otto the Great seemed to have returned. But the German tribes still retained that obstinate individuality which resisted a complete union; and now the personal interests of the nobles, which were endangered by a too powerful sovereign, drove them to work in the same direction; their princely power having been seriously diminished under Conrad II. and Henry III. The moment was a propitious one for all who dreaded a consolidated empire; for a child had suddenly ascended the throne, in place of the severest and strongest monarch they had ever had. As Theophano had exercised the regency for Otto III., so the Empress Agnes undertook to rule in the name of the young Henry IV., with Henry, Bishop of Augsburg, for her counselor. But envy, selfish ambition, and treason were already at work to destroy the royal prerogative. For while, under the earliest of the Franks, the times and manners were rough and cruel, they had now become reckless and without restraint, and all reverence for law and duty seemed lost.

§ 11. Disorders soon broke out in various places. There were rumors of conspiracies in Saxony against the young emperor's life. Agnes made many concessions, in order to win friends; and even then she could not be sure of them. Otto,



Henry IV. (1056-1106).

a Saxon nobleman, of the family of the Nordheims, whose possessions lay near Göttingen, received from her the dukedom of Bavaria, which Henry III. had taken for his own family. A Suabian noble, Rudolf of Rheinfeld, violently carried off the young daughter of the empress from the nunnery where she was at school, and, having thus made himself her son-in-law, obtained the dukedom of Suabia. That of Carinthia, Agnes bestowed upon Berthold of Zähringen. Nor could she, even by such concessions, buy faithful allegiance. All these men were untrustworthy; and the centre of all the conspiracies, whose aim was to deprive the empress of all her power, and to give it to the great nobles, was Hanno, Archbishop of

Cologne; a man of inferior birth, but ambitious, unrelenting, and cunning, though his outward life was one of monkish sanctity. The natural result was that the influence of the empire in neighboring countries—in Italy, Hungary, and among the Wends—was lost; and this was laid to the charge of the empress, who was also accused of educating her son effeminately. In short, Hanno and the princes in his conspiracy determined on a criminal project. The empress and her son, now twelve years old, were at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. Hanno came to their court, and after a cheerful meal with them invited the young emperor to sail with him in his beautiful boat on the river. Without suspicion, the boy embarked with Hanno and some of the conspirators. The sailors rowed briskly far away, leaving the mother to lament for him on her balcony, while the people followed along the bank, venting their curses on the robbers. The young monarch himself, in terror, apprehending death, leaped into the river, and was rescued with difficulty. But the enterprise was successful; and Hanno, with the person of the emperor in his hands, was sustained by the nobles in the demand that he should have the regency (1062). The condition of the empire was not improved by the change. The empress retired from the world, and ended her days in exercises of piety in Italy. Under Hanno's sway, the royal authority became the prey of the strongest; and the young emperor himself became an eyewitness, a few years later, of a deadly fight in the cathedral of Goslar, in which contentious churchmen fought in the holy place for worldly honors.

§ 12. The young monarch grew suspicious, and full of ravenous hatred, under these influences; and as far as he could, he threw himself into the arms of another guide, Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. This prelate was prouder than Hanno, and no less ambitious. He was striving to obtain the erection of his see, still the centre from which the missionary work was carried on across the North Sea and the Baltic, into a patriarchate of the North. He had been the friend of Henry III., and now sought the friendship also of the young Henry IV., and gained it, mainly by flattery and compliance. On attaining his sixteenth year, according to German law, the emperor's majority was formally proclaimed by the archbish-

op's girding him with the sword; but Adalbert continued to control him for several years afterward. In his undertakings, Adalbert had in many ways made enemies of the Saxon nobles; and it was especially against them that he stirred up the suspicions of young Henry; not without reason, since they were actually entertaining wicked plots against him. Meanwhile the emperor was growing into independence. He found little left of the power, the property, or the law of his ancestors, and all his effort was to recover these. In this work he exhibited all of his father's iron strength of will. But the youth's hot blood often boiled within him, and hurried him on to acts of violence, and still oftener to excesses, which were exaggerated by the calumnies of his enemies. He endeavored to tame the wild spirit of the Saxons, and made use of the same means which the Germans had adopted in Italy, that of erecting fortresses in commanding situations through the country. But since much arbitrary violence was practiced by the occupants of these places on their neighbors, he thus made enemies of the whole mass of the Saxons, and not of single noblemen as before. But Henry took further measures to overthrow his enemies, who had ruled so long. A man appeared to accuse Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, of conspiracy against the emperor's life; and offered to appeal to "the judgment of God" in support of the charge. Henry deposed Otto, and put him under the ban, and with him Magnus, Duke of Saxony, of the Billing family, whom he soon after imprisoned in his citadel in the Hartz. He seemed to mean to do away entirely with the ducal office in Saxony; but he gave Bavaria to a man named Welf, of an ancient Suabian house. Meanwhile Adalbert died, just as all his favorite plans had failed; for the Wends, among whom he had undertaken, with the help of Godschalk, one of their princes, to found a number of subordinate bishoprics, revolted, and swept Christianity from their territory.

§ 13. Henry was extravagant in his habits, and wasted the royal revenues, already reduced by maladministration during his infancy. He was in want, and confiscated Church estates to obtain supplies; while his advisers and friends shared in the plunder. Their rapacity brought him general hatred; while the open sale of ecclesiastical offices, which he renewed,

corrupted public morals, and made the reformers of the Church his enemies. The vigor with which Henry IV. seized the reins of government only hastened a general conspiracy of the nobles of the empire against him. In Saxony the whole people took part in it—clergy, noblemen, and commoners. They all murmured at the intolerable oppression practiced by Henry's garrisons. Otto of Nordheim was the head of the league. In South Germany, Rudolf of Suabia was in the plot, and Welf and Hanno had knowledge of it. Pope Alexander II., also, guided by Hildebrand, now Archdeacon of the Church of Rome, had already begun to meddle in German affairs. With all the authority of the Church, he resolutely resisted Henry's wicked purpose to divorce his noble wife, Bertha, and also sought to act as a mediator, in answer to the requests of the Saxons. Meanwhile all was ready for the outbreak. In 1073, "all Saxony," says a chronicler, "revolted, as one man, from the king," and marched, eighty thousand strong, to the Hartzburg, a stately citadel near Goslar, which the king had built for a residence upon a commanding height. After useless negotiations, Henry made a narrow escape by flight. When he then summoned his princes around him, no one came; and here and there it began to be said that he must be entirely abandoned, and another monarch chosen. In this extremity, the cities alone remained faithful to the emperor, who for some time lay sick almost to death in his loyal city of Worms. The strong disposition which the people of the cities now showed to ally themselves with the crown, against the pretensions and oppression of the higher nobility, greatly modified the emperor's policy. As soon as he recovered, he went to work with real skill and energy to attach these flourishing communities still more closely to himself, as well as to disunite his enemies, and to win over some of the strongest of them. In this he succeeded well. He first defeated his foreign enemies in Hungary, and then, with unrelenting activity, set his hand to the internal affairs of the country, throughout which he rapidly found friends. The Archbishop of Mayence, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bohemia, and then Welf, Duke of Bavaria, joined him; and finally Rudolf, who, a little before, had been plotting shamefully against him, thought it prudent to display great zeal in his cause. The union of the



South German princes with the Saxons was broken, and Henry improved the breach with skill. The Saxons, under a treaty which permitted them to break down the walls of the Hartzburg, had wantonly destroyed all the buildings, even burning the church and desecrating the graves. For these crimes the Archbishop of Mayence put them under the ban; and in June, 1075, Henry marched against them, with such a splendid army as hardly any emperor had ever led before. They now offered atonement and subjection, and Henry had an opportunity to reconcile himself peacefully with his people, for the good of both; but his irritated passions thirsted for revenge. After a march of extraordinary rapidity, he fell suddenly upon the Saxons and their allies, the Thuringians, on the meadows of the Unstrutt, at Langensalza, near Hohenburg. His army, drawn up in an order resembling that which Otto the Great had formed on the Lech, obtained, after a fierce hand-to-hand fight of nine hours, a bloody victory. When the Saxons finally yielded and fled, the battle became a massacre. The rage of the long-baffled victors expended itself in pursuing and cutting down the fugitives, and it is asserted that of the foot soldiers, who composed the mass of the Saxon army of 60,000, hardly any escaped; though of the noblemen, who had swift horses, few were slain. But it was a battle of Germans with Germans, and on the very evening of the struggle the lamentations over so many slain by kindred hands could not be suppressed in the emperor's own camp. Yet for the time the spirit of Saxon independence was crushed. Henry was really master of all Germany, and seemed to have established the imperial throne again. And so it might have proved, had he not been unexpectedly plunged into a still more critical struggle.

§ 14. We have seen that, amid the degeneracy of the eleventh century, its prevailing misery and violence, the convent of Cluny became the centre of a moral reformation, though one that was clothed in a gloomy and ascetic form. In this reformation Henry III. took an active interest. Hildebrand introduced it into Italy, at the papal court, where, for nearly two hundred years, the popes had utterly neglected the high calling which the faith of that age assigned to them. During the life of Henry III., the Romans, who still nominally retained

the power of electing the pope, listened to Hildebrand's advice, and accepted the designation made for them by the emperor. During the minority of Henry IV., the election was made, for the first time, by the college of cardinals, who, between 1056 and 1061, set up four popes in rapid succession. At last, in 1073, Hildebrand was chosen by them, and became Pope Gregory VII., the emperor, after some delay, consenting to his accession. This great man began at once to carry out his own ideas. The time of humiliation before the secular power, he thought, was past. The Church had in its hands the means of supreme dominion in Christendom. Learning was its monopoly; the clergy could read and write, but scarce a king or a nobleman could write his name. Priests were their secretaries, their historians, their teachers and counselors; they framed the decrees of the Diet, and possessed all the secrets of state. They entered every family, heard the confidences of every stricken heart or doubting mind at the confessional, and held over every pious or superstitious soul the terrors of another world. All that the clergy needed, to be supreme, was an organization of their power under one mind, and this was what Hildebrand now undertook to give them. He steadily strove to free the Church from secular influence, even from that of the emperor. He therefore enforced the celibacy of the clergy; a rule which had sometimes been proposed by Church councils, but had never before been carried out. Thenceforth the clergy, deprived of all family ties, were to regard themselves simply as members of that great ecclesiastical community which was engaged in fulfilling the will of St. Peter's successor, the vicegerent of God and of Christ on earth, as declared from Rome. Momentous as this decree was, in its effect upon the Church and the people at large, it still might have seemed to concern the emperor but little. But a second decree followed, in a council held in 1075, which struck at the roots of his power. It declared that thenceforth bishops should not be inducted into office by the emperor or by any secular prince; or, as it was expressed, that the *investiture* of bishops—that is, the form of conferring on them the ring and staff, the badges of their office—should no longer be the prerogative of any layman. The chapter of the cathedral, including all the clergy attached to it, was to elect the

bishop, subject to confirmation by the pope. No gift or payment should be made upon receiving this holy office, under the penalties of "simony" (Acts of the Apostles, viii., 18). In short, Hildebrand's fixed purpose was to make the facts conform to his own favorite metaphor, in which, while the emperor was the moon, the pope was the sun—its upholder, and the source of its life and light.

§ 15. This decree was an especially hard blow to the sovereigns of Germany, who, since the time of Henry II., had sought and found their principal strength in the episcopacy. The possessions of the clergy comprised a considerable part of the soil of the empire; and as long as the king nominated the bishops, he held in his hands the control of these lands and their incomes. Henry IV. had none of his father's rigid regard for the interests of the Church, but often and openly disposed of bishoprics under the pressure of his own necessities, and for money. Both parties to such transactions were in 1075 put by Gregory VII. under the ban of the Church for simony. Gregory even required the emperor to remove all bishops thus appointed, and threatened, if he should refuse, to inflict on him the punishments of the Church. Henry had for a long time seen with apprehension the pope's increasing assumption of authority; and now that he had defeated the Saxons and regained his supremacy in the empire, he undertook to wield his father's power, and to depose Gregory, not appreciating the decline of the empire in his own hands, or the wonderful strength of the papacy when wielded with the spirit of Gregory. In January, 1076, he held at Worms a synod of German bishops, most of whom, indeed, were far from being examples to the Church of good living and of high culture, and caused them, upon some trifling accusations, to pass a decree of deposition against Gregory VII. The pope replied by the ban of excommunication—the first time any pope had thus attacked a German sovereign. Henry was soon to learn the meaning of the ban, which loosed all ties of feudal allegiance. It was made especially dangerous by the condition of the empire, and by his own unwise conduct, for he chose this time to defy public opinion, and to oppress his Saxon and Thuringian subjects, in particular, more cruelly than ever. The pope's ban was the signal of

revolt to the princes, who were already jealous of the restored royal power. In the autumn of this year (1076) they held a council at Tribur, on their ancient election field, and gave notice to the emperor that, unless the ban were removed within a year and a day, they could no longer regard him as their sovereign.

§ 16. Henry, abandoned by all, and hearing that Gregory VII was already on his way to Germany to give judgment in his case, resolved to submit. It seemed his only prudent course to conciliate the pope. He therefore made the journey across the Alps at once, though it was the depth of a severe winter, and the streams were frozen almost to their beds. He did not, like his fathers, march at the head of hosts of warriors to Italy; but went as a penitent, accompanied only by his noble wife, Bertha, whom he had persecuted in his prosperity, but who was his guardian angel in these dark days; by a few faithful attendants, and the bishops who had been excommunicated with him. In Lombardy, where there was strong opposition to Gregory's innovations, Henry received offers of aid in resistance; but he refused them all, and hastened to Canossa, to the fortress of Matilda, the powerful Marchioness of Tuscany, a daughter of that Beatrice who had given so much anxiety to Henry III. She was entirely devoted to Gregory VII. as her spiritual father, and had invited him to abide there under her protection. On January 25, 1077, the emperor stood barefoot in the snow, clad in hair-cloth, without attendants and without food, from morning to night, in the court-yard of the castle, begging for pardon from the pope. The same thing occurred the next day, and the third day; and at length, on the morning of the fourth day, Gregory received the suppliant monarch, and removed the ban, though only on conditions which made the crown of Germany, for the time, a dependency of the Bishop of Rome. He then brake with the emperor the bread of the holy supper, and invoked the immediate wrath of heaven, if he were guilty of the crimes with which Henry had charged him; adding, "Do as I do, my son, if you are guiltless wherein the princes accuse you." But the emperor did not dare to make a like appeal to the judgment of God.

§ 17. The pope's ban was removed; but the disaffection of

the German princes toward Henry was greater than ever. On March 13, 1077, they assembled in a Diet at Forchheim, in his absence, and decreed that the German crown was and must always be elective, not hereditary, and dependent on the will of the nation. They also agreed to depose Henry IV.; and, after much shameful intrigue and bargaining, which disgusted even the pope's legate, and led him to denounce the election as simony, they chose Henry's brother-in-law, Rudolf of Suabia, their king. But the cities at once rejected him, and the people drove him out of Mayence, whither he came to be crowned. The pope demanded that the two claimants should leave it to him to decide between them. Then, at length, Henry recovered his manly spirit and took up arms. The ban was again laid on him (1080); but he carried on the struggle in Germany with unwearied vigor, and even called his bishops together again, and decreed the deposition of the pope. The land was filled with bloodshed and desolation; the result was long in doubt, most of the nobles turning this way and that, as fortune seemed to incline. But Henry found an efficient support in Frederick of Hohenstaufen, a Suabian nobleman, whose achievements now first made his house illustrious. Henry afterward gave him his daughter in marriage, and the duchy of Suabia in fee. Bohemia too was faithful to him throughout the struggle, and its duke was rewarded by him with the title of king. In the autumn of 1080, Rudolf was slain at Merseburg, in a battle which would otherwise have been a victory for him. It is said that the hand which slew him was that of Godfrey of Boulogne, the young son of the Prince of Lorraine, a man reserved for greater honors. It was reported and believed that Rudolf, in his last moments, repented of his rebellion; and the loss in the battle of his right hand, with which he had once sworn allegiance to Henry, was regarded as a judgment of God. His followers made haste to submit, and the emperor recovered his power so far that he was able to set up an antipope, and to undertake an expedition to Rome against Gregory VII. (1081). He pressed the pope hard in Rome; but Gregory took refuge in the Castle of San Angelo, where, with the firmness of iron, he refused to negotiate with the excommunicated emperor, while the antipope,

Clement (Guibert), bestowed on Henry the crown of the Cæsars. At last, when Hildebrand was almost reduced to extremities, he was rescued from capture by the Normans, under their king, Robert Guiscard, son of Humphrey of Hauteville. He died in exile at Salerno, in 1085, under the protection of the Normans, and leaving his ban still upon Henry IV. "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile," said he, in the tone of a martyr. His unyielding spirit and his lofty conception of the papacy were inherited by his successors. Henry IV. seemed outwardly to be the conqueror. But a series of misfortunes ruined his family, and mutual distrust destroyed the harmony between him and his nobles; though his cup of calamity was not yet half drained. Indeed, the ideas against which Henry was struggling were irresistible tendencies of the age; and while Gregory was driven by force from Rome, his principles were finding a home in men's thoughts throughout Christendom. Within ten years after Hildebrand's death, his successor in the papal chair was the recognized head of the united Christian nations in the greatest enterprise they ever attempted.

§ 18. The religious enthusiasm, which took its rise in Cluny, and spread through the Church under the influence of Hildebrand and his followers, soon found a visible goal to aim at. All Western Christendom arose in the effort to wrest the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. Thousands upon thousands, under the preaching of Peter the Hermit of Amiens, and at the exhortation of Pope Urban II., put on the badge of the cross. The movement embraced Germany, but especially Lower Lorraine. Yet the majority of the people, and the Emperor Henry IV., were not affected by the impulse; they looked with astonishment on the disorderly throng of hermits who passed through Germany, showing their fierce zeal for the faith mainly by assassinating the Jews. Then came the more orderly army of crusaders led by Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince of the German Empire, who in 1099 actually obtained possession of the holy sepulchre, and whose brother became King of Jerusalem.

§ 19. This new agitation of the Church only added to the isolation of the still excommunicated emperor. As early as

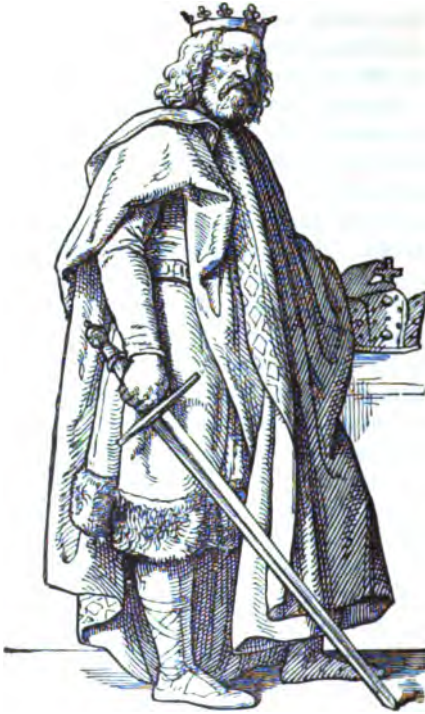
1092, his oldest son, Conrad, who had lived mostly in Italy, was induced to rebel against his father. Failing in this attempt, the youth soon after died in prison. The love and hope of the emperor, as he grew old, centred in his younger son, Henry. But he, too, fell under the influence of his father's enemies. The adherents of Rome, as well as many of the German princes, supposed that they, by assisting the youth to the throne, would obtain a claim upon him for greater concessions. Besides, they persuaded him that his father was under the ban, and that rebellion was therefore no sin. But young Henry was of a far more secretive and calculating turn than his father had been in youth. To the fierceness of all his race was added in him a cold, sly cunning. He too, in 1105, rebelled, and most of the South German princes joined him. Henry IV., in despair, took up arms to defend himself; and a civil war, yet more horrible than any before it, desolated the empire.

§ 20. The father and son met at the river Regen, the former still strong in the support of Leopold of Austria and of the Duke of Bohemia. Skirmishing had gone on for three days without result, when young Henry promised Leopold of Austria the hand of his sister Agnes, the widow of Duke Frederick of Staufen. With Leopold the whole army deserted the aged emperor, and he stood, like Lewis the Pious on "the Field of Lies," alone. But the favor which his forefathers, and he more than any of them, had shown to the cities, did him now good service. Through the rights and immunities granted them by the emperors, from the time of Conrad II., they had become flourishing communities, especially the rich, strongly fortified cities along the great avenue of traffic, the river Rhine. They all declared for the old emperor; and the fortunes of his impious son seemed to be waning. He put on the mask of hypocrisy, and came humbly to his father at Coblenz, asking forgiveness, promising that the princes then assembled at Mayence should adjust their dispute. The father forgave his son, and embraced him with tears, and then rode with him, unsuspectingly, to the appointed place of meeting. But the son had the wicked cunning to persuade him to enter the citadel of Böckelheim, in the valley of the Nahe. The portcullis fell behind the emperor, and he was his son's

prisoner. The young man and his nobles now demanded from him a voluntary abdication of the crown, and the surrender of the crown-jewels. Crushed by his misfortunes, the old man yielded; but he was still maltreated, and even put in fear of death. He made his escape, and the faithful citizens rallied once more to protect him. The war began anew; and the prospect seemed as doubtful as ever, when the tidings spread from Lüttich that the old emperor was dead (August 7, 1106). Even in death the pope's ban followed him, for his coffin was left upon unhallowed ground, unburied, for more than five years; but the people lamented bitterly their beloved sovereign, who had atoned for the errors of his youth by long and severe suffering. Certainly his last years did much, if the old chroniclers may be believed, to remove the stains of his early follies and crimes. He is represented as having, after his victory over Gregory VII., protected the poor against their oppressors, put down robbery, administered justice, and maintained the public peace. He certainly gained before his death the approval and esteem of that public opinion which had for many years held him in aversion and contempt.

§ 21. Henry V. was now recognized throughout the empire. He owed his crown to the papal party and the nobles; but upon taking possession of it, he showed that he had a will strong enough not to yield any part of his authority to any one. He succeeded in restoring the dignity of the empire in Flanders, and in securing his western frontier; but on the east his campaigns against the Poles, Hungarians, and Bohemians were less decisive. There was little to change in his relations to the nobles of the kingdom. All the fiefs, not only of the dukes, but of the counts also, were now hereditary. The royal domains were greatly reduced. The king was scarcely any where the immediate lord of the soil. In time of war he summoned his great vassals, and then they summoned their inferior feudal dependents, and formed with these the imperial armies. Thus the feudal constitution was extended to the lowest classes. But the monarch was still the sovereign feudal head of the whole system; and, with the control of this highly organized body, a strong ruler could certainly do more than any of the other kings in Eu-





Henry V. (1106-1125).

rope, who were no less restricted by their great vassals. Henry V. by no means lacked the wisdom and vigor his ancestors had shown. He was resolute and bold, but hasty and passionate, so that he overreached his own ends by violence. The papal party soon saw that they had misjudged him. He contended with the pope for the right of investiture with yet more determination than his father; and in 1110 he undertook, in this cause, a magnificent expedition to Rome. In Lombardy, in the fields of Roncaglia on the Adige, he held an imperial assembly, in which the cities of Italy, which had made still more rapid progress in pride and in prosperity than those of Germany, acknowledged his supremacy, except Milan and Pavia. In order to strengthen the Church, the Margravine Matilda, who had now become the wife of the

younger Welf, son of Welf of Bavaria, also acknowledged Henry as her feudal lord. In 1111 he went to Rome, when a fierce controversy arose with Pope Paschal II., upon the questions of his coronation and of investitures; but finally the pope yielded, and, in the ancient fashion, escorted Henry to St. Peter's Cathedral with songs of praise and festal rejoicings. But Henry had already caused the church to be occupied and surrounded by his Germans; and when discussion began again concerning the coronation, one of his followers cried out impatiently, "Why so much talk? My lord the king will be crowned as Charlemagne was." The pope refused to go on with the ceremony until the emperor should take an oath to renounce forever the right of investiture; but he was at once made prisoner by the Germans. Henry carried him off, in spite of the furious resistance of the Romans, cutting a way with the sword. But the spirit of Gregory VII. still lived in the Church. When the pope yielded, and, on his release from captivity, actually crowned Henry (April 13, 1111), and sanctioned his right to invest bishops with ring and staff, the French clergy and the cardinals pronounced the ban of the Church upon the emperor, and carried on the war with their spiritual weapons. Henry V. returned to Germany. His general, Hoier of Mansfeld, met the Saxon and Thuringian nobles, Lewis the Springer, Wieprecht of Groitzsch, and others, who had again risen against the emperor, at Warnstedt, north of the Hartz, in 1113, and defeated them.

§ 22. The emperor, now at the height of his power, gave his father a magnificent burial at Spire, and in 1114 celebrated at Mayence a splendid marriage with Matilda of England. Yet he did not succeed in preserving his royal supremacy unimpaired in North Germany, where the Saxon nobles were constantly striving for greater independence. Next came an insurrection in Cologne, the city refusing to furnish Henry with vessels against the Frisians; and the princes of the Lower Rhine were in league with the city. The emperor undertook to reduce it, but was repulsed with heavy loss, finding here the turning-point in his fortunes. Lewis of Thuringia, the builder of the Wartburg, who had attempted so much against Henry IV., and whom Henry V. had made prisoner,

became the centre of a new insurrection of Saxon and Thuringian nobles, and after a long and bloody contest they defeated the emperor at the Welfesholz, near Mausfeld in the Hartz, in 1115. All North Germany, and nearly the whole German Church, now deserted him. But in South Germany, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Suabia, maintained the royal authority, while Bavaria, under Welf II, was also faithful.

§ 23. The dispute concerning investitures was reopened by the pope, who, at the bidding of a synod at Rome, sent to Henry withdrawing his concessions. Another difference with the pope required his attention. On July 24, 1115, the Margravine Matilda died, bequeathing her vast estates to the holy see, although the lands were a fief of the empire, which, on failure of heirs, legally escheated to the crown. Henry V. also made claim to her allodial estates, as her next of kin, though he could not rightfully dispute her disposition of these by will. His adherents in Italy disregarded her bequests, and invited Henry to come and take possession of her estates. He accordingly marched to Italy, in February, 1116, and remained there two years, occupying the lands of Matilda, and making friends. In January, 1118, Paschal II. died. Henry set up an antipope, Gregory VIII., against his successor, Gelasius, and was put under the ban; but he remained the master of Italy, and his pope occupied Rome. Gelasius fled to France, where he died in exile, January 29, 1119, and the leader of the emperor's enemies among the cardinals was chosen to succeed him as Pope Calixtus II. He was a distinguished Burgundian, and a kinsman of Henry. Meanwhile the German princes, under the advice of Adalbert, Archbishop of Mayence, called a Diet to meet at Worms, to take measures for allaying the general discontent; and openly declared their purpose, if Henry V. should not be present, of deposing him, and electing another king. The emperor returned in haste to Germany, while Calixtus went to France, then a flourishing kingdom, and fast becoming a mainstay of the papal power. The emperor and the pope seemed already to be reconciled, and were ready to meet for negotiations at Rheims. But Calixtus dreaded Henry's cunning, and the fate of Paschal II.; the peace was broken, and once more the

thunderbolt of the ban fell upon Henry. Yet fortune still smiled upon the emperor in Germany, as upon the pope in Italy; and both, in their success, were inclined to a reconciliation. The German princes first united in a treaty with Henry V. under which peace was to be maintained and justice administered by the emperor throughout the realm, and the civil power to be upheld in independence of the clergy; and then they undertook the work of mediation with the pope. At length the controversy upon investitures, after fifty years of strife, was settled by the concordat of Worms, September 23, 1122. It was decided that the pope should have the right to invest the bishops with ring and crozier, but that the election of each should be made in the presence of the monarch or of his plenipotentiary; and that the new bishop should receive his estates as a fief of the crown by the touch of the emperor's sceptre, before he could be ordained. This compromise seemed practically to give the controlling influence over the clergy in Germany to the emperor; in Italy, to the pope. Thus the emperor had retained much of his authority; but still the bishops were thenceforth more dependent on Rome than on him, and the best support of the throne was much weakened. Henry died at Utrecht, May 23, 1125, leaving no children. This was regarded by the people, who never loved him, as the penalty of his own breach of filial duty, in his war against his father.

§ 24. The Franconian dynasty received from Henry II. a re-established empire, though the great fees of the crown had already become hereditary. Its first monarchs, Conrad I. and Henry III., were inferior to none of the German emperors. They strengthened the crown so that they could plausibly think once more of an empire, in the sense of Otto the Great, and even of a sort of universal sovereignty. It then descended to a child, whose weak hand could not curb the turbulent and jealous nobles. At this time, too, the Church came forward as a new power, with its resources better organized than those of the empire, with a deeper influence over the people, and with means of control which were mightier than the sword. In contending against the two powers, the nobles and the Church, Henry IV., whose own character was open to attack at so many points, was overthrown.

Toward the end of the eleventh century, all fiefs were hereditary; the bishoprics were out of the hands of the emperor, and he had but the strength of his personal followers and his own moral weight to rely on. In morality and culture, Germany in the eleventh century was behind the Romance nations, whose minds were just then awakening to new activity. The immense influence of the crusades was essential to bring on the new era with the knighthood and the bloom of the Middle Ages.



**Lothaire the Saxon (1125-1137).**

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN, A.D. 1138-1254.

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§ 1. THE natural heirs of the extinct Frank dynasty were the brothers Conrad and Frederick of Hohenstaufen. They were the nephews of Henry V., and as his heirs at once took possession of his private property. This family was the same which had first established the power of the unfortunate Henry IV. by its noble faithfulness to him. It took its name from the lofty hill Staufen, in Suabia, overlooking the valley of the Rems, with a wide prospect of vine-clad hillsides and of garden plains. They were of the meditative, poetical, and highly gifted tribe of Suabians, from which have sprung the best German poets of all times, and many other men of splendid genius. Frederick was Duke of Suabia, Conrad was Duke of the Franks. It seemed that the choice of sovereign must fall upon one of these brothers, and Frederick was regarded as the favorite. But both the nobles and the Church desired an emperor not too powerful, and one by no means disposed to attack the pope or the princely independence of the feudal lords; and they regarded either of the two Hohenstaufens as in these respects dangerous. The cardinals, who attended the election in the pope's name, as well as the nobles, turned their thoughts to another family. At the head of the Saxons, who revolted from Henry V., there stood a mighty and rich man, Lothaire of Süpplingenburg (now a village in Brunswick), who by inheritance and by marriage had united in his own possession the estates of the extinct Nordheimer family, around Göttingen, and those of the Brunos near Brunswick. At the head of the Saxons, he had long been the champion both of the nobles and of the Church against the emperor, and thus had a strong claim on them for the German crown.

§ 2. On the extinction of the royal house, an assembly of the whole German people was held, August 24, 1125, on the old election field of Kamba, as a hundred years before. Nearly sixty thousand came together. But only the nobles really took part in the election. A committee of forty electors was formed, from the four principal tribes—the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Bavarians. Adalbert, Archbishop of Mayence, controlled the election, and, amid extreme confusion and disorder, declared Lothaire chosen. He at once asked for the pope's confirmation in assuming the German crown, and renounced the right to have bishops elected in his presence, thus giving up entirely his influence on these elections. But while thus pliant to the Church, he met his enemies with resolution. Frederick of Suabia had opposed his election; and Lothaire now demanded back from him certain estates of his uncle, Henry V., of which he had taken possession, declaring them to be a part of the royal domain, and not private property. Frederick thought himself strong enough to resist, and Lothaire put him under the ban of the empire. At first the king was unsuccessful in the war, until he won over to his side Henry the Proud, grandson of Welf I., a very powerful nobleman, to whom Henry IV. had given the fief of Bavaria. Lothaire gave him in marriage his only daughter, Gertrude (1127), the heiress to all his estates in Saxony. Thus the house of the Welfs, or Guelphs, which, like the Hohenstaufens, arose in Suabia, but was also high in honors and wealth in Italy, now obtained a footing also in Saxony, where Henry the Proud had already, through his mother Wulfhild, acquired most of the possessions of the Billing family. The rest of these went, through Eileke, Wulfhild's younger sister, to Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt, father of Albert the Bear, the ancestor of the Ascanii. Lothaire afterward gave Henry the dukedom of Saxony, in addition to that of Bavaria; and thus established the Welfs, for whom he seemed to be building up the throne, in a power not before known under the empire. Meanwhile Conrad of Hohenstaufen, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, not only stirred up his elder brother, Frederick, to more energetic resistance, but obtained a large party of adherents, assumed the royal title, and in 1128 went to Italy to seek the aid of



the pope and the Lombard cities. But Pope Honorius II excommunicated him, and he returned to Germany, where he and Frederick succeeded in defending themselves with difficulty against Lothaire.

§ 3. Honorius II. died in 1130, and his successor, Innocent II., driven from Rome by the people, and by their antipope, Anacletus, fled to Germany to seek the aid of the emperor. Lothaire held a Diet at Lüttich, which declared Innocent the rightful pope; and in August, 1132, he confided the charge of the empire to Henry the Proud, and marched from Würzburg, with only 1500 knights, to Italy. He reached Rome almost without resistance (1133), restored Innocent to his see, and received from him the imperial crown. He also received the possessions of the late Margravine Matilda as a fief from the papal see, but as a family possession, and not as the property of the empire. He assigned them to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, to hold as the pope's vassal; but Lothaire's acceptance of the fief gave the popes occasion soon after to attempt to treat the empire itself as their feudal dependency. Upon Lothaire's return, Germany was again reduced to order. In 1134 Lothaire captured and destroyed Ulm, the ducal capital of the Hohenstaufens; and the next year Frederick gave in his submission, "barefoot," at Fulda, and "on his knees" before the Diet at Bamberg. The emperor granted him the inheritance of Henry V. as a fief of the crown, and not as his hereditary estate. Conrad also renounced the crown, and was restored to his estates and dignities. Lothaire's government of Germany was more brilliant than that of his two latest predecessors. Foreigners honored him, order was maintained in the realm; and it was only in his relations to the Church that Lothaire showed weakness. The crowns of Denmark and Poland acknowledged him as their feudal lord. Undertakings which had slept since the time of Otto the Great were renewed. Albert the Bear, a friend who had already fought with Lothaire against Henry V., one of the noble Saxon family of the Ascanii, whose home lay north of the Hartz in Aschersleben, Ballenstedt, and at Anhalt in the valley of the Selke, was in 1134 made Margrave of North Saxony. He soon began to spread German civilization farther beyond the Elbe. In

1137 Lothaire made a new expedition to Rome to punish Roger II, the Norman, who proclaimed himself king of Apulia and Sicily, and supported the antipope, Anacletus. The emperor marched magnificently through Italy; and in his name Conrad of Hohenstaufen, to whom he intrusted the imperial banner, subdued Apulia; while Henry the Proud marched down the western side of Italy with another army, escorting Pope Innocent. On his return, Lothaire died just as he had crossed the Alps, December 3, 1137. His body was taken to Saxony, and buried in the convent church of Königsutter, on his own family estate.

§ 4. Henry the Proud regarded himself as heir to the imperial crown, which was destined for him by Lothaire, and at once took possession of the crown-jewels. Nor was there a mightier prince in the realm. In Italy the possessions of Matilda, including almost all Tuscany, had been granted him as a fief, and his allodial estates stretched across Bavaria to Saxony. He was, besides, duke in two great countries, which he ruled with wisdom and vigor; so that nearly half the empire was his. But the same consideration which had previously diverted the choice of the electors from Frederick of Hohenstaufen to Lothaire—their dread of too powerful a monarch—now inclined them to prefer to Henry his Hohenstaufen competitor. This was Conrad, who was regarded by the Church party as trustworthy, while Henry the Proud had made many enemies in Italy by his arrogance, and had offended Pope Innocent II. In February, 1138, three months before the day appointed for the election, Adalbert, Archbishop of Trèves, proclaimed Conrad king at Coblenz, and in March a papal legate crowned him at Aix. Like Lothaire, and even less honorably than he, Conrad III. gained his throne by concessions to the lords and clergy. He reigned from 1138 to 1152. Henry the Proud, after an unavailing effort to secure a legal election, was compelled to submit, and reluctantly surrendered the crown-jewels. Conrad then deprived him of Saxony, on the ground that no one man should hold two dukedoms, and granted it to Albert the Bear. Henry the Proud resisted: Conrad put him under the ban, and deprived him also of Bavaria, granting it to Leopold IV. of Austria, of the house of Babenberg. Henry found himself aban-



Conrad III. (1138-1152).

done by the Bavarian nobles, and undertook to make a stand with only the Saxons; but, broken by misfortune, he died suddenly, October 20, 1139, before a battle was fought. He left, in the midst of enemies, a son of ten years of age, afterward known as Henry the Lion. But his widow Gertrude, and her mother Richenza, women of a manly spirit, defended Saxony against Albert the Bear. Welf, the brother of Henry the Proud, maintained the cause of his family in Bavaria, and on his advance to relieve Weinsberg, then besieged by Conrad (December 21, 1140), arose, for the first time, the war cries "Welf" and "Waiblingen," or "Guelph" and "Ghibbeline," which resounded through the torn empire for

a century, and long afterward survived as party names. "Welf" was the family name of the leaders on one side; while the Hohenstaufens were called Waiblinger, from the little town of Waiblingen, the birthplace of Frederick, Duke of Suabia. Weinsberg was compelled to surrender to Conrad III., who, however, pledged his word that the women should be permitted to leave the city unmolested, with whatever of their possessions they could carry in their arms. Accordingly they came forth, each carrying her husband. Young warriors, eager for their prisoners, protested that this was a violation of the terms granted, but Conrad insisted that his royal word could not be broken, and the men were saved. The war continued for a time; but in October, 1141, Leopold IV. of Austria died; and the next year Conrad married his brother and heir, Henry of Austria, to Gertrude, mother of Henry the Lion, and gave him Bavaria with her as a dowry. Peace ensued, and Conrad granted Saxony to the child Henry, taking from it, however, the northern mark, which he gave as an independent principality to Albert the Bear. The latter thenceforth took the title of Margrave of Brandenburg, and laid the foundation of a new German power for the remote future.

§ 5. Meanwhile St. Bernard of Clairvaux stirred up Western Christendom to a new crusade. For the Saracens already seriously threatened the newly founded Christian power in the East, and even Jerusalem itself. The pope, Eugene III., was then without influence, and was opposed even in Rome by a republican party, hostile to the Church, under Arnold of Brescia. In his stead St. Bernard, a man of commanding eloquence and deep piety, summoned the kings and the people to the crusade. King Louis VII. of France earnestly embraced the cause. But Conrad III. felt little desire for so remote an enterprise. Yet even he was overcome by Bernard's fiery eloquence, and resolved to go (1147). Accompanied by his young nephew Frederick, and by his former antagonist, Welf, he led an army of 70,000 heavy-armed cavalry to the East. But the pious effort accomplished nothing, save that the crusaders of Northwestern Germany, making the journey by sea, gave manly assistance in the capture of Lisbon. Conrad lost almost his whole army, either by disease in their camp near

Constantinople, or in fight with the Saracens among the hills of Asia Minor, and in 1149 he returned. The only good accomplished by this crusade at home was that Germany enjoyed profound peace, the robber knights who infested the highways nearly all assuming the cross. Conrad was broken in spirit by his failure. In 1150 his son Henry, the hope and pride of his house, suddenly died, and the emperor rapidly sank under the blow. In conscientious care for the nation, he recommended to the princes his nephew Frederick for his successor, to the exclusion of his own remaining son, who was still a child, and could not be expected to defend the throne. He died February 15, 1152.

§ 6. Frederick, called by the Italians Barbarossa (Redbeard), was at once elected by the princes in Frankfort, March, 1152, and crowned at Aix, and in him the empire found a ruler worthy to be named with Charlemagne and Otto the Great. Though but thirty-one years of age, he was already famous for his achievements, and all Germany rejoiced at his election. It was hoped that he would reconcile the Welfs and the Staufens, since his own mother was of the former house. Nor, in fact, did Frederick stoop to family feuds. His aims were higher. He took the crown upon him at Aix, with the fixed resolve to restore to the empire the power of Charlemagne. The immediate authority of the sovereign, indeed, was no longer so controlling as it had been, the feudal system now reaching its complete development; but he was still regarded as the fountain of power, the chief commander in war, and the supreme judge for all the tribes in peace; and the nobles, though their honors were hereditary, were still his vassals. In place of the coarseness and barbarism of the eleventh century, too, under the growing moral influence of the Church, nobler manners and thoughts had been introduced; and men's minds were ready to entertain and appreciate broader and loftier aims. It was thus in the power of a strong emperor, while cheerfully recognizing the established rights of the nobility, to enforce his claims upon their allegiance as their supreme head, and thus to grasp their strength in a firm hand. Frederick cherished this purpose, and showed it in his royal progress through the empire. At Merseburg he gave judgment between Sweyn and Canute, rival claimants of the



Frederick I., Barbarossa (1152-1190).

Danish throne, crowning the former, and receiving from him the oath of homage and allegiance. Following the example of Henry IV., he granted to the Duke of Bohemia a royal crown, and thus attached his Slavonic tribes more closely to Germany. Burgundy, also, became an immediate dependency of his crown, through his wife Beatrice, the niece and heiress of Count William of Burgundy (Franche Comté). At the splendid beginning of his reign, Frederick was acknowledged by the princes of Europe as indisputably the first among them all.

§ 7. But Frederick was fascinated, above all else, by the honor of the imperial title, and hence his aim was not only

to maintain order in Germany, but to succeed the Cæsars in Rome and Italy. To this end it was necessary to secure the support both of the pope and of the mightiest of his own princes, Henry the Lion. Accordingly, in 1153, at Constance, he received an embassy from Pope Eugene III., and agreed to sustain him against the Romans, while the legate consented to pronounce a divorce, on a weak pretext, between Frederick and his wife Adelheid. Henry the Lion laid claim to the duchy of Bavaria, which Courad III. had given, while Henry was a child, to Henry of Austria. The emperor was much embarrassed, unwilling to offend his uncle, yet unable to dispense with the aid of Henry the Lion; but he finally consented to dispossess the former, and Henry of Austria was formally deposed at a Diet in Goslar, in 1154. Frederick then marched to Italy to aid the new pope, Anastasius IV., Eugene having died the previous year. But he found a condition of affairs in Italy greatly changed from that which his predecessors had seen there. Not only were the Normans in Italy now wholly independent of the empire, but in Northern Italy the manufacturing and trading cities had grown into powerful and independent communities, no longer disposed to submit to any foreign master. In earlier times they had been generally governed by bishops; but during the dissensions of the Church, and the stormy elections and struggles of popes and antipopes, they had obtained by custom the right of choosing their own burgomasters or consuls, their senate, and their administrative officers; nor were they ready to concede to the emperor any rights of sovereignty. Italy was just at this time agitated by another circumstance. An enthusiastic monk, Arnold of Brescia, preached against the secular possessions of the Church, and roused the Italians to enthusiasm, especially in Rome, by recounting the glories of their ancient republic, and calling for its restoration. He finally obtained the control of Rome, and the people rebelled, and drove into exile Pope Adrian IV., who had succeeded Anastasius IV., December, 1154. Barbarossa now marched to the pope's assistance. He mustered his army in the fields of Roncaglia, and here the German dukes and princes kept, for the first night, the guard of honor around his tent. He spent but a short time in attempting to subjugate the Lombard

cities; some of them, indeed, welcomed him, while others, among them proud Milan, defied him. Chiesi, Asti, and Tortona were made to feel his cruel hand as a conqueror. The Romans offered to sell him the sovereignty in their city; but he reduced them to subjection by force, "giving them iron instead of gold." Obtaining possession of their leader and prophet, Arnold of Brescia, he delivered him to the pope as a part of the price of his coronation, and Adrian consigned him to the stake. But the arrogant pope, upon his entrance into the city, required Barbarossa, like Lothaire, to hold his stirrup. After some resistance, Frederick consented; and on June 18, 1155, a few hours after Arnold of Brescia was burned; received the crown of the Cæsars. On the same day the Roman people fell upon the emperor in fury, at the bridge of the Tiber; and young Henry the Lion only rescued him at the hazard of his own life. He was attended with like faithfulness on his return, though nearly all the cities of Italy, embittered by his treatment of Tortona, strove to impede his march; and the brave sword of Otto of Wittelsbach cut a way for him through the narrow pass of the valley of the Etsch above Verona.

§ 8. After his return (1155), Barbarossa severely punished all breaches of the peace, and watched over the public security. He suppressed and chastised the robber knights, who had grown bold during his absence, and abolished unjust levies of tolls on the highways. Above all, he took pains to attach to himself still more closely Henry the Lion. At Ratisbon, in 1156, he carried out his agreement to restore to him the dukedom of Bavaria, compensating Henry of Austria by elevating Austria also to the rank of a duchy, and making it independent of Bavaria. Thus the Welfs were re-established in power; Henry the Lion now possessed the two most important dukedoms of the empire, apparently without danger to the emperor, since the young hero's ambition was occupied with other projects. He had already been engaged in conflicts with the neighboring heathen, the Wends of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, while Conrad III. was busy with his crusade. And to these countries he turned his attention now. He conquered and colonized Mecklenburg, introducing Saxon noblemen, and founding Saxon villages. He built Lubeck



entirely anew, and soon made it the most powerful German city on the Baltic. Here lay a vast field of activity before him, which the Saxon emperors had opened to German enterprise, and on which he could compete with his powerful rival, Albert the Bear. The popular songs of Lower Germany celebrated these two, with Frederick Barbarossa, as three heroes who could upturn the world. Frederick had no disposition to disturb Henry in these enterprises, which promised to extend his own empire; and he even took that prince with him in his later expeditions to Rome. In the year 1156, Frederick married Beatrice, the only daughter of Count Reinald of Burgundy, a beautiful and wealthy heiress, who added largely to his family possessions.

§ 9. A dispute with the pope, together with the still unsettled condition of the Lombard cities, made it necessary again to march to Rome. The pope spoke of the empire as his *beneficium*, and this was understood to be a claim that it was held as his fief, and was resented as an insult by the emperor and the nobles. A picture was placed in the Lateran, representing Lothaire II. on his knees before the pope, with a legend declaring that the imperial crown was now acknowledged to be the gift of the holy see; and Adrian IV. disregarded Frederick's request that it be taken down. Frederick led a magnificent army over the Alps, in July, 1158, humbled Milan, starving it out in a short siege (September 7), and held his field-day at Roncaglia, with greater splendor than ever before. He summoned thither the learned Italian lawyers from the universities, which were then at the height of their prosperity. These men had now brought out of the dust of oblivion the ancient Roman law; and Frederick, learning that its tenor strongly favored the imperial dignity and power, called upon them to decide by it his claims upon the cities. This was the first step toward the introduction into Germany of the Roman civil law. They acknowledged that Frederick possessed all the rights of the later Roman emperors, as their successor; and thus the cities lost the freedom of choosing their own magistrates, which they had long claimed and exercised. The emperor also reclaimed a large number of royal dues (*regalia*); and absolutism, in its extreme, was declared to be the constitution of

the empire. The cities were put under imperial plenipotentiaries or Podestas, most of them Germans, who were almost unlimited in power. The people submitted reluctantly: a fierce insurrection at Crema, and the bloody severity with which the emperor punished it, showed how bitter the enmity was. The emperor also took possession of the inheritance of Matilda, and conferred it on Welf, the uncle of Henry the Lion, without the pope's consent—a new cause of dispute with the holy see. Adrian IV. threatened him with the ban, but died before it was pronounced. Nine imperialists among the cardinals elected Victor IV.; but the fourteen others chose Alexander III., an energetic, zealous prelate, of the stamp of Hildebrand, who was supported by public opinion in the Church, and recognized by France and England. He laid Frederick under the ban, and gave all possible aid to the cities. Meanwhile Milan revolted again. Frederick's rage against this, the chief of the Italian cities, was unbounded, and he prosecuted the war against it with barbarous cruelty. After a long siege, the city was reduced by starvation, in March, 1162. The citizens and their magistrates marched out in the garb of penitents, with ropes around their necks, ashes on their heads, and crosses in their hands; and when their banner, the symbol of their municipal freedom, was lowered from the great car (*carroccio*), they all fell upon the earth, pleading for mercy. But there was no pity in Frederick's eye. He declared that "Milan must be made a desert, and its people henceforth must till the ground." He utterly destroyed the city, by the hands of its Italian enemies, the people of Lodi, Pavia, and Como. All the other cities now submitted in terror, accepting the Podestas of the emperor, and Italy seemed to be subdued.

§ 10. After his return to Germany, Frederick made another step in the extension of German influence. He took advantage of a dispute concerning the inheritance in the royal house of Poland to separate Schleswig from Poland; and the Poles gradually, under the influence of this newly established branch of their own dynasty, the Piasti, were penetrated by German civilization. He also punished the city of Mayence for a disturbance in which the archbishop Arnold was slain, by destroying its fortifications, and declar-

ing all its inhabitants forever dishonored. But in October, 1163, Frederick was again called to Italy, though this time without an imperial army. His antipope, Victor IV., died at Lucca in 1164; and the emperor still refused to be reconciled to the powerful Alexander III., and set up Pascal III. as antipope. But the general discontent with the imperial Podes-tas and the German supremacy broke out anew in the cities; and, under the lead of Venice, the most powerful cities of Northern Italy, including Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso, united in a Lombard confederacy. Pope Alexander III. was active and successful with his embassies in reconciling with one another the cities whose feuds had been Barbarossa's strength and opportunity in Italy, and in uniting them in defense of their common freedom. The emperor had but a few Italian troops, whom he could not trust, and returned to Germany to collect an army. Pope Alexander returned in 1166 to Italy, and the Lombard confederacy, in his honor, and in defiance of the emperor, built the city of Alessandria. Brescia and Bergamo soon joined the league, as did ultimately even Cremona and Lodi, though only under compulsion.

§ 11. In October, 1166, Frederick entered Italy for the fourth time, in command of a great army, and marched victoriously to Rome, where, in 1167, he enthroned Paschal III. as pope. But here a pestilential fever carried off the best part of his army, while all Northern Italy, embittered by the oppression of his German deputies, rose in rebellion. The emperor was compelled to retreat northward in haste. The inhabitants of the other cities formally escorted the people of Milan back to its ruins, April 27, 1167, and joined with them in the work of rebuilding it, in defiance of the imperial decrees. Meanwhile, occupying the friendly city of Pavia, Frederick pronounced the ban of the empire upon the confederacy. But he was so far from being able to put his edict in force that he narrowly avoided capture, escaping from Susa over the Alps with only five attendants. His losses were so terrible that he rested six years before renewing the enterprise. Meanwhile the affairs of Germany busied him again. Henry the Lion had become so powerful in the north, by his conquests over the Wends in Holstein, Mecklenburg,

and Pomerania, that he ventured to claim an immediate right of sovereignty over the North German bishops and counts, who were, indeed, subordinate in rank to him, as Duke of Saxony, but were not his subjects. He used to say in his pride, as was reported, "From the Elbe unto the Rhine, from ocean to the Hartz, is mine." The inferior nobles conspired with his former enemy, Albert the Bear, against Henry. Barbarossa wished to interfere in Henry's favor; but before he could do so, that prince had already triumphed over his opponents. Henry's power was firmly established, and he went on a crusade to Jerusalem, where his wonderful adventures became the theme of many a legend. Frederick's sway in Germany was undisputed, and he cared little for the continued hostility of Pope Alexander III. Upon the death of his antipope, Pascal, in 1168, he set up another, called Calixtus III., who was never recognized even by the whole German Church. In 1164 he procured the election of his son Henry, then five years old, to be his successor; and on August 15 he was duly crowned at Aix. In the succeeding years Frederick rapidly aggrandized his family, by granting to his sons large fiefs which became vacant.

§ 12. At last, in 1174, Frederick, with a strong army, made his fifth expedition to Rome. His faithful warrior, Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, went before him, but was checked by the desperate resistance of Ancona, while the emperor himself halted at Alessandria, now a powerful city, which he failed to capture. Time went on without a decisive result, until in 1175 Frederick was driven to his last resort, and urgently summoned Henry the Lion to Italy. But Henry was too much occupied with his enterprises in the North; and, besides, was offended that his aged uncle Welf had made the emperor his heir. The pope, too, whose policy it was, as in the time of Henry IV., to set the power of the nobles against that of the king, probably had an influence in weakening his allegiance. He came at last to Chiavenna, but without an army, and made use of every pretext to avoid service. The emperor finally fell at his feet, beseeching his aid; but though Henry, in terror, raised him up, he was still implacable. And thus Guelph and Ghibelline parted once more, and Frederick reserved his wrath for a more suitable

time. He was now compelled to risk a decisive conflict with diminished forces. The army of his foes, the cities of Italy, was now for the first time fully imbued with the spirit of national independence. This feeling was directly opposed to the conception of the empire, which, in claiming supremacy over Christendom, appealed only to the unity of the Christian faith, and did not concern itself with the natural rights of nations. The fervent zeal of the Italian youth, that thronged to the standard of the *carroccio*, gained its first victory over German valor at Legnano, May 29, 1176; and the effort to destroy the freedom of the Italian cities, to which Barbarossa had devoted his genius and the strength of Germany for a quarter of a century, was made hopeless in a day. Frederick himself was reported dead, and did not rejoin his army until three days after the battle.

§ 13. After the battle of Legnano, Barbarossa entirely changed his policy, showing his greatness in defeat by abandoning projects which proved unattainable. He gave up the cause of the antipope, negotiated with Alexander III., and in the next year, 1177, met him in Venice. The emperor fell at the feet of St. Peter's successor; but the pope took him in his arms, with the kiss of peace. The ban was removed from him, and Alexander himself negotiated an armistice with the Lombard cities for six years. The Peace of Constance, in 1183, was the ultimate result, by which Frederick gave the cities the exclusive choice of their own public officers and the control of their internal affairs, reserving his imperial sovereignty. Thenceforth the Italian cities were little republics, with but the shadow of the empire over them.

§ 14. In 1178 Frederick returned to Germany, and was crowned King of Burgundy, at Arles, in July. Many of the German nobles now brought complaints of wrongs which Henry the Lion had done them in his days of power. Frederick summoned him to appear, naming successively three days, at Worms, Magdeburg, and Goslar; and since he failed each time to obey, the emperor, in 1179, declared him under the ban. In 1180 Frederick gave the dukedom of Bavaria to Otto of Wittelsbach, who had rescued him in Italy, and that of Saxony to Bernard, son of Albert the Bear, who was

now dead. In this he followed his policy of dividing the great dukedoms as far as possible, since he justly apprehended less danger of revolt against the unity of the empire from minor princes than from great ones. On the same principle, he made the high clerical sees of Bavaria, Salzburg, Passau, and Regensburg independent, and increased their importance. He also elevated Meran (the Tyrol) and Styria to independence. The duchy of Saxony almost disappeared in a number of distinct dominions, mostly ecclesiastical, which were carved out of it; and the name of Saxony, with the title of Duke, was assigned to the eastern district alone, under Bernard's family, with their residence in Wittenberg. Henry the Lion had purposed to occupy his own hereditary possessions—those of the Welf family—and resist the empire; but Barbarossa marched into the heart of them. Lübeck was detached from Henry's cause by making it a free city of the empire. The inferior nobility of Henry's dukedom, whom he had always treated with arrogance, and especially the clergy among them, now rose against him, and the Lion was compelled to humble himself at last. He tendered his submission at a Diet in Erfurt, in November, 1181. The emperor forgave him; yet the judgment he pronounced upon him in the council of the nobles was severe enough. Henry retained only his family inheritance, the estates of the Brunos, Billings, and Nordheims, afterward known as the Brunswick-Lüneburg lands, and was banished for three years. He went to England, to King Henry II., his father-in-law.

§ 15. Frederick had re-established his power. A great festival which he held in Mayence, in May, 1184, was a magnificent expression of his dignity. The flower of that age of knighthood assembled there—princes, bishops, and gentlemen, foreign ambassadors, minstrels, and the people of all ranks flocked together. There were said to be seventy thousand mounted men present. The stroke of the emperor's sword was to announce the majority of his two eldest sons; and the full splendor of the empire, now once more peacefully united, was to be exhibited to the world. A movable city of many-colored tents was erected on the beautiful shore of the Rhine, for Mayence could not contain its guests;

an improvised imperial palace and a pretty chapel rose in the midst. The emperor, still a handsome man, noble in form and bearing, sat enthroned amid all this magnificence. He even rode in the lists, to show his fitness for knightly service. The feast was further adorned by the presence of his kindly and gracious wife, and his five handsome sons, Henry, the eldest of them, already sharing his father's crown. The minstrelsy of that day compared the scene with the fabulous camp of King Arthur. Thus the evening of Barbarossa's heroic life was filled with peace and power. He once more, and for the sixth time, marched to Italy, in 1184; and now, being in harmony with the pope and the cities, was every where, even in Milan, received with reverence. On January 27, 1186, he married his son Henry to Constance, the only child of William II, the Norman King of Sicily. By this alliance he won for his house all that he had lost in Northern Italy; but to the empire it proved an injury rather than a benefit, and gave the pope new grounds for fear and hostility.

§ 16. Meanwhile Christendom was shocked by the tidings that Jerusalem had been conquered again by Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, and Philip Augustus of France, at once assumed the cross, and Frederick I., deeply regretting that he had not chosen Asia instead of Italy for his earlier enterprises, followed the example. In Germany, he delegated the royal authority to his son Henry. In order to secure quiet, Henry the Lion was once more sent away to England. Frederick then, in May, 1189, with a well-equipped army of 30,000 men, marched under many difficulties to Constantinople, and across the hot, desert highlands of Asia Minor. The Sultan of Iconium strove to arrest his advance, before his capital city. Frederick attacked at once the army and the city, defeating the one and capturing the other. False tidings were brought him that his son was dead. "Woe to me," cried he; "is my son dead?" and his white beard flowed with tears. "My son is slain, but Christ lives still: forward, then, soldiers!" At last he reached Cilicia, and the river Seleph (Calicadnus), near the Cydnus, which long ago endangered the life of Alexander the Great. The stream was swollen by rains, and in an

attempt to cross it, or perhaps while bathing, he was carried away by the flood, and only his corpse was rescued, June 10, 1190. His followers, in deep affliction, brought him to Antioch. His worthy son Frederick died soon afterward. Many of the Germans then returned home; many had already sunk under the fatigues and perils of the way, and only a pitiful remnant joined Richard Cœur de Lion and the King of France before the walls of Accon. Indeed, the whole crusading army was in despair at the loss of the great warrior, and the utter failure of the enterprise soon followed.

No German emperor has taken a more enlarged and liberal view of his own position than Frederick Barbarossa. His aims sometimes went far beyond what was practical, but his efforts were magnificent, and his influence on his people during his last years was elevating and ennobling. The most flourishing period of the Germans, in morals, poetry, culture, and in their happy, popular life, dawns in his day; and he has always remained the emblem of German greatness, song and legend ever asserting that he did not die: he is sleeping a long sleep in Kyffhäuser, and in his time will come forth, to renew the ancient glories of his empire and his people. Patriotic poets find the fulfillment of this dream in the events of January, 1871.

§ 17. Frederick I. ruled in Germany with a hand so strong that the former opposition of the nobles to the crown seemed to have been suppressed. But it awoke in full strength at the sudden news of his death. Henry the Lion returned soon after the emperor's departure, and now again seemed to aim at becoming the leader and guide of all malcontents. He seized his family lands with violence, and formed an alliance with Richard I. of England, and with the Danish king. Thus great dangers threatened the young emperor, Henry VI. He was now twenty-five years of age, and had the vigor and lofty intellect of his father, but not his noble spirit. His soul had but one passion, that for power. In his youth, he had himself taken his place among the knightly minnesingers, but when he became sovereign, every more gentle tendency in him gave way before a cool, severe policy, which did not shrink from cruelty to secure its ends. Yet he was an upright master to the poor, while severe to the rich and powerful. Henry





Henry VI. (1190-1197).

was already on the point of marching to Italy, to take possession of the Norman kingdom, in the right of his wife Constance, when he heard of his father's death. He, however, marched to Rome, where he was crowned by Pope Celestin III., in 1191. His entrance upon his government in Italy was not easy. The Normans rejected his sovereignty, and set up in his place Tancred of Lecce, an illegitimate son of the late king, William II. Sickness and the failure of a siege of Naples compelled Henry to return to Germany, where similar dangers from rebellion were growing greater every day. But the current of fortune soon turned. Richard Cœur de Lion, who in the Holy Land treated all German crusaders with

extreme arrogance, and steadily gave his support to the enemies of the emperor, had thus long been regarded as a foe of the empire. But while he was traveling through Germany in disguise, with the intention of forming a closer alliance with Henry the Lion, he was taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria, and handed over to the emperor (1193), who determined to make use of him in order to force his enemies to peace, and therefore refused to release him, except on payment of an enormous ransom, and the acknowledgment of the emperor as his feudal lord. The King of France made Henry large promises if he would give up to him Richard, his chief enemy. Henry hesitated a long time, until an unexpected event solved the difficulty. A son of Henry the Lion had been betrothed to Agnes, of the Staufeu family, a daughter of Conrad, uncle to Henry VI., in the good old days when the two families were in harmony. But the emperor had now resolved to sacrifice her to his schemes, and to marry her to the King of France. Both Agnes and her mother preferred the knightly Welf, and they contrived a secret marriage with him. The emperor, though at first indignant, could not undo what was done; and this union became the cause not only of peace between the two families, but also of the release of Richard, who, after paying a heavy ransom, was set at liberty, in response to the request of nearly all the nobles. But Henry the Lion, again in possession of his estates, lived in quiet. He had made much history by his sword, but henceforth his delight was in the reading of old chronicles and minstrelsy, until he died, in his castle at Brunswick, August 6, 1195. He was unquestionably a great man, who worked for the enduring welfare of Germany; and whose fame would have been much wider but for his conflict with Barbarossa.

§ 18. The emperor meanwhile went to Italy again. He this time obtained possession of his kingdom with little difficulty, and was crowned at Palermo in December, 1194. He put out the eyes of Tancred's son, and mutilated and tortured many of his adherents; showing, in the suppression of all resistance to his power, a cold cruelty unsurpassed in history. Henry then returned to Germany, hoping to make the throne hereditary in his house. In exchange for this concession, he offered to secure to the nobles the right of hereditary succession in

their fiefs, not only in the male line, where it was already established, but also in the female line and to collateral heirs, in case of the failure of direct issue. Most of the princes accepted the plan, but the Saxons firmly opposed, and defeated it. But the emperor succeeded in securing the election of his son as his successor (1196). Soon after this an insurrection in Sicily called him away again. This was easily suppressed, and was punished by him with extreme severity, and even cruel vengeance, Henry exercising his own ingenuity in devising horrible tortures and forms of death for his prisoners. His projects of universal empire grew ever bolder and more comprehensive. He undertook to treat France as a fief of the empire; and coveted the Spanish kingdoms, especially Castile. He boldly demanded of the Greek Empire of the East that it should cede to him, as included in his Norman heritage, large parts of Epirus and Macedonia. He looked upon the conquest of Constantinople as a preliminary to a new crusade, for which German multitudes were already streaming into Lower Italy. But death cut short his vast schemes. He died suddenly at Messina, September 28, 1197, at the age of thirty-two, and the dream of a German universal empire was buried in his grave.

§ 19. Just before the emperor's death, as legends tell, there was seen along the Rhine the giant form of Dietrich of Berne denouncing misfortune to the empire. And swift and terrible was the ruin that followed such magnificence. For the third time the crown of the empire, at its height of power, fell to a child, as at the death of Otto II and of Henry II; for Henry VI left his widow, Constance, with a boy, Frederick, three years old. Philip, the only surviving son of Barbarossa, was on the point of conducting the child from Italy to Germany, in order to be crowned at once, when the news of the emperor's death reached him. He could not now be confident that the boy Frederick would be recognized; and, anxious to keep the crown in his house, he consented to his own election by his followers. But the numberless enemies of his family and of a strong empire, with the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves at their head, resisted him, and elevated to the throne at Aix the Welf, Otto IV., son of Henry the Lion, who was probably supported by foreign influence,



Philip of Swabia (1197-1208).

especially by Richard of England and the pope. Philip was elected at Mühlhausen in Thuringia. Thus there were again rival emperors, and civil war arose in Germany, just at the time when the learned and gloomy Innocent III. (1198-1216), next to Gregory VII., the mightiest and most aspiring of all the popes, assumed St. Peter's chair. This pope claimed the right of deciding between the two elections, and he declared for Otto, and put his rival, Philip, under ban. But Philip fought bravely for his crown. He had inherited his father's aspiring mind, with the knightly spirit, the handsome figure, and the poetic turn of his race, and without his brother's harshness. His entire reign was occupied by the war against Otto; the cries of "Welf" and "Waibling" again resounded

far and wide. Both men lavished the crown dominions on seeming friends. But the Hohenstaufen was victor at last, taking Cologne, "the Roman Church's faithful daughter!" (1206). Otto was acknowledged nowhere but in Saxony. But Philip was killed at Bamberg, June 21, 1208, by Count Otto of Wittelsbach, as some assert, by accident, but more probably in revenge for an imagined injury.

§ 20. The sudden death of Philip threw all Germany into confusion. In the panic which followed, his widow died of a premature confinement. Frederick, Henry VI.'s son, was far away in Italy, a mere boy. There was therefore no organized opposition left to the accession of Otto IV.; and in November, 1208, he was chosen king at a Diet at Frankfort. His first act was to punish the murderer of Philip and his supposed accomplices. He then betrothed himself (May, 1209)



Otto IV. (1197-1215).

to Beatrice, the surviving daughter of Philip, in order to conciliate the Hohenstaufen party in the empire. He was soon strong enough to make an expedition to Rome. But while he had hitherto been a Guelph (Welf), as the name of his house indicated—that is, a partisan of the pope—he was still unable to make sure of the permanent friendship of Innocent III., from whom he received the imperial crown of Rome, September 27, 1209. In the name of the empire, and on the ground of his own descent from the house of the Welfs, he claimed the possessions of Matilda, which he had once renounced, and wished to rule in the dominions of the Church with the ancient authority of the Cæsars; even attempting to seize upon the Norman territories, now the heritage of young Frederick of Hohenstaufen, as a province of the empire. Innocent III. then broke with him, and in 1210 pronounced him under the ban.

§ 21. Frederick, son of Henry VI., was a youth distinguished alike in body and mind. His mother, Constance, at her death in 1198, made the pope his guardian, and Innocent III., whose conduct was noble and free from prejudice, gave him an admirable education. In 1211 many of the German princes met at Nuremberg, and decided to depose Otto, and to make Frederick king. Otto hastened back to Germany and married Beatrice, hoping to draw off a part of the Welf party, but she died a few days after the wedding, and the Suabians and Bavarians deserted Otto's camp. The pope now fitted out Frederick with his blessing and his gold, and the young Hohenstaufen accepted the call of the German princes, though he had no army, and little to rely on but the adherents of his house in Germany, and the magic of his name. Though but seventeen years of age, he had been married for two years to Constance, daughter of the King of Aragon; and he left her as regent in Sicily; and, in spite of her urgent entreaties and the advice of all his counselors not to engage in the perilous enterprise, he crossed the Alps in 1212. Otto's cruelty and avarice had stirred up against him, not only his traditional enemies, but many of his former friends. All these joined young Frederick, who became master of South Germany, almost without a battle. The King of France also aided him; and Otto was persuaded by the King of England to engage in the



Frederick II. (1215-1250).

war against France. But he was defeated in 1214 at Bovines, and came to his end in poverty and humiliation at the Hartzburg, May 19, 1218. The son of Henry VI. was crowned at Aix, with great state, as Frederick II., July 25, 1215.

§ 22. Frederick II. had been educated in Italy, and his character was entirely Southern, not German. Full of intellect and genius, more brilliant, perhaps, than any of his predecessors, he yet had no patriotic attachment to Germany, and thought little of neglecting or sacrificing its interests to those of his Norman inheritance, the kingdom of Sicily and Naples. Otto IV. had demanded back from Waldemar II. of Denmark the territory which he had wrested from the empire during the civil war, and had thus made that prince his enemy. Frederick did not hesitate, in order to win the alliance of

Waldemar, to abandon to him all the land north of the Elbe, including Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania—districts already occupied by German colonists. He owed his throne to the pope, Innocent III., the Great, who, however, died in 1216, at the summit of his own power and of that of his see. The papacy had now become that which the empire originally aspired to be, the highest and guiding power in Western Christendom. Italy, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, England, and the Scandinavian countries all acknowledged, in a more or less direct manner, some sort of secular dependence upon the pope. Innocent III. had attempted to guard against the restoration of the power of Barbarossa and of Henry VI., requiring Frederick at his coronation to take an oath that he would grant his family possessions in Italy to his young son Henry, and would be content with the German crown, so that the two sovereignties should never be united in one hand; and that he would make a crusade. Doubtless he made these promises without any serious purpose of keeping them. Yet for a time he remained at peace with the Church, Honorius III., who succeeded Innocent III. in 1216, being a mild and easy man, and Frederick desiring to avoid a quarrel. But he made cunning pretexts for postponing his crusade; and meanwhile obtained, at a Diet held in Frankfort, April, 1220, the election of his son Henry, now eight years old, as German king. He was himself, with his wife Constance, formally crowned by the pope November 22, 1220, on his first expedition to Rome.

§ 23. During the succeeding years, Frederick II. manifested great ability and vigor in restoring to order his Norman kingdom. The Saracens had hitherto disturbed Lower Italy with their incursions; but Frederick, after conquering them, gave them land, and thus obtained faithful soldiers, who did not regard the pope's ban. He endeavored, in 1226, to bring back to immediate subjection the cities of the Lombard confederacy, which were still under the lead of Milan, but the result was only to strengthen them in their freedom and independence. In 1227 Pope Honorius died, and was succeeded by a nephew of Innocent III., Gregory IX., who, though eighty years of age, was full of zeal for the independence of the Church. He earnestly enjoined on Frederick II. to enter



on his crusade; and at length the emperor sailed from Southern Italy, in August, 1227. Throngs of crusaders came to join him. But after three days at sea, he returned, under the pretext of illness. The indignant pope laid the ban on him, and was answered by Frederick in a remarkable circular letter, sent to many kings and princes throughout Europe, denouncing the avarice and ambition of the clergy, and calling on the nations to unite in throwing off the tyranny of the priesthood. Gregory IX. continued to proclaim the terrors of the Church against the emperor, who, however, actually sailed on his crusade, August 11, 1228, and remained for eight months in the East. The pope regarded the crusade of an excommunicated king as sacrilege, and sent monks to interfere with him in Palestine. But Frederick, by personal negotiations with Camel, the Sultan of Egypt, obtained a truce for ten years, and freed Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Mount Carmel from the presence of infidels. At Jerusalem he assumed the royal crown, to which he had an independent claim in the right of his second wife, Iolanthe, daughter of John, the exiled King of Jerusalem. On his return, he easily scattered the pope's guards, and compelled him to sign the peace of San Germano, and to remove the ban. A quiet and prosperous period followed, during which he ruled his kingdom of Naples and Sicily with great ability, and substituted for the feudal system the outlines of a constitutional monarchy almost without a parallel in mediæval history. His court was a home of pleasure, little in harmony with the serious spirit of the Church, or even of Christianity. It resounded with the voices of Saracen, Provençale, and German minstrels; and the emperor himself, who was master of six languages, was eminent among the poets of the court. He spent his time between festive amusement and the cares of a cunning and far-sighted system of policy, in which Peter of Vincis, his chancellor, was an important aid to him. We still have a work on baiting falcons, a favorite amusement of those knightly days, from the pen of the emperor himself.

§ 24. After Frederick's march to Italy, in 1220, there was quiet in Germany. The princes and nobles became accustomed to have no sovereign, and liked the situation. The emperor's son, Henry, was crowned at Aix in 1222, and act

ed as his father's viceroy. But he had no prospect of an early independence, since his father was still young. He had been wronged, as he thought, by his father, who had broken his promise to the pope to give Henry his Norman kingdom; and who, besides, overruled many of his measures. Accordingly, he strove by every means to strengthen himself in Germany; and in 1234 he openly avowed his purpose of revolt, and came to an understanding with the Lombard cities. He also won over many of the minor vassals of the empire, who feared the great lords. But these princes, urged by the pope, took part with Frederick II., who returned to Germany early in 1235 without an army, and by his mere presence suppressed the insurrection. His son was forgiven, but remained defiant and impenitent, and was thrown into prison in South Italy, where he died in 1242. Having lost his second wife, Iolanthe, in 1228, Frederick married, July 20, 1235, Isabella, daughter of the King of England. The cities of the Rhine were still devoted to the emperor; and they, and especially Cologne, received and entertained their new empress with great magnificence. Frederick assembled at Worms, for the wedding festival, all the nobility and chivalry of the empire, as his grandfather had done at Mayence. He established peace and good order in the land, and humbled in battle the last of the Babenbergs, Frederick the Quarrelsome of Austria. His son Conrad was elected king, at a Diet held in Spire, in 1237; but the great vassals, by a formal treaty executed at the election, secured their rights against attack. Frederick then went to Italy, and never saw Germany again.

§ 25. The further history of Frederick II. belongs almost exclusively to Italy. But his splendid personality assumes such importance in general history that we must at least trace the outlines of his career. In 1237 he gained a complete victory over the league of the Lombard cities, at Cortenova. But, like Barbarossa before him, he pressed his claims too far, and the war continued. Pope Gregory IX. again made common cause with the cities, and proclaimed the ban upon him. Frederick II., who was personally a skeptic, and as free from the superstitions of the mediæval Church as his Prussian namesake of five hundred years later,

began such a war against the pope and his curses as no monarch had yet waged. In writings full of flaming eloquence he denounced the worldly ambition of the papal see, which employed spiritual weapons in its struggles for secular power, and pointed out the mischief of uniting the two swords. In reply, the pope's bulls compared the emperor to the Apocalyptic beast, and called him heretic and blasphemer of Christ and of all holiness. In this conflict the communities of Italy, always too ready for partisan quarrels, were divided into Guelphs (Welfs), adherents of the pope, and Ghibellines (Waiblinger), those of the emperor. Splendid achievements were wrought by the friends of Frederick II., such as Ezzelino of Romano, Prince of Verona, and by his own sons, the knightly Manfred, and the handsome King Enzo, who died in Bologna in 1272, after an imprisonment of twenty-three years. During the conflict Pope Gregory summoned a general council of the Church at Rome, May, 1241. The prelates from England, France, and Germany came to Genoa, and thence sailed with a strong fleet for Civita Vecchia, but Frederick intercepted and captured the ships on the way, and kept all the bishops as prisoners for several months. Soon after this Gregory IX. died, almost a century old (August 21, 1241), and, after an interregnum of two years, Innocent IV., hitherto the emperor's friend, was chosen pope in 1243. It was soon plain that, as Frederick II. had said, "no pope could be a Ghibelline;" and his former friend became his bitterest foe. The new pope fled to France, called a general Church council to meet at Lyons, June 24, 1246, and here, in 1245, pronounced the ban of the Church upon the emperor, declaring the throne forfeited, and Frederick II. and his house forever unworthy of it. But the emperor was only stimulated to greater energy and majesty in his efforts. He summoned princes and people to sustain him against the unrighteous decree. In Italy the pope continually stirred up conspiracies against him, until, from a mild ruler, he became almost a tyrant. The time had not yet come when the people could oppose the Church. Swarms of mendicant monks went through Italy and Germany, preaching hatred and rebellion against the emperor. But he continued the struggle, with his vigor unbroken, until a sudden illness at

Firanzuola caused his death, December 13, 1250. He was buried at Palermo, where his tomb was opened in 1781; and his body was found clothed in imperial robes, with the crown of the Holy Roman Empire on his brow. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad," was the exultant cry of Pope Innocent IV., on hearing that the emperor was dead.

§ 26. The emperor's fortunes concerned Germany but little for the last fifteen years. His son Conrad, indeed, occupied the throne in his name, but his power was insignificant. The princes, proprietors, and cities lived on, with no bond of union, each guided by his own will. Feuds arose; plunder and lawlessness became common. In the year 1241 the Mongols, under the successors of Genghis Khan, invaded Schleswig from the East. These were hordes of heathen barbarians, who had founded under Genghis Khan himself a series of monstrous kingdoms, extending from China to the Euphrates and the Ganges, and had then conquered Russia. Neither the emperor nor the king concerned himself with this danger. It was left to the nobles of Schleswig to meet it. These, under the command of Henry the Pious, fought a terrible battle upon the field of council near Liegnitz; and although they did not obtain victory, yet by their obstinate valor and heroic death they inspired in the Mongols such dread of German warriors that they preferred to turn back. They devastated Hungary on the way, and then abandoned all Europe except Russia. In 1246, when the pope laid the ban of the Church on the emperor, he wrote, with surprising assumption, to the German princes, "We command you, since our beloved son, the Landgrave of Thuringia, is ready to accept the imperial crown, that you at once and unanimously elect him." The ecclesiastical princes of the Rhine obeyed, and, aided by other bishops, set up Henry Raspe as a rival emperor. But in the same year he was finally overthrown by Conrad, and died in February, 1247, at the Wartburg. A second claimant of the throne, Count William of Holland, elected by the spiritual electors in October, 1247, maintained himself on the Lower Rhine; but few regarded this young and powerless king; and neither he nor Conrad could displace the other. Thus the empire was left in a state of anarchy at the death of Frederick II.

§ 27. The later history of the Hohenstaufens strictly belongs to Italy, and not to Germany. But the German mind has always held this splendid and able family in such high honor that it seems indispensable to record its fate. The pope had declared that this "sacrilegious race" had forever forfeited the throne. But Manfred, a son of Frederick II. and of Bianca Lancia, born before their marriage, seized the crown of Sicily and Naples; and in 1251 his half-brother, Conrad IV., being defeated in Germany by William of Holland, took refuge with him, but died May 21, 1254, at the age of twenty-six, leaving one son, Conradin, an infant two years old. Now Manfred ruled Naples and Sicily as king, to the exclusion of the child Conradin, who was brought up in Suabia. The pope for a long time continued to offer this throne to others; but it was necessary first to conquer before he could deliver it. At length Charles of Anjou, a younger brother of King Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France, accepted it, and was furnished by the pope with money and his blessing to take possession. Aided by the treason of many of Manfred's noblemen, he gained a complete victory over him at Benevento in 1266; and Manfred, seeing that all was lost, sought and found a soldier's death on the field.

§ 28. Charles of Anjou proved to the conquered land a gloomy and cruel king. But the memory of his ancestors' glory and greatness gave Conradin, "the young king" of the minstrels, with whom he often contended in heroic song, no rest. At the age of sixteen, he pledged all the estates left to his family in Suabia, for means to cross the Alps and recover his royal inheritance. Accompanied by his friend, Frederick of Austria, he, the grandson of a great emperor, marched in 1268, with a small force of mercenaries, into Italy, for centuries the land of longing and of ruin to German ambition. The Ghibellines joined him, especially the Pisans, who had long been attached to the empire. In Central Italy and even in Rome he was received almost as emperor. He defeated Charles of Anjou at Scurcola (1268); but his German soldiers scattered in search of booty; and, by a sudden ambush, the cunning Charles deprived him of his success. Conradin and Frederick fled to the sea-shore, and were there taken by John of Frangipanni, who owed all his fortune

to the earlier Hohenstaufens, and surrendered to Charles, who held a court to try them for high-treason. But a single knight was found to pronounce for the penalty of death; but though even the French knights murmured that the royal youth had been taken in honorable warfare, and not in traitorous conspiracy, Charles persisted in putting them to death. The scaffold was erected for Conradin in view of Naples, and in the midst of the splendor of his own hereditary kingdom and of the fairest scene on earth. Conradin threw his glove into the throng. A knight took it up and brought it to Peter III. of Aragon, husband of Manfred's daughter Constance, whose descendants afterward ruled over Sicily. Conradin then kneeled down, and resolutely awaited the death-stroke. Frederick cried out with anguish, as his friend's head fell, and called God to witness their innocence. He then met his own fate, October 29, 1268.

§ 29. Thus expired the Hohenstaufen family. In lordliness and grace, in personal greatness and renown, it stands, perhaps, alone in history. Even the Saxon and the Salic emperors fall short of it in these respects. But its ruin was only the more frightful; a fall without a parallel, in which this dynasty, and with it the glory of the empire, fell from the highest earthly greatness within a generation. In spite of all its splendor, the internal decomposition of the empire had become complete under this house. When the Saxon dynasty expired, the great fiefs or duchies were hereditary; when the Franconian dynasty expired, all fiefs, even the small ones, had become so; but at the end of the Hohenstaufens these fiefs had become independent principalities. The emperors had been diligent in splitting up the great duchies, which endangered the imperial supremacy, into small districts, under both clerical and lay lords. Now this disintegration was general, and as yet without immediate evil consequences. In extreme need, as at the Mongol invasion, the neighbors likely to be next attacked freely rendered their aid; and the valor of its members still protected the union. But the collective strength of the German nation no longer existed; and six hundred years were to pass before it should again meditate common enterprises, and renew the ancient empire.

## CHAPTER IX.

### GERMAN CIVILIZATION UNDER THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS.

§ 1. Influence and Power of the Church. § 2. The Crusades. § 3. Heresies and the Inquisition. § 4. The Order of Knights. § 5. Their Arms and Education. § 6. Their Life and its Enjoyments. § 7. The Minnesingers. § 8. German Minstrelsy. § 9. The Monastic Orders. § 10. Religious Orders of Knighthood. The German Order. § 11. The German Cities; their Growth. § 12. Their Administration. § 13. Roman and Gothic Architecture. § 14. Highways of Trade with the South. § 15. With the North and East of Europe. § 16. Tolls and Robbers. § 17. German Colonization; its Interruptions. § 18. Its Progress in Prussia. § 19. In Pomerania and Mecklenburg. § 20. East of the Baltic Sea. § 21. In Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia. § 22. Along the Danube.

§ 1. DURING the wild and lawless times of the Middle Ages, the Church, as we have seen, was an educating and protecting power. Its influence extended over the whole life of its members, and the highest as well as the lowest bowed in equal reverence before its ministers. For trespasses once committed, it imposed its penances—alms, pilgrimages, fasts, and even scourgings; often requiring kings and great nobles to atone for crimes by building churches or endowing monasteries. The pious faith of the age regarded life as intolerable when cut off from the Church, whose power of giving or withholding the sacraments was held to imply that of opening or closing heaven to the soul; and thus the ban, which cut off its object from the Church, had a fearful significance. But more fearful still was the interdict which great offenses against the Church brought upon entire cities or countries. It put an end to public worship, and to all the ministrations of the Church. The bells were silent, the churches closed, no priest could follow the coffin of the dead with the cross and with holy song, and even marriages were celebrated in the church-yard. The people could not hold out long against such terrors; and ban and interdict were the powerful weap-

ons which made the papacy supreme. At every step in daily life the eye of the believer saw the Church before him, in a thousand forms and emblems. By the roadside it set up the cross or the martyr's shrine, as a call to devotion. It placed churches and chapels as well in the throng of the bustling street as in the silence of the forest and the mountain. It built up majestic cathedrals, whose spires were visible far and wide. In the sound of the church-bells, in the prescribed habit of making the sign of the cross, in the forms of morning and evening blessings, in the petitions of the rosaries, in the singing of processions, and in the sacred mysteries of the sacrament, its warnings and invitations were continually heard. Numbers of Church festivals were appointed, as suggestions of devotion, while adding to the good cheer of life. Thus the Church had not only terrors to offer, but introduced many harmless and agreeable customs. It is true that superstition flourished none the less amid these cheerful and often beneficial practices. The passion for miracles knew no bounds, and found ever fresh nourishment in new wonders. Ancient heathen notions of the gods still lingered in the popular mind, associated with the belief in ghosts and magic. The delusions of witchcraft were deeply seated in the general belief from the earliest times, and often led to cruel practices; although the spirit of the old German laws discouraged such superstitions. The mind was tortured by the dread of hell. Yet the people had in their characters the vigor to raise them above even these terrors; and black as the devil was painted, yet in the popular legends he was usually the stupid and outwitted devil. The Church almost always opened to the sick, the pilgrims and the poor, its abundant treasures, which gifts and bequests constantly increased; and was especially open-handed in times of distress; but the Church itself found in its riches an insidious temptation to riotous and unspiritual living, which it did not long resist.

§ 2. On the whole, then, the Church, in these, its greatest and best days, was a power beneficial to the people; and they naturally clung to it. The influence of the hierarchy over them was most fully shown in the crusades. It was in 1094 that Peter the Hermit, of Amiens, visited the holy sepulchre. He saw there the shame and oppression which the Christians



suffered, after the Turks wrested Jerusalem from the hands of the gentler Arabs (1073). While he prayed at the tomb of Christ, the day before his departure, he saw, in a vision or dream, the Lord himself, who commanded him to arouse Christendom to rescue his sepulchre from the heathen. Returning to Europe, the little, impetuous man, in the garb of a mendicant monk, mounted his ass, and traveled through the nations preaching the crusade. The pope, Urban II., gave his sanction to the holy war, which Gregory VII., in his pious zeal, had desired to undertake. In 1095 the pope called a council at Clermont, in Eastern France, and made an enthusiastic address, exhorting Christians to go to the Holy Land. "It is the will of God," was the general shout with which his hearers, including many noble princes and bishops of France, pressed forward to receive the cross, which was worn as a badge upon the shoulder. The agitation affected France first; spread next to the knights of Lombardy, and then to the Normans in England and in South Italy. For the time, and beyond Lower Lorraine, it made scarcely any impression upon Germany, where Henry IV. had fallen out with the Church, and the empire was distracted within itself. In 1096, an unorganized throng, from all nations, led by Peter of Amiens and a French knight called Walter Lackland, strayed through Germany toward the East, though but few arrived at their destination. They were followed by the organized army of crusaders, chiefly French and Normans, led by Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince of Lorraine, and a vassal of the German Empire. After endless difficulties, Jerusalem was captured on July 15, 1099; the sword of the Christians was turned with equal severity against Saracens and Jews; songs of praise were raised to the Lord on the site of Solomon's Temple, and Godfrey of Boulogne was chosen king. But his pious heart refused to wear the golden crown where his Lord had worn the crown of thorns; and it was not worn until his brother Baldwin accepted it after Godfrey's death (1100). This newly conquered kingdom in the East now assumed the appearance of a colony, receiving every body who came in search of fortune; and pious zeal or love of adventure led many a prince and knight, either alone or with followers, to make a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre. The

cities of Italy—Genoa, Pisa, and Venice—were active in taking the control of the new channels of trade. Thus a busy commercial intercourse grew up between the rich and artistic East and the West, still so inferior to it. Precious fabrics, silk stuffs, fine weapons, choice spices, and like articles, were sent from the Orient; the Western people soon became acquainted with these goods, and the gorgeous attire that marked the chivalric life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had its origin mainly in this trade. The Christian knights learned from the Saracens lessons of valor and hospitality, and sometimes of magnanimity. When an exile, or under ban, he perhaps lived at the splendid court of a Mahomedan prince; and thus grew up the true knightly relation of mutual respect between enemies. Even the proud Christian began to inquire in what respects he was superior, and in what inferior to the heathen. Saladin, who in 1187 reconquered Jerusalem, by his gentleness, liberality, and generosity, won the admiration of Western kings, as well as of German and French minstrels. It was especially in Italy that wealth and splendor of living increased; and that country also gained in intellectual culture by intercourse with the Saracens. For mathematics and medicine were derived from them; and from them were recovered even the writings of Aristotle, who came to be regarded in the Middle Ages as the only philosopher. But with these things the faults of Mussulman culture also found their way into men's minds—the love of indulgence and mere worldliness. A faithful picture of the Saracen influence is given by the merry but luxurious court of Frederick II. in Sicily.\*

\* The later crusades, as far as they are included in the history of Germany, are described in their proper sequence. But a chronological summary will be useful:

First crusade, 1096–1099, Godfrey of Boulogne takes Jerusalem.

Second crusade, 1147–1149, Conrad III. and Louis VII.; an unsuccessful expedition against Damascus.

Third crusade, 1189–1192 (after Saladin had retaken Jerusalem), under Barbarossa, Richard of England, and Philip Augustus of France; Acon taken.

Fourth crusade, 1203–1205, the knights of France and Flanders, under Baldwin of Flanders, capture Constantinople, and found there a Western Empire, which lasts till 1261.

§ 3. With the progress in culture, and the new views and principles of life thus introduced, a new danger menaced the Church. Doubts of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and to some extent of the fundamental truths of Christianity, appeared among the people, mostly suggested by the influence of the East. The Church called every deviation from its teachings heresy. Heretical tendencies first became prominent in Lombardy, the native land of Arnold of Brescia, the first assailant of the oligarchy; but they soon found manifold sympathy in the south of France, and in Germany, especially on the Rhine. At the summit of the power of the Church, Innocent III. saw such danger in this direction that he took up the most severe weapons of the spiritual power against heresy. It was then that the Waldenses were tortured and slaughtered, and all the frightful tribunals of the Inquisition instituted. In Germany, the monk Conrad of Marburg offered himself as a tool of the Inquisition for the suppression of heresy; the same who, by imposing cruel penance and tortures, hastened the end of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, widow of the Landgrave Lewis VI. of Thuringia. After her death, however, he obtained for her a place in the calendar of saints. Conrad met the rapidly spreading heresy with severe measures; and delighted in inflicting the terrors of the Inquisition with his own hand upon a vast number of poor sufferers in Hesse, aided by his gloomy companions, Conrad Tors and John the One-eyed and One-handed. At length he ventured also to lay hands on people of standing and of noble blood; and then the German bishops themselves declared against him, and demanded of the pope his recall. But before he could leave Germany, he was slain by the angry people in 1233, and the Inquisition disappeared from Germany forever.

§ 4. In the ancient German communities there was a distinction between freemen and nobles. But the possession

Fifth crusade, under Frederick II., 1228, 1229. He obtains by cession Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and a strip of coast.

Sixth crusade; St. Louis IX. of France, 1248-1254, proceeds to Egypt, and is taken prisoner.

Seventh crusade; St. Louis dies before Tunis. In 1291, Accon, the last Christian possession in the East, is taken by the infidels.

of greater estates, or the grants of great fiefs, had raised up out of these nobles "dynasties," or princely families, who formed the high nobility. Many noble families, whose estates were not great enough to sustain this high rank, voluntarily gave up their standing among the inferior nobility, in order to accept that of dependents of the princes. They were often charged by the high noblemen or clergy with special offices, and were repaid for their services by fiefs, which soon became hereditary. They were sometimes bondsmen, though freemen often rendered such services. Dependents who could afford to render military service on horseback were much more respected than the poor freemen who had not the means to do this; and during the time of the crusades, they, together with the lower nobility, gradually grew into a distinct class known as the equestrian order, or the knights. Besides the knights, there grew up in the cities an order of "citizens;" and under the knights, an order of peasants, many of whom, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were well to do, active, and capable of sharing in the pleasures of the times; but were still, as a class, in servitude, and sank more and more under the yoke. Whatever of intellectual life there was outside of the clergy was found almost exclusively among the knights.

The knight (Ritter, or rider) was thus a noble vassal, bound to his feudal lord in allegiance and dutiful service. To injure that lord was a felony; that is, it was rebellion and treason. Thus it was allegiance that now took the place of the ancient passion for freedom among the Germans: an allegiance that implied faithful obedience to death, and even to the commission of crime. None but a knight might wear in battle armor like his lord's, or be his companion in camp and court, and especially in the tournament. Admission to this order was a personal honor, conferred with a sword-stroke by the prince upon the vassal; and it bound the recipient to valor, fidelity, and generosity. As early as the twelfth century, knighthood was recognized throughout Christendom as making each of its members the equal in arms of the highest. The Church taught also as the knight's duty certain Christian virtues, correctness in faith, and the protection of the weak, of women and orphans. Valor and

untarnished honor were assumed as of course. This was the character of knighthood, as developed, almost precisely in the same forms, among the French and Normans, Italians and Germans. Their common manners and views of life bound the knights of all nations together by closer ties than those of nationality and patriotism.

§ 5. Knights were recognized by their arms and armor. A coat of mail, made of rings or scales (harness), covered the breast, body, arms, and legs. The armor of metallic sheets came into use at a later day. The knight's head was covered by the helmet, from which the visor was let down to protect his face, and on which gleamed his crest, either a handsome feather or a small metallic escutcheon. A triangular shield hung on the left arm; and he carried also a lance and a straight sword. Over his defensive armor was worn his principal garment, a coat or robe that reached the knees, with his arms embroidered upon it. The same symbols were borne also on the shield; but it was not until the twelfth century that escutcheons or coats-of-arms became general.

The boy of equestrian rank was brought up under the care of the women until his seventh year. He was then commonly taken to the court of the feudal lord, where he rendered service as a page until his fourteenth year—that is, he waited at table and carried messages; being constantly taught that his highest duties as a knight would be to love God and honor ladies. He received at this time his knightly education: learning to manage a horse, to draw the long bow, and to wield the sword. He practiced wrestling, climbing, leaping, and running, for the free development of his strength and agility; and learned to sing and play the harp, and often to speak foreign languages. After his fourteenth year he accompanied his lord to the field as his squire, to carry his heavy arms and equipment, and to lead his horse. Finally, in his twenty-first year, he was made a knight by a stroke with the flat side of the sword, given with many formalities; he was girt with a sword, and received his spurs, his steed was led to him, and thenceforth he was a member of the order of knights, and bound by all its obligations. The girls of equal rank were also taken in childhood to a court, usually that of their feudal lord, and took their place in his train at festivals

and on occasions of solemnity; they crowned the wine at the board, entertained stranger knights, and took off their armor. But in ordinary times they rarely left the apartments appropriated to the women, where they worked at the spinning-wheel and the loom.

§ 6. The knight's abode was his castle, and this, when he was poor, was small and uncomfortable. It was surrounded by a ditch with a drawbridge, and commonly stood on a steep, bleak height, or in the lowlands among canals and swamps. Within it was a court-yard, surrounded by stalls for the horses and dogs; above this was the entrance to the hall, the main room of the castle, and the usual tarrying-place of the men. Still higher were the women's apartments, and over them the tower. Larger castles, especially those of great princes, often inclosed much more space, and had as many as three courts, in which even knightly sports and tournaments were held.

When the knight was not engaged at court or on a campaign, life in his narrow castle was lonely and monotonous, with little variety save the pleasures of the chase, in the great forests filled with game, or an occasional visit, with a hospitable feast in the hall. For in the early days no honorable knight lived the life of a freebooter; plunder and highway robbery were still accounted disgraceful, and deserving of the halter. Still more dreary and melancholy was his life in winter, when the ways were made impassable by snow. The approach of spring was longed for, and was welcomed with eager delight. "I have seen a green leaf coming on the linden-tree," was then the jubilant song of the minnesinger; and the "soft, sweet summer time" was hailed with glee, for now one could go forth, and the cheerful festivals of princes and kings began. Therefore the songs of knighthood are filled with praises of the spring, and of the pleasures of the court, where proud swords and lovely ladies met, in their sports and delights, and splendid tourneys were held.

§ 7. Thus German poetry, in its first blooming form of knightly song, began to grow up with the institution of knighthood, dating from the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Since it devoted itself mainly to the celebration of love (*minne*), along with the delights of spring and of festivals, it is also called

minnesong. It is fresh, tender, and pure, though monotonous, like the song of birds—the chant which “the blessed night-ingale, that dear, sweet bird,” gives out from the flower-scented thicket. Such were the songs of Henry VI., and of most of his dynasty, down to “the young king,” the unfortunate Conradin; and such was the song of the greatest of the minnesingers, Walter of the Vogelweide, a contemporary of Philip of Suabia, whose heart was moved, not by love and the spring alone, but also by the woes of his country, and the valor of its people.

§ 8. The Suabian dialect was the foundation of the language used in these songs; and the language, at this stage of its development, is called the Middle High-German. It begins with the eleventh century, possesses its complete form during the first half of the thirteenth century, and lasts, on the whole, until the Reformation. During this period, noble princes protected, favored, and endowed with gifts the minstrels, themselves noble “gentlemen,” who wandered from court to court through the country, and were welcome guests every where. All the Hohenstaufens distinguished themselves by the favor they showed to poetry; and next to them the Austrian dukes of the house of Babenberg, especially Leopold VII.; as well as the counts of Thuringia, who held their hospitable and gentle court on the commanding height of the Wartburg; and among them especially Count Hermann. Henry the Lion, too, several of the Ascanii, and a number of others, took the same course. Besides the minnesongs, there were some skillfully versified narratives; treating, for instance, of Charlemagne’s legendary adventures, of the Trojan war, or of Alexander’s victories, or describing the wonder land opened in the East by the crusades. Thus Conrad, a monk at the court of Henry the Lion, sang a song of Roland; another, named Lamprecht, a song of Alexander, and Henry of Veldeke, an *Æneid*. But the greatest of the poets of that age connected their subjects with the circle of myths relating to King Arthur and his Round Table. Thus Sir Hartman of the Aue composed his “Iwein with the Lion,” and his “Erec;” Sir Wolfram of Eschenbach his “Percival;” and Master Godfrey of Strasburg his splendid poem of “Tristan and Isolt.” The ancient

and incomparable heroic legends were also called to mind; and thus, at last, in the hands of an unknown minstrel, probably at the Austrian court, the "Nibelungen Lied," the mighty song of Siegfried's death and Crimhild's revenge, was brought into the shape in which it has been handed down to us. On the other hand, the life of conflict led by the people of the North Sea is described in the poem of "Kudrun," which was composed about the same time out of the legends and popular songs of North Germany. The times were rich in poetry, its most splendid productions appearing during the forty years from 1190 to 1230; and its bloom withering again as speedily. It was the first flourishing period of German poetry, which was destined to bloom again, in kindred and even greater splendor, at the end of the eighteenth century.

§ 9. The practice of embracing seclusion and an ascetic life for the sake of exclusive devotion to religion was known in the East in the early ages of the Church, and is even, by some zealous writers, ascribed to the influence of the apostles. But it never became a conspicuous feature of Christianity until after the time of St. Anthony of Egypt (A.D. 305), nor was it widely known in Western Europe before the middle of the fourth century. Athanasius is said to have introduced monkish institutions into Rome (A.D. 341); and during the same generation they became numerous in Palestine and Asia Minor. St. Ambrose, who died in 397, denounced the monks as destroyers of humanity; but St. Martin (Bishop of Tours, 373-400), by his preaching and example, led multitudes to embrace a monastic life; and two thousand of his disciples are said to have followed him to his grave. In the early ages of monasticism, the associations of monks and of nuns were voluntary, each governed by its own customs, or sometimes without a government; and it would appear, from the decrees of the sixth and seventh general councils, that they then gave rise to abuses and scandals of the same nature as in more recent times. But in 529, St. Benedict of Nursia founded, at the convent of Monte Casino, among the Apennines, the Benedictine order, and promulgated rules of life and government which have ever since remained in substance the controlling laws of Roman monasti-



cism. The foundation of all these rules lies in the three vows of "poverty, chastity, and obedience;" and the different orders have been mainly distinguished by the degree of strictness with which they interpret these vows. The Benedictine order remained without a rival for five hundred years, and was so numerous that it is said to have contributed 55,505 saints to the calendar! The great growth of the Church in zeal and prosperity, which followed the times of Gregory VII., occasioned the formation of other monastic orders. The most famous of these were the Franciscans, or Gray monks, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, under Pope Innocent III., and the Dominicans, or Black monks, founded by St. Domingo of Spain. The Franciscans laid great stress upon the vow of poverty. They assumed the duty of preaching to the people, and volunteered to take care of the sick and destitute in the growing cities. Their first convents were usually built in the narrow, unhealthy corners and alleys, amid the misery of a crowded city population. Zealous love for the Saviour and for suffering humanity long continued to inspire them, as it had their master; but they became degenerate. The Dominicans, also known as preaching monks, made the conversion of heretics their special aim, and the Inquisition was intrusted to them. Indeed, the most eminent men in ecclesiastical learning arose out of this order. Among many other orders of monks, that of the Cistercians, founded by Robert at Citeaux, in 1098, deserves mention. They wore white clothing, lived simple lives, which recalled to their admirers the primitive Christian societies, and made their convents a sort of model schools for instruction in agriculture, thus exercising a wide influence in favor of a better treatment of the soil. There were monasteries in Germany of this order, whose estates became so vast that, according to a proverbial saying, a Cistercian monk going to Rome might spend every night, as far as the Alps, on his own soil. St. Bernard of Fontaine, who became a monk of this order at Citeaux in 1113, and two years later Abbot of Clairvaux, was for many years, by his eloquence and piety, the most influential teacher of the Church, and the principal arbiter in disputes among princes and people. He died in 1153. The Prémonstrate order was an outgrowth of the Cistercians;

it was founded by Norbert, a canon of Cologne, and chaplain of Henry V., who, after a sudden spiritual experience, often likened to St. Paul's conversion, gathered in the valley of Prémonstré in 1120 a number of pious followers, who joined him in taking monastic vows. They, too, wore white garments, and exercised a great and beneficial influence, especially in East Saxony and Brandenburg, where they established many religious foundations.

§ 10. During the crusades, the characteristics of monasticism and knighthood were combined in the religious orders of knights. First of all, for the purpose of caring for the sick and protecting pilgrims in the Holy Land, were formed the orders of St. John (the Baptist) of Jerusalem, who wore a white cross on a black mantle, and of the Knights Templars, whose badge was a red cross on a white ground. These consisted chiefly of knights of the Romance peoples; but in the third crusade, during the siege of Accon, a German order was founded, by the contributions of Bremen and Lubeck merchants, with the black cross on a white ground for their badge. All these knights took the usual monastic vows, with that of persistent warfare against the infidels besides. They soon acquired wealth enough, by gifts and grants, to take into their service numbers of squires and servants, and even lay knights. Knights of St. John and of the Temple settled also in Germany, especially in the new colonies, such as those in Brandenburg. But the German order became by far the most important in German history. The second master of the order, the wise and knightly Hermann of Salza, rendered such memorable services to Frederick Barbarossa during his crusade and afterward that he was made by him one of the princes of the empire. Under him, as the Christians lost ground in the East, the order was summoned to Prussia, to the wild regions about the mouth of the Vistula, the scene of the preaching and struggling of St. Adalbert, the guardian saint of Prussia and Poland. This missionary was slain by the heathen Prussians in 997; but as he fell, stretched out his arms in the form of the cross, thus in his death imprinting on the land the symbol of Christianity. Here the German knights joined the "Brethren of the Sword," another order formed of the German nobility, for

the purpose of subduing the heathen of Livonia and Esthonia. A long war followed, in which the native German population was nearly exterminated. The knights subdued the whole land, and filled it with German colonists. Finally, all further enterprises in the remote East were abandoned, and in 1309 the entire order settled in Prussia, founding Marienburg for the residence of their grand master. Thus the German sword and plow together conquered a "Little Germany," as it was called, an event which afterward led to others of vast moment.

§ 11. While knighthood was developed and flourished at the courts and in the castles of princes and nobles, there were flourishing cities in the land in which very different views of life were entertained, and another element was contributed to civilization. The cities were the communities in which the ancient German love of freedom was preserved and handed down. They became, at an early day, places of refuge for oppressed vassals and serfs, and contributed immensely to the destruction of slavery. We have already seen (Chapter I.) that the earliest cities on the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Danube, grew up about Roman camps and colonies. During the great migrations, these once flourishing outposts of the empire fell to ruin; but the bishoprics founded by Boniface in many of these Roman settlements restored them to importance. The building of the great cathedrals brought together large numbers of workmen, while pilgrims flocked by thousands to these holy shrines. Merchants took advantage of these gatherings, furnished supplies, and offered all kinds of wares; and thus many of the chief cities of Europe owe their early growth to the influence of the Church. In this way arose in the Rhine country Mayence, Worms, Spires, Strasburg, Basle, Constance, Trèves, and Cologne; in the Netherlands, Utrecht, Ghent, Lüttich, and Brussels; in Westphalia and Saxony, Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, Minden, Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg; north of the Elbe, Hamburg and Lübeck; in Thuringia, Erfurt; in Franconia, Würzburg and Bamberg; in Bavaria, Eichstädt, Augsburg, Regensburg (Ratisbon), Passau, and Salzburg; in the Tyrol, Brixen and Trent; in Bohemia, Prague; and in Austria, Vienna. These bishop-

rics were founded in part as early as the Carlovingians' time. Individual princes also built up cities as residences: thus Henry the Lion founded Munich in Bavaria, and Brunswick in Saxony. Imperial palaces sometimes became the germs of cities, and sometimes they grew up entirely by their own energy and the advantages of their situation, under the laws of trade. Thus arose Frankfort, Nuremberg, Ulm, Nordhausen, Soest, Dortmund, and many more.

§ 12. But it was not under a single impulse that these cities attained their importance and wealth. In the earliest time of the Frank rulers, a city, apart from the cathedral and the episcopal palace, looked wretched enough. The streets were unpaved; the houses small and of wood; there were often no walls, and in the winter nights the wolves invaded the very suburbs. The population consisted almost wholly of vassals of the nobles, not of people entirely free; artisans or agricultural laborers, bound to render to the bishops or other lords personal services and tribute. These formed the common people, or the lower class of citizens. But freemen, too, even men of knightly rank, came to the cities for safety or for gain, and these, mostly as merchants or as proprietors of land, gradually formed a city nobility, known as patricians. The feudal lord of the land was represented by a bailiff or count, who usually had a castle within the city, and administered the laws and levied the soldiers. This office, for example, was held in the imperial city of Nuremberg, from the time of Henry VI., by the noble family of the Hohenzollerns. The German cities did not, like those of Italy, grow great in open revolt against their feudal lords, but usually maintained a good understanding with their bishops and princes, and were favored by them; so that they preserved their rights unimpaired for a long time. The internal affairs of each city were managed by a council or college of judges or burgesses, presided over by a burgermeister, or mayor. The cities were divided into quarters; the land they owned was called their *Weichbild*. Judges, councilmen, and burgesses were for a long time chosen only out of the citizens of noble birth, and were perhaps nominated chiefly by the feudal lord. But the common people gradually grew in wealth and importance; their dues in services and tribute were disused or remitted;

and with increasing freedom and self-respect came also the desire to take part in governing the city. The workmen were divided into guilds, according to their trades; and each guild kept its organization distinct, attending to the common interests of its own trade, and carefully excluding every unworthy person, such as a son of an executioner, one born out of wedlock, or of Wendish descent. In the struggle between the emperor and his princes and bishops, the cities were almost always on his side. The emperors learned at a very early period the great strength there was in these corporate organizations, and constantly extended by new grants their rights and franchises, thus contributing greatly to their prosperity. This was the policy of Henry III., and still more decidedly of Henry IV. and Henry V.; and even the absolute Hohenstaufens, though they took no pleasure in the freedom of the cities, were compelled by necessity to follow the example of their predecessors. Manufacturing industry was a principal source of wealth in the cities; but the workmen were despised by the nobles, and were long deprived of influence in their own government. The bishops, above all, strove to keep in their own hands the right of judging all disputes among citizens; but many of these communities either were originally free from the feudal lordship of any bishop or prince, or else were made so by special grants. These had the emperor alone for their feudal lord, and their people enjoyed an exemption from much tyranny and annoyance. They were called free cities of the empire.

§ 13. The thirteenth century was one of full and varied activity, and the cities grew rapidly. Their fortifications were raised higher, and strengthened with towers and pinnacles, and fairer and more comfortable homes were built for the citizens, although it was only in the following century that the full vigor of city life in Germany began. But the piety of the times already sought to consecrate wealth and power by works done for the glory of God, and therefore churches were built at that time with peculiar splendor, and their towering spires are still the ornament of the German cities. Thus arose a new style of church architecture. The most ancient houses of Christian worship in Germany were imitations of the Grecian basilicas, and through these had been developed

the Roman style, characterized by the semicircular arch over every opening. The cathedrals at Bamberg, Worms, Mayence, Limburg, Spires, and Brunswick, the convent church at Königsutter, the minster at Bonn, the church of the monastery at Paulinzelle in Thuringia, and many others, are in this Roman style. But a peculiar style of architecture grew up gradually along the Lower Rhine and in Northern France, called the Gothic, in which the pointed arch took the place of the circular arch. The pillars, nave, and towers now rose more boldly, and on narrower supports; and in this style were built the masterpieces of the age. One of its oldest monuments is the church of St. Elisabeth at Marburg; another is the cathedral of Magdeburg; but its most glorious achievement is the cathedral at Cologne, which, having been planned for incomparable magnificence, was begun in 1248; but the work was broken off about the year 1500, and it lay neglected until, at quite a recent period, the sacred bequest of the fathers was taken up, and the completion of the great church undertaken anew. The cathedral at Freiburg, that at Strasburg, projected by Erwin of Steinbach, those at Ulm and Regensburg, the church of St. Stephen at Vienna, and that of St. Lawrence at Nuremberg, are works of the same style and of kindred magnificence. But apart from these sacred buildings, the prosperity and wealth of the cities, and the hardy, joyous life of that stirring age, were shown in various kinds of festivals and parades, of showy customs and displays, and even in gorgeous attire and luxury. A memorable example of a city's resources for such purposes was given by Cologne at the reception of the imperial bride of Frederick II.

§ 14. The German cities became the most important stations of a trade that extended far and wide. Such a trade arose and flourished soon after the beginning of intercourse with Rome, and was hardly lost in the wildest times of the great migrations. Under Charlemagne's universal empire it rose to renewed life. Under his immediate successors there was certainly a highway for traffic, from the Rhine, by way of Soest, Corvei, Gandersheim, Brunswick, and Magdeburg, eastward to the Slavonic countries, where ancient Vineta, renowned in tradition, was the centre of a lively trade with Kiew, and even with Greece and Constantinople. Still more

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important were the ancient highways which led over the Alpine passes—the St. Gothard, the Wormser, and the Brenner—from Italy to Germany. One of these roads, following the valley of the Rhine to Constance and Bâle, and then down the river to Strasburg, Mayence, and Cologne, receiving important branches or tributary roads at the Main and the Moselle, ended in the Netherlands, or rather continued across “the German Ocean” to England. Another highway led to Regensburg or Augsburg, and thence (after about 1050), by way of Nuremberg, to the Main and the Rhine, or through Erfurt to North Germany, to Magdeburg, Brunswick, Lüneburg, Bardewick, Bremen, and Hamburg. Still a third route ran directly from Constantinople and the Eastern Empire up the Danube through Hungary; and divided, one branch leading to Regensburg and the Rhine, a second to Bohemia, where Prague was flourishing, and to the North, through Meissen to Magdeburg and Brunswick, and a third to Breslau and the land of the Wends. Cologne and the cities of the Netherlands—Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels—had the trade of England mainly in their hands; but in commerce and the arts, England was then far behind Germany, importing from thence almost all luxuries and industrial products, while German merchants carried away in exchange raw materials, such as wool and hides, from the island so rich in flocks and herds.

§ 15. Italy had always been in close intercourse with the East; and it was thence, especially since the time of the crusades, that the costly goods of the Orient came: silk from China, cinnamon from India, spices from Arabia, richly wrought arms from Damascus, and the like. The rich and proud cities of Italy—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—derived the first advantage from this trade, but the German cities took a secondary part in it. They distributed these goods in the north, northwest, and east of Europe, and added to these their own exports, their woolen and linen cloths, their wine and beer—which the North could not produce, yet could not dispense with. Lübeck, which since the fall of Henry the Lion, who had founded its prosperity, had been a free city of the empire, was the chief seat of this commerce, grasping it so exclusively and so firmly, as the leader of the North German cities, that the Scandinavians scarcely dared to build up

a merchant navy and a trade of their own. The traffic with the East and Northeast became extremely active, as the land of the Wends east of the Elbe was subjugated, or at least opened. Poland, the colonies of the German knights, and in part even Russia, became dependent upon German supplies. Upon the Baltic Sea, the merchant of Lübeck, Wismar, or Rostock, or through his agency the merchant of the interior, of Soest or Brunswick, carried his goods to the remotest districts in which the military adventurer or the knight of the German order had prepared a way for German culture. Even Dantsic, Riga, Dorpat, and Novogorod were much visited as centres of distribution. Thus the foundation was laid for the extensive northern commerce which was developed in the succeeding age by the Hanseatic league.

§ 16. From the earliest period in which trade grew to importance, the nobles and proprietors who lived along the great highways were accustomed to improve them, opening fords, building bridges or causeways, or removing obstacles; and then to charge tolls as a compensation, which were cheerfully paid. But this custom gradually led to serious abuses; and the emperors, while their power was great, often found it necessary to put down the exorbitant toll-gatherers by force. The weaker the empire grew, the more common became the practice of seizing and plundering the traveling merchants; but the great roads were generally safe under the Saxon and Hohenstaufen kings. It was not until the fourteenth century that the "robber knights" began to infest almost all Germany. Then the merchant could not travel unarmed. His goods were carried in large convoys, like caravans, packed on horses or in large wagons. These often met with difficulties, since there were no paved ways, and even log roads or rough turnpikes were not general. Armed servants accompanied them for a guard. On the large rivers, especially the Rhine and the Danube, travel and traffic were of course attended with less difficulty.

§ 17. The power of the Germans had scarcely been reunited in the realm of Charlemagne when attempts were made to reconquer the region beyond the Elbe, that region which the Germans had once occupied, but which the Slaves had wrested from them after the great migrations. These ef-



forts ended with the fall of the Carlovingian power, to be renewed with the revival of German vigor under Henry I., and to be crowned with brilliant success under Otto I. But the natural course of German conquest, eastward and northward, was then unfortunately abandoned for the sake of Italy. The extension of German influence to the eastward ceased for two centuries. Yet the Saxons, especially, continued to cherish the desire for vigorous advance in this direction; and it was immediately stimulated to activity when Lothaire of Saxony ascended the throne of Germany. It was only from the days of Frederick Barbarossa and of Henry the Lion, however, that the youthful vigor of the German city life began to be put forth, almost with the energy of another great migration, in the colonization of the Slavonic East. This movement proved effective in several directions.

§ 18. The power of the princely family of the Ascanii comes into prominence first in connection with the Saxon marches. These were the North March—that is, the territory now called Altmark, in Prussia, on the left bank of the Elbe—and the East March, which lay south of Magdeburg, between the Hartz Mountains, the Saale, the Mulde, and the Elbe, together with Lausitz. We have already recounted the restless activity of Albert the Bear, first Margrave of Brandenburg, the ancestor of this family, who by conquest added to the North March (Altmark) Priegnitz and part of Havelland. Under him the ancient bishoprics of Havelberg and Brandenburg were revived. His descendants ruled these lands with great honor until they became extinct in 1320; and acquired, besides Altmark, Priegnitz and the East or Middle March, also Uckermark, that is, the land from the Ucker to the Oder and the Haff; and Neumark, or the land adjoining Pomerania, beyond the Oder, to which was added the bishopric of Lebus. Upper and Lower Lausitz, originally fiefs of Bohemia, also belonged to the Brandenburg territory, and were gradually filled with German settlers. By the end of the thirteenth century these marches were almost entirely occupied by German colonists. During the wars of conquest carried on by the margraves, the ancient Wendish inhabitants had been blended with the new-comers, and had nearly disappeared. The abandoned tracts of land, and a share of the

estates taken from the conquered, fell to the margraves, so that these became lords of nearly the whole soil. They introduced upon it German colonists from Westphalia, Holland, and Friesland. When a village was to be built, thirty or forty hides of land, each of about thirty acres, were granted to a middleman or agent, who gathered the colonists, placed them, and became bailiff or deputy in the new village. He collected the lord's dues, which were, however, remitted until the land was subdued, and administered the law in minor cases. Cities were founded in suitable places in a similar way, commonly by an association of several agents; or Wendish cities were adopted and transformed into German ones. The country was soon filled with German peasants, who formed a community almost absolutely free, and diligently broke the sod with the plow; and citizens, busied in trade or productive industry, who organized the cities according to the ancient Saxon laws, and in imitation of cities already constituted, and developed an active social life. Thus Stendal, Salzwedel, Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Spandau were built up; and thus also a twofold city, including Berlin and Köln on the Spree, was built, and, further east, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Küstrin, Landsberg, and others. Berlin received a charter from Brandenburg in 1225, but its prosperity began in the time of the brothers John I. and Otto III., the greatest rulers of the Ascanian dynasty.

§ 19. Near the Brandenburg colonies were those of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, also on Slavonic soil. The emperor Lothaire led a joint crusade of the Poles, Danes, and Saxons against the Pomeranians, capturing their cities of Kolberg and Stettin, and then Bishop Otto of Bamberg was called in to convert the heathen inhabitants (in 1124 and 1128). But secession and revolt threw all into confusion, until Henry the Lion, with Albert the Bear and other princes, entirely subdued the land, almost exterminated the Slavonic population, and colonized it with Saxon noblemen and lowland peasants. Along the coast arose the flourishing German cities of Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Wollgast, and Stettin, in the course of the thirteenth century. Mecklenburg and Pomerania retained a Slavonic dynasty, but became feudal dependencies of Henry the Lion. After his fall, they were be-

stowed by the emperor on the Ascanian family. Mecklenburg was soon able to throw off its dependence, but Pomerania endured it for a long time.

§ 20. At the same period, Christianity and German civilization began to take firm root in Livonia and Esthonia. The commerce with Novogorod, the point from which the Russo-Grecian avenues of trade diverge, was carried on partly through Wisby, on the island of Gothland, a city almost entirely German, and partly by direct intercourse with German ports, especially Bremen. Then Riga was built, Dorpat and Rewal were conquered, and the knights of the cross finally completed the subjugation of these regions, in which thenceforth the cities and the nobility were German. In Prussia, where the inhabitants were not of Slavonic descent, but a German tribe, Christian of Oliva, then a monk and afterward a bishop, toward the end of the twelfth century, took up anew the work of conversion, in which St. Adalbert of Prague had met his martyrdom. He soon found that he accomplished nothing by peaceful preaching; and therefore, with the aid of Conrad of Massovia, he introduced the German order of knights. In 1226 came the first eight knights of the order, under their commander, Hermann Balk; and others soon followed. They conquered the Prussians in a bloody war, and founded here a sovereignty of their own. The land was utterly laid waste; but enterprising men, mostly from the Netherlands and Westphalia, built up villages and cities in it, just as in the marches. Thus arose Thorn, Kulm, Marienwerder, Elbing, Braunsberg, Königsberg, and Memel; and the whole of the Baltic Sea was ringed as with a garland of German cities. Their freedom and their German nationality protected them, though among enemies and far from home, by means of their rigidly organized and close city corporations, in which the creative and constructive vigor of the German character was remarkably displayed.

§ 21. The German settlements in Meissen, now a part of Saxony, were colonized, in part, from the march of Eastern Thuringia, beginning in the time of the Saxon emperors; and in part owe their origin to the princely house of Wettin, which settled here. Meissen was the oldest town; afterward arose Altenburg, Zwickau, Leipsic, and Freiberg, the last

being mainly a colony of German miners from the Hartz Mountains.

In Bohemia, German settlements were made very early, in the times of the Saxon dynasty; both in Prague, where the Germans enjoyed extraordinary privileges, and in the mountainous frontier districts, as at Eger, Leitmeritz, and other places. The same stream of North German emigration poured in, from the twelfth century onward, which peopled the northern Slavonic districts, and cities and villages were founded in the same manner. The last Bohemian sovereigns, of the house of the Premyslides, strongly favored the German language and poetry, and the culture of the German knights; and the Czech noblemen gave German names to their castles and sometimes to their families. Prague was more than half German, and Ottocar II. even expelled the Bohemians from the suburbs, in order to place Germans there.

Silesia, which was part of Poland, was made an independent duchy by Frederick I., and given to a branch of the Polish royal family, the Piasti. These dukes also favored German influence, and their fine country was colonized by Germans, who built Breslau, Liegnitz, Landshut, Brieg, Glogau, Oppeln, Reichenbach, and many other cities. German laborers were especially in demand in Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, after the incursions of the Mongols and their frightful devastations. Great prospects were open here for the empire, had the emperor not turned the nation's efforts uselessly to Italy.

§ 22. The southeastern colonies were closely connected with the march of Austria. From the time of Charlemagne, German settlements spread through the valley of the Danube, and extended below Passau. At a later period, Henry of Bavaria, the brother of the Emperor Otto I., did much to extend German supremacy in this region. But the Babenberg house, which attained the ducal authority in 1156, were the great propagators of German nationality in the southeast. Vienna grew up under Henry, the first duke, and soon became the rich centre of distribution for the Venetian and Eastern trade. Afterward the stream of German emigration turned that way, and mingled with the original Slavic inhabitants throughout the country to the eastern valleys of the Alps, to the

Karst and to Istria. The extreme frontier of this German colonization may be found in the advance posts in the Siebenbürgen, of Saxon and Suabian origin, though the southern slopes of the Carpathians were also peopled with diligent Germans, chiefly miners. Yet the colonies in the Austrian country had less influence than in the north, in the marches, and in Prussia; since they were here mingled with the former Slavonic residents, while there they formed a purely German population. Both of the great powers of later days, Prussia and Austria, were, however, founded upon the colonies formed in these early centuries, the one partaking more of the peculiarities of the Saxon race, the other of the Bavarian. All that part of Europe in which the German language is now spoken was occupied by it as early as the thirteenth century. The period was a great one for Germany, not only in the power of its emperors, but in the vigorous life of its people.

## BOOK III.

### FROM THE GREAT INTERREGNUM TO THE REFORMATION, 1254-1517.

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#### CHAPTER X.

##### TO THE DEATH OF LEWIS THE BAVARIAN, 1347.

- § 1. The States of the Empire; the Electors. § 2. The Lesser Nobility. § 3. Spread of Local Independence and Lawlessness. § 4. The Interregnum. Claimants for the Throne. § 5. Election of Rudolph of Hapsburg. § 6. His Successes and Enemies. Ottocar of Bohemia. § 7. Rudolph's Administration. § 8. Character and Death. § 9. Adolphus of Nassau Elected; he Buys Thuringia. § 10. Is Deposed, and Slain in Battle. § 11. Albert of Austria Elected; his Character and Policy. § 12. His Relations with the Pope and the Princes. § 13. His Misfortunes and Death. § 14. Henry VII. of Luxemburg is Elected King. § 15. His Aims. § 16. The Crown of Bohemia and King John. § 17. Henry VII. in Italy; Guelphs and Ghibellines; Henry's Death. § 18. Lewis the Bavarian Elected. § 19. Frederick the Fair taken Prisoner. § 20. Lewis makes Frederick the Fair his Friend and Associate. § 21. Lewis in Italy; Disputes with the Pope. § 22. His Unkingly Concessions. § 23. His Efforts to Aggrandize his Family. § 24. Deposition and Death of Lewis.

§ 1. AT the death of Frederick II. it was too late to prevent the dissolution of the empire into baronies under feudal lords. The ancient dukedoms were broken up, and the ancient popular division into districts (*gauen*) had also disappeared. The lords who, in the prosperity of the empire, had been but vassals and deputies of the emperor, were now independent governors, whose subordination to the head of the nation was but nominal. These together formed the "States of the Empire," in their several grades or ranks from the highest dignity down. First of all were the princes, who finally succeeded in securing the sole right of electing the German king, or, as he was afterward styled, the King of the Romans. There were seven of these princes, or electors (*Kurfürsten*), as they

soon came to be called: three of them spiritual lords, the archbishops of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne, and four temporal lords, those of Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg. But in the last three countries there were still several families competing for the electoral privilege. The electors, and especially the three prelates, derived immense advantages from the decline of the imperial power. At each successive election they caused new rights and privileges to be secured to them by new "capitulations," or covenants, which were made part of the proceedings. The royal power was thus lessened, so that the emperors were soon destitute of both ability and will to serve the general welfare. They directed their efforts to founding and extending their personal power and family possessions: by seizing upon forfeited or abandoned fiefs, by advantageous marriages, and by all other means in their reach. On the other hand, the electors jealously guarded their prerogative, and limited that of the monarch. They often passed over, in their choice, the son and heir of the late king, lest the empire should appear to be hereditary or become so by prescription.

§ 2. Next in dignity to these princely electors were the dukes, though they no longer resembled in power and importance the former dukes of the people. Then came margraves, landgraves, counts palatine, and others of baronial dignity, more than a hundred in all; and, finally, in great numbers, knights of the empire—that is, knights who were subject to no feudal lord but the king. Besides these secular noblemen were the spiritual—the archbishops, the bishops, the abbots, dependent on the empire, the commanders of orders, and others—also more than one hundred in number. The "states" included also the free cities of the empire, of which there were already about sixty, and new ones were constantly added to the list. They were now practically independent communities, organized as aristocratic republics. Country communities, which retained their freedom in the ancient German style, were now found only in the seven Frisian districts on the coast; and these were constantly threatened by the great nobles around them.

§ 3. The tendency to disintegration extended far beyond the purposes of the great vassals of the crown who intro-

duced it. Just as the imperial power which once controlled the whole land was destroyed by their encroachments, so they were themselves hampered by their subordinate proprietors, by the inferior noblemen and clergy, and by their cities; those, namely, which were not "free of the empire," but still dependent on some great feudal lord. All these classes struggled for the utmost attainable independence, and the inner history of Germany during the next two centuries is essentially a struggle of the greater nobility among themselves for power, and of the lesser nobility and dependents against them, for what they called their freedom. The disposition of the Germans from the beginning was to isolation and obstinate independence. It had been partly controlled by the imperial power since the time of Charlemagne; but it now asserted its strength anew, not, indeed, among the peasantry, but in the nobility and in the walled cities. In spite of the often-renewed proclamations of public peace, positively forbidding the use of violence in enforcing private rights, the nobility persisted in the old feudal practice of "self-help," prosecuting and defending each his own cause by arms; custom only requiring as a preliminary a formal notice to the adversary that peace was suspended. But the inferior proprietors soon began to claim the same privilege; and every knight in his castle, and almost every freeman, began to take it upon him to send his formal notices of hostility. Such feuds, when prosecuted by the bold and strong, were of course often mere transparent disguises for plunder. As knighthood degenerated, it became customary for nobles to live "by the stirrup," that is, by pillage. Most of the castles became dens of robbers, places of ambush beside the highways and rivers, from which armed gangs fell suddenly upon the peaceful merchant passing by. There was no one to punish such crimes, and only by combining together were the weak able to defend themselves against the strong. The end promised to be a war of every man against his neighbor. This was the terrible time when there was no emperor in the land, the time when might made right. The love of order and law was lost, and even the sense of German national honor. License took the place of liberty, dynastic divisions counteracted the union of tribes.



and Germany exchanged her former greatness for utter insignificance among the nations of Europe.

§ 4. After the fall of the Hohenstaufens, the empire remained without any real head for a long time, though there were a number of nominal emperors. This period is called "the great interregnum." The death of Conrad IV., in 1254, left his rival, William of Holland, sole claimant of the throne. He was a handsome young man, and the pope called him "our nursling," while his marriage with a Brunswick princess strengthened his power. The cities in particular were disposed to acknowledge him as emperor, after Conrad IV.'s death; and in gratitude he gave his imperial sanction in March, 1255, to the league which the cities had formed for keeping the peace and protecting trade. But William was too subservient to the pope to please even the spiritual electors, and he never obtained a commanding position in the empire. The Suabian party never acknowledged him. He undertook to extend his possessions as count by an expedition against the free Frisians; but was defeated, and in his flight his heavy war-horse broke through the ice, and he was seized and slain by the enraged peasantry, January 28, 1256. The German princes were now willing to leave the throne vacant; but the inferior nobility and the cities eagerly demanded national unity and an emperor, and the electors could not refuse the semblance of acquiescence. But they were resolved upon having nothing more than the form of royalty, and no German prince aspired to be a mere shadow of a king; so that they turned their attention to foreign princes, believing that a nominal sovereign who had no feudal estates in Germany, and who must reside abroad, would exactly meet their wishes. The Archbishop of Cologne sold his vote and influence to Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother of the King of England. He was also supported by the electors of Mayence and of Bavaria. But the Archbishop of Trèves, sustained by the votes of Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg, sold his voice to King Alphonso of Castile, a kinsman of the Hohenstaufens. Thus arose, in 1257, two foreign claimants of the throne. Alphonso never entered Germany. Richard came four times, for short visits, lavishly distributed the royal possessions, and obtained followers as long as he

was able to enrich them at his own expense and that of the empire. But when his money gave out, on his way up the Rhine to Basle, all deserted him, and "he marched back to his land by another way," as a contemporary chronicle mockingly says. To such a depth had sunk the honor of the empire among its princes. This state of affairs lasted almost twenty years; and among its worst effects was that the cities, divided in their allegiance between the two kings, broke up the promising league which Conrad IV., by the only statesmanlike act of his reign, had acknowledged and confirmed.

§ 5. Richard of Cornwall died in 1272. At once there was a general demand for the election of a real German king. Indeed, "self-help" and private feuds had become so general that social order could scarcely be said to exist. The only law enforced was that of the strongest; and to trust in the protection of the government was to court destruction. The popes had built up the house of Anjou at Naples; but it was growing too strong, and they wished for an emperor to check it. Besides, Pope Gregory X. found his revenues diminished by the disorders in Germany, and he desired help in a new crusade. Thus the Church sustained and stimulated the people, who had been accustomed to a strong imperial government for five hundred years, and now deeply felt the loss of it. Even the great princes pretended to desire a ruler who could suppress and punish the outrages of which the kingdom was full; but their real wishes are well described by the Bishop of Olmütz in a letter to the pope (1273): "They wish," he wrote, "to obtain through the grace of the Holy Ghost a gracious emperor, and through the wisdom of the Son of God a wise emperor; but they ignore the first person of the Trinity, and power is their abhorrence." At this time Werner of Eppenstein, a wise and thoughtful archbishop, ruled in Mayence; and he saw clearly what the empire needed. At his instance the electors met in Frankfort; and he and the patriotic Burgrave of Nuremberg, Frederick III. of Hohenzollern, secured their votes for a plain count in the Swiss country, who was well known for his knightly achievements, and strong enough to give some character to the office, without causing the princes any

anxiety for their independence. Rudolph of Hapsburg (in the canton of Aargau) was now in his fifty-fifth year. Under Frederick II. he had bravely upheld the imperial standard. He was a valiant warrior, full of spirit and resource, but in ordinary life simple, pious, and kindly. He was conspicuous by his extremely tall, thin figure, and his large, hooked nose. He was recommended especially to the lay electors, who chanced to be all bachelors, by having several daughters, one of whom was promised in marriage by his brother-in-law, the shrewd burgrave, to each of them. He was unanimously elected in 1273, and rescued society from falling into confusion.



Rudolph of Hapsburg (1273-1291).

§ 6. When Rudolph was crowned at Aix, the princes, according to custom, approached the new emperor, to renew, by the touch of the sceptre, their feudal tenures and their allegiance. But the sceptre could nowhere be found; and there arose a confused dispute as to the validity of the ceremony without it. Rudolph instantly seized a crucifix, and raised it up, crying, "Lo! the symbol of our redemption and the world's: it secures us heaven, surely it is good enough to confirm to us our parcels of earth." Thus every question was set at rest by his presence of mind. Rudolph began his reign with the usual royal progress, but carried it no farther than the Rhine provinces and South Germany. He earnestly insisted on the restoration of the imperial rights and property which had been alienated since the time of Frederick II. This was a difficult task; but he was supported by Pope Gregory X.—whom, at a personal interview in Lausanne, in 1275, he vowed to protect and defend—and by the most powerful of the electors; while his own gentleness and wisdom did him good service. Thus the voices of his opponents in Suabia, men of little influence, of whom Count Everard of Wirtemberg was the most obstinate, were soon silenced. Only one enemy held out implacably; but he was the most powerful man in the empire. This was Ottocar II., King of Bohemia, of the famous family of the Premyslides. He was master not only of Bohemia and Moravia, but, by conquest or marriage, of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. His sway extended far into Hungary and Poland; and, at the head of a crusade, he even founded Königsberg in distant Prussia. Once more there threatened to grow up a great Slavonic kingdom on the eastern frontier, but that Ottocar fully identified himself with the German order of knights. He aspired to the imperial crown; but the electors had feared to give it to so powerful a king, nor would a man of Slavonic descent have been acceptable to the Germans. Disappointed in this hope, he refused either to recognize "the poor count" as emperor, or to yield up the German duchies which he had seized. The German nobles in Ottocar's territory regarded the election of Rudolph as the signal for their deliverance. They at once sent to Rudolph, begging him to come and take possession of these lands in the name of the empire. Rudolph

had but a small army to lead against Ottocar, since the imperial call to arms, which used to command the whole nation, was powerless now, and his supplies of money were still more deficient. At Mayence, his imperial "treasury" is said to have contained "five shillings of bad money" only. But, supported by the Austrian nobles, who rapidly joined him, he besieged Vienna, and threatened to cross the Danube upon a bridge of his own contrivance. Ottocar now deemed it prudent to submit, and to sacrifice Austria and the other German districts, in order to save Bohemia and Moravia (1277), and promised his daughter in marriage to Rudolph's son. He came in his most splendid array to do homage; but Rudolph received him with studied simplicity, clad in his gray garments, and seated on a three-legged stool. "The King of Bohemia has often mocked at my gray coat," he said, "and now my gray coat shall mock him." Ottocar was put to shame, and left full of rage. Instigated chiefly by his wife, he placed his daughter in a nunnery, and took up arms again. A severe fight followed, August 26, 1278, on the Marchfield near Vienna, and Rudolph was triumphant, Ottocar bravely meeting his death on the field. His son, Wenceslaus (Wenzel), made peace with Rudolph and married one of his daughters.

§ 7. The emperor in 1282 gave Austria, Styria, and Carinthia as fiefs to his sons Albert and Rudolph, and soon after gave them to Albert alone. He thus attached these countries to his family, and laid the foundation of the Hapsburg power in Austria. His faithful friend, Meinhard of Görz, received Carinthia. After a stay of five years in the newly conquered lands, Rudolph returned to the empire, set in order Suabia, Switzerland, Burgundy, and the western frontier toward France; destroyed the castles of robbers in Thuringia and on the Rhine, hanging the noblemen who lived by plunder, and thus in all ways labored to restore civil order. Among the most powerful disturbers of the empire was his old enemy, Everard of Wirtemberg, who called himself "God's friend and all men's foe." Rudolph besieged his capital, Stuttgart, and reduced him to subjection (1287). He failed, however, in his efforts to extend the power of his family over Hungary and Burgundy, as well as in his plan to obtain,

during his own life, the election of his son Albert as his successor.

§ 8. Rudolph definitely abandoned the conception of the empire, and aimed to build up a German kingdom. Germany owes to him the establishment of peace and civil order, and of the principles upon which these rest, so far as it was then possible; it owes to him a royal sovereignty again in sympathy with the nation. The brilliant but useless expeditions to Rome were abandoned. Rudolph neither visited Italy nor assumed the crown of the Cæsars; and he thus escaped repeated and ruinous quarrels with the pope. His government connected itself with the interests and labors of the people. His own mind and character were of a truly popular stamp. He was cheerful, merry, full of invincible good-humor, always ready with an apt saying or jest; and kept his youthful freshness to extreme old age. He might be seen, for instance, at the head of his hungry soldiers, plucking a turnip from the ground, peeling and eating it, in order to encourage them; or, like Alexander the Great, refusing a drink of water, because his thirsty soldiers could not all be supplied; or stepping up to a baker's fire at Mayence, in his gray military cloak, to warm himself, and heartily enjoying the mistake of the scolding housewife, who undertook to drive him away as a pilfering idler. Thus the knightly splendor of the Hohenstaufens was wanting in him; but was replaced by a trait of popular good-fellowship, characteristic of the changed times. At the age of sixty-six, Rudolph married Isabella of Burgundy, a child of fourteen; and his parade of fondness for his bride was the mockery of the court. He was at Strasburg when the physicians called his attention to his rapidly declining strength. "Up, and forward to Spires," he cried; but died at Germersheim, on his way to the ancient tomb of the emperors, July 15, 1291, at the age of seventy-three, and was buried in the cathedral at Spires.

§ 9. Albert of Austria was again a candidate for the throne after his father's death, but the electors again rejected him. The revengeful Bishop of Mayence, Gerhard of Eppenstein, a nephew of the nobler Werner, first obtained the proxies of the other electors, and then gave the votes to his kinsman, Adolphus of Nassau. Thus a poor count was again set



Adolphus of Nassau (1292-1298).

up as monarch, and was compelled to bind himself by the most oppressive and unreasonable obligations to the spiritual electors, and in particular to make such grants and concessions to the Archbishop of Mayence as seriously weakened the imperial authority. But Adolphus, a bold, unscrupulous man, was confident in his good-fortune, and he followed the example of Rudolph. During the first years of his reign, he diligently kept the public peace in Upper Germany. Even Albert reluctantly did him homage. He met the King of France, who grew ever bolder in grasping at the territory of the German Empire, with resolute defiance; and when the King of England began war against France, formed an alliance with him. But Adolphus also strove, by using the money which he obtained from England, and for the sale of

imperial grants in Italy, to extend his own family possessions. Albert the Degenerate of Thuringia married Margaret, Frederick II.'s daughter, the last of the Hohenstaufen family. He drove her from him by cruelty and unfaithfulness, and then attempted to disinherit her sons, in favor of his illegitimate son, Apitz. For this purpose he resolved to sell his entire territories of Thuringia and Meissen to Adolphus, for the insignificant price of ten thousand marks (equivalent to about \$140,000 in American gold). Adolphus accepted the ignoble bargain, and led his mercenaries into both countries, where they quartered themselves mercilessly on the people. But Albert's sons maintained their inheritance; and their family afterward increased vastly in power, and became Electors of Saxony in 1423.

§ 10. Meanwhile Adolphus attempted to win over the cities by abolishing tolls on the Rhine. But by this act he violated his unrighteous compact with the electoral prelates—nor, indeed, was it possible to carry out their extravagant conditions to the letter; and they resolved to depose him, and to make his old enemy, Albert of Austria, king. Gerhard of Eppenstein easily obtained a reconciliation with Albert, who won over his brother-in-law, Wenzel (Wenceslaus) of Bohemia, hitherto his enemy, and even his son-in-law, the King of Hungary, and led an army against Adolphus. In June, 1298, the Electors of Mayence, Saxony, and Brandenburg came together, with plenipotentiaries from the King of Bohemia and the Archbishop of Cologne, and decreed the deposition of Adolphus. Albert brought his army to the left bank of the Rhine, and marched down the stream. The two forces met at Göllheim, upon the Donnersberg. Adolphus fought heroically; and at length, finding his rival in the throng, cried out, "Here you shall yield me the empire," and sprang to meet him. "That is in the hand of God," answered Albert; and dealt him a blow which dashed Adolphus, already wounded, from his horse; and he was immediately slain.

§ 11. Albert of Austria (1298–1308) had already been chosen king by some of the electors who deposed Adolphus. But this manner of obtaining the crown being plainly unlawful, a new election was now held, and he was crowned as king. He





Albert I. (1298-1308).

too was compelled to concede extensive favors and privileges to the electors in return. He at once began, however, to carry out with iron persistence his plan of establishing a German monarchy. "Hard as the diamond was his heart," sang the rhyming chronicler of Austria. No one loved him; he was gloomy, cold, and calculating; he had but one eye, and his enemies reproached him with the deformity as a mark set on him by nature. The ambitious pope Boniface VIII. immediately denounced him, as deformed; as having assassinated his king; as having married into that generation of vipers, the Hohenstaufens; as therefore unworthy of the empire, which fell to the pope's disposal. But Albert resolutely insisted that he held the throne, not by the pope's

confirmation, but by the choice of the German princes; and he sought an alliance with Philip the Fair, King of France, who was also engaged in a war against the pretensions of the pope. He cheerfully yielded to his new ally the territory which France had already taken from the western part of the empire. The electors, already regretting their choice of Albert, protested against this act. Archbishop Gerhard boasted that he could yet blow many a king out of his hunting-horn. But when they made a movement to depose Albert as they had Adolphus, he made war upon them, humbled them, withdrew all his promises, and strove to reduce them to entire subjection.

§ 12. At last Albert again made a friend of the pope, who began to find himself helpless before the growing boldness and strength of the King of France. The papacy lost that supremacy over the thrones of Europe which it had wielded for two centuries, and the alliance of Germany was again welcome to it. On the other hand, it seemed to Albert no great sacrifice to make the most immoderate concessions to the pope, from whom alone the German electors derived the right to choose the King of the Romans. Consequently, as Albert imagined, the pope could also revoke this right, and fulfill his promise of making the throne hereditary. Albert also strove to strengthen the cities against the power of the princes, by again abolishing the tolls on the Rhine; and went so far as to promise to the landholders, vassals of the several princes, "the freedom of the empire," in return for their support. He neglected no means of breaking down the power of the princes. Nor did he remit his diligence in adding to his family possessions. He resolved to declare Holland and Zealand a vacant fief upon the failure of the male line of the count; but his plan failed, and he was compelled to recognize the succession, through the female line, of the house of Avesne. The family of the Premyslides in Bohemia died out in 1306, with Wenzel III., grandson of Ottocar; and Albert proclaimed this country also a fief of the empire, and granted it to his son Rudolph. Finally, he declared that his predecessor Adolphus had purchased Thuringia and Meissen, not for himself, but for the empire; and when Frederick and Dietzmann resisted this claim, he invaded the land.

§ 13. But though Albert was fortunate in winning small acquisitions of property, all his great plans failed. Pope Boniface VIII., from whose help he expected so much, was, at the command of Philip the Fair, imprisoned, mocked, and threatened with death; until, unable to endure his fall from such a height of greatness, he died in madness in 1303. Albert's eldest son, Rudolph, the new King of Bohemia, died in July, 1307, having utterly alienated the nobles by his harshness, during his reign of a few months, and they loudly declared that they would not again accept an Austrian for their king. In Thuringia Albert's troops were defeated, near Altenburg; he attempted in vain to transfer the forest cantons of Switzerland, fiefs of the empire, to the house of Austria (Chapter XII), and finally Albert himself was assassinated. His nephew John, the direct heir to the possessions of the Hapsburgs in Switzerland, Suabia, and Alsace, had for a long time pressed upon his uncle and former guardian his demands for his inheritance; but being constantly rejected or put off with promises, he conspired with a number of his officers, and while Albert was in Switzerland, murdered him at the river Reuss, in view of the ancestral castle of their family (May 1, 1308). John, called the Parricide, because of this horrid deed, fled afar with his assistants, and died in obscurity. The vengeance of Albert's wife and daughter then raged against the guilty and the innocent. It was supposed that John had not wrought this "deed of Cain" without the approval of certain princes, who thought Albert's power too great; for he had ruled with vigor, defending the public peace, strengthening the cities, humbling the princes, holding in check the nobility, and removing tolls, as none had done before him; and had governed the realm more in the spirit of modern statesmanship than in the usual fashion of feudal sovereigns. As he met crime with crime, so he fell by a crime at last: a deed far blacker than the regicide of just a century before, and one which serves to show how far Germany was becoming savage again.

§ 14. In the bloody battle of Worringen, fought for the inheritance of Limburg, June 5, 1288, between the Duke of Cleves and the citizens of Cologne on one side, and the Count of Gueldres and his allies, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Counts of

Nassau and Luxemburg (Lützelburg), on the other, the brave Count of Luxemburg was slain. He was succeeded in his earldom, a small district in the rough forest of Ardennes, by his son Henry: a man eminent in intellect and in all knightly exercises, who kept the public peace in his territory so well that this wildest region of the empire was then the safest for the merchant. His brother, Baldwin, through his physician, the shrewd Peter Aichspalter, had sought to obtain from the pope the vacant see of Mayence; but Peter healed the pope of a serious illness, and received Mayence for himself, obtaining for Baldwin soon after the see of Trèves. By the death of Albert, in 1308, the throne became vacant; and since the secular electors were only agreed whom *not* to choose—for instance, not the restless Everard of Wirtemberg—Baldwin and Peter entertained the hope of together controlling the election. Another circumstance pressed them to haste. Philip the Fair had, as we have seen, humbled Boniface VIII., and in him the papacy itself. Pope Clement V., a Frenchman by birth, elevated to the holy see by Philip, never went to Rome, but established the papal throne at Avignon, where it remained seventy years. During this period the papacy was the servant of France. Philip now asked the German throne for his brother, Charles of Valois, in order, as he said, “that the imperial authority might again return from the Germans, to whom the pope had given it, to its original holders, the Franks, and to the successors of Charlemagne.” The pope was compelled to yield, and to recommend the election of Charles. But in secret, since he feared that the French royal house would be too powerful—one branch of it now reigning in Naples, and having thence acquired also the crown of Hungary—he instigated the clerical electors to make a different choice. Peter Aichspalter now brought forward Baldwin’s brother, Count Henry of Luxemburg, and secured for him the votes of the other electors. The election was held November 27, 1308, under a walnut-tree, on the Königstuhl at Rense, a point on the Rhine above Coblentz, whence a blast of a hunting-horn could be heard in the lands of four of the electors, and the new emperor was immediately crowned at Aix as Henry VII.

§ 15. The bloody death of Adolphus of Nassau, and still



Henry VII. (1308-1313).

more that of Albert of Austria, which was regarded as regicide and parricide in one, had deeply shocked the people of the empire. It seemed to be full time to reflect, and to act no longer upon mere principles of ambition. Henry VII., who reigned from 1308 to 1313, was impressed with the lesson, and sought to be emperor in the ancient sense of the word; to stand above all parties, maintaining peace and justice, by virtue of his consecrated dignity as the supreme arbiter of Christendom. He was thus the better able to be bountiful to his electors; he found his guarantee that he should worthily fill his office in his own merit and his noble purposes; and, in fact, once more exhibited the imperial power in a form worthy of the great trust.

§ 16. Henry did not make the extension of his private domains his object, yet favoring fortune brought it to him in the largest measure. Since the death of Wenzel III., the succession to the throne of Bohemia had been a subject of constant struggles. A very small party was in favor of Austria; but the chief power was in the hands of Henry of Carinthia, husband of Anna, Wenzel's eldest daughter. But he was hated by the people, whose hopes turned more and more to Elizabeth, a younger daughter of Wenzel; though she was kept in close confinement by Henry, who was about to marry her, it was supposed, below her rank. She escaped, fled to the emperor, and implored his aid. He gave her in marriage to his young son John, sending him to Bohemia, in charge of Peter Aichspalter, to take possession of the kingdom. He did so, and it remained for more than a century in the Luxemburg family. This King John of Bohemia was a man of mark. His life was spent in the ceaseless pursuit of adventure—from tournament to tournament, from war to war, from one enterprise to another. We meet him now in Avignon, and now in Paris; then on the Rhine, in Prussia, Poland, or Hungary, and then prosecuting large plans in Italy, but hardly ever in his own kingdom. Yet his restless activity accomplished very little, apart from some important acquisitions in Silesia.

§ 17. Henry then gave attention to the public peace; came to an understanding with Leopold and Frederick, the proud sons of Albert, and put under the ban Everard of Wirtemberg, long a fomenter of disturbances, sending against him a strong imperial army. In order to do away with hatred and reconcile parties, he ceremoniously buried the bodies of Adolphus and Albert in the cathedral of Spire. At the Diet of Spire, in September, 1309, it was cheerfully resolved to carry out Henry's cherished plan of reviving the traditional dignity of the Roman emperors by an expedition to the Eternal City. Henry expected thus to renew the authority of his title at home, as well as in Italy, where, in the traditional view, the imperial crown was as important and as necessary as in Germany. Every thing here had gone to confusion and ruin since the Hohenstaufens had succumbed to the bitter hostility of the popes. The contend-

ing parties still called themselves Guelphs and Ghibellines, though they retained little of the original characteristics attached to these names. A formal embassy, with Matteo Visconti at its head, invited Henry to Milan; and the parties every where anticipated his coming with hope. The great Florentine poet, Dante, hailed him as a saviour for distracted Italy. Thus, with the pope's approval, he crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1310, attended by a splendid escort of princes of the empire. The news of his approach excited general wonder and expectation, and his reception at Milan in December was like a triumph. He was crowned King of Lombardy without opposition. But when, in the true imperial spirit, he announced that he had come to serve the nation, and not one or another party, and proved his sincerity by treating both parties alike, all whose selfish hopes were deceived conspired against him. Brescia endured a frightful siege for four months, showing that the national hatred of German rule still survived. At length a union of all his adversaries was formed under King Robert of Naples, the grandson of Charles of Anjou, who put Conradin to death. Meanwhile Henry VII. went to Rome, May, 1312, and received the crown of the Cæsars from four cardinals, plenipotentiaries of the pope, in the church of St. John Lateran, south of the Tiber, St. Peter's being occupied by the Neapolitan troops. But many of his German soldiers left him, and he retired, with a small army, to Pisa, after an unsuccessful effort to take Florence. From the faithful city of Pisa he proclaimed King Robert under the ban, and, in concert with Frederick of Sicily, prepared for war by land and sea. But the pope, now a mere tool of the King of France, commanded an armistice; and when Henry, in an independent spirit, hesitated to obey, Clement V. pronounced the ban of the Church against him. It never reached the emperor, who died suddenly in the monastery of Buon-Convento: poisoned, as the German annalists assert, by a Dominican monk, in the sacramental cup, August 24, 1313. He was buried at Pisa. Meanwhile his army in Bohemia had been completely successful in establishing King John on the throne, and his army in Wirtemberg had reduced Count Everard to such straits that nothing but the emperor's death could have saved him from sub-

jection. But, in those days, all imperial enterprises paused when the head of the state died, until his successor was chosen, and his policy known, and Everard now had time to recover his strength. History has few purer and nobler rulers than Henry VII.; even his enemies have found no blot upon his character. But in the very loftiness of his aims and in his tragic fall lies the completest proof that the time was irrevocably gone for the fulfillment of the ancient conception of the empire, and, indeed, for the mediæval system of thought.



Lewis the Bavarian (1314-1347).

§ 18. The Austrian house of Hapsburg still regarded itself as having the first claim to the German throne. Its heads were now Frederick the Fair and Leopold, the sons of King Albert, both of them knightly gentlemen, and enemies of popu-



lar freedom. In 1308 Frederick submitted with great reluctance to the choice of Henry of Luxemburg; and now the house that prince had founded had taken its place beside that of Hapsburg, and threatened even to overshadow it. But the son and heir of Henry VII., King John of Bohemia, was a youth of but seventeen years; so that the Luxemburg party could not hope to set him on the German throne. They therefore turned their thoughts to the house of Wittelsbach, the ducal house of Bavaria. Lewis of Bavaria was made by Frederick II. Count Palatine, an office created for the dukes of Franconia. His grandson, Lewis the Severe, left the Palatinate to one son, Rudolph, and Bavaria to the other, Lewis. The two brothers were now enemies. Lewis was an able and valiant man, and had recently at Gamelsdorf (1313), at the head of the Bavarian cities, defeated Frederick the Fair of Austria—once the friend of his youth, but now his bitterest enemy. Frederick, indeed, still relied upon a promise which Lewis had once made him, not to oppose his election to the throne; but now that the prospect of his own accession was held before him, the temptation proved too strong, and he forfeited his pledge to his cousin. He was elected, the votes of Mayence, Bohemia, Trèves, and Brandenburg uniting upon him, at Frankfort, October 20, 1314. He was known as Lewis IV. of Bavaria, and reigned from 1314 to 1347.

§ 19. But Frederick the Fair encamped on the opposite shore of the Meuse, with his followers, of whom the most prominent was the Count Palatine, Rudolph, Lewis's own brother. A pretended election was held, at which the votes of the Palatinate and Cologne, with those of pretenders to the electoral rights of Bohemia and Saxony, were cast for Frederick, and the Archbishop of Cologne anointed him king at Bonn, Lewis having taken possession of the road to Aix, where he was crowned, one day later, by the Archbishop of Mayence. The two claimants of the throne at once appealed to arms, but for several years no decisive battle was fought. The pope endeavored to derive some benefit from this new complication in Germany. The wicked John XXI now occupied the papal throne. With unprecedented presumption, he declared that in a disputed election he had not only the



Frederick the Fair (1314-1330).

right to decide between the claimants, but even to govern the empire, and especially Italy. But the fortune of arms decided in favor of Lewis. Henry VII. had confirmed the forest cantons of Switzerland in the freedom of the empire, as independent of Austria. They now embraced the cause of the Bavarian, and Frederick's brother, Leopold of Austria, rashly undertook to subdue them. But at Morgarten, November 15, 1315, the Swiss utterly destroyed his army. During several succeeding years, however, as the contest was carried on without any concentration of effort on the part of the friends of Lewis, the Austrian party seemed to gain ground; until, in 1320, Lewis, finding himself unable to pro-

tect Bavaria from devastation, and believing that his own supporters had no real zeal in his service, determined to abdicate. This purpose greatly alarmed the Luxemburg party, and they rapidly flocked to his standard, to strengthen and encourage him. In 1322 King John of Bohemia, and Baldwin, Elector of Trèves, joined him with their troops; and now both claimants were weary of the war and eager for a decisive battle. It was fought at last, on the fields of Ampfing, near Mühldorf. Frederick had promised to do nothing until his brother Leopold should join him; but he was impatient, and ventured to fight alone. He was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, September 28, 1322. Lewis owed this success to the skillful conduct of the army by the aged Seifrid Schweppermann, and the well-timed assistance of the Nuremberg count, Frederick IV. of Hohenzollern.

§ 20. Frederick the Fair was kept for four years in close confinement in the castle of Trausnitz, where his blonde hair turned gray; while his wife, a daughter of the King of Aragon, wept herself blind for him. Meanwhile his indomitable brother, Leopold, fought for him, and obtained the aid of the King of France, by the promise, in which some of the electors joined him, of the crown of Germany. The French king also won over King John of Bohemia to his side by the promise of a family alliance. Lewis provoked the anger of Pope John XXI. by sending aid to the Ghibellines in Italy; the pope declared in favor of the King of France, and after a year of bitter controversy and threatening, in October, 1324, pronounced ban and interdict against Lewis and his kingdom. Lewis immediately summoned a Diet at Ratisbon, which fully sustained him. Moreover, the pope had recently persecuted the Franciscan monks, whose influence in Germany was very great among the common people, for the rigid interpretation they put upon the vow of poverty; and they now fled for protection to Lewis, and strengthened greatly his position in opposition to "the heretic pope." In March, 1325, Lewis himself sought a reconciliation with Frederick, and upon his renunciation of the crown, released him, binding him, however, to surrender himself again should he fail to secure the submission of Leopold and his followers. Frederick was unsuccessful; but he kept his word, and re-

turned, without regard to the pope's protest and indignation: but Lewis thenceforth treated him as a friend, shared with him his home, his table, and his camp, and even, to the astonishment and dismay of the pope, associated him as joint monarch in the conduct of state affairs. The pope and the electors protested against this arrangement, as an infringement of their prerogative; and the two royal "brothers" modified their compact, so that Lewis should bear the imperial title alone, but Frederick, as German king, should share the administration in Germany. Leopold acquiesced in this plan for a short time, but afterward attempted to overthrow it. He died, however, in March, 1326, without accomplishing this purpose, and Germany was left at peace for a time. The people acquiesced in the compact between the two claimants of the throne, and they exercised the royal power in harmony until the death of Frederick, January 13, 1330.

§ 21. As soon as Lewis was secure against the Austrian party at home, he made active preparations for an expedition to Italy. The Romans themselves, displeased that Pope John XXI. made his home in France, invited the emperor to their city. In 1327 he crossed the Alps, with an escort of but two hundred knights, and was eagerly welcomed by the Ghibellines in Milan, May 13, where he assumed the crown of Lombardy. He collected a considerable army, and marched to Rome, where the people expelled the papal party before him, and welcomed him to "the Roman Republic," January 7, 1328. No pope or cardinal remained; but a few bishops were collected, and the imperial crown was bestowed on Lewis as the gift of the Roman people. John XXII. was declared deposed, and on May 12, Peter, a Franciscan monk, was set up by popular acclamation as St. Peter's successor. But the emperor's demands for money to pay his hired troops soon provoked the fickle Italians, and in August, 1328, he left Rome in haste. He remained in Italy, still losing strength, until January, 1330, when the death of Frederick recalled him to Germany. There he succeeded, the same year, in reconciling to his sovereignty Albert and Otto, the only surviving sons of Albert I. He then carried on his war against the pope at Avignon with spirit for a long time.

The Franciscan mendicant monks, who were sadly abused by the pope and the rich Dominican order, because of their oath of poverty, still took part with him; and in their sermons and writings they laid bare without reserve the wrongs and corruptions of the Church of that time. Lewis appealed, like Frederick II., to a general council of the Church, as a higher authority than the pope; and this conflict contributed much to convince the people of the necessity of a reformation in the Church.

§ 22. Lewis, however, soon showed his unmanly want of constancy. Just as the people were every where learning to disregard the pope's interdict, and every thing combined to secure the rights of the empire against the priestly arrogance of Rome, the weak mind of the emperor himself gave way. Under the influence of a false friend, King John of Bohemia, he offered to recall his appeal, to make every concession, and even in 1333 secretly to abdicate in favor of Duke Henry of Bavaria. The secret, however, became known, and the princes and people protested so earnestly against the emperor's right to dispose of the crown, that he officially revoked the act. But he was now hopelessly humiliated in the eyes of all Germany. Pope John XXII. died in 1334, and it became more and more evident, under his gentle and placable successor, Benedict XII., that the pope was entirely in the hands of the French king, and dared make no concessions even if he would. Not until he had seven times made fruitless efforts to conciliate the holy see; not until he had in vain offered to abandon and to persecute his faithful allies, the Franciscans, to acknowledge that without the pope's confirmation his election was void, and to do penance for his official duties in the empire, as for sins, did Lewis summon courage at last to act as a king. In May, 1338, he called together a Diet of the empire at Frankfort, in which not only the princes, but the lower nobility, the knights of the empire, and the cities were represented, and here had his royal powers defined. From Frankfort the electors betook themselves to the ancient "Königstuhl" at Rense, where they formed the Kurverein, or electoral league, July 15, 1338, and declared in a solemn oath that the King of Germany received his authority solely from God and by the choice of the Ger-

man electors; and that the pope had no right of decision, confirmation, or rejection in this election. It was the first time for many years that they remembered what was due to German honor and independence; and this, it must be confessed, was extorted from them, by the pope's invasion of their prerogative, in claiming the right to designate and to depose emperors, not by patriotism or national pride.

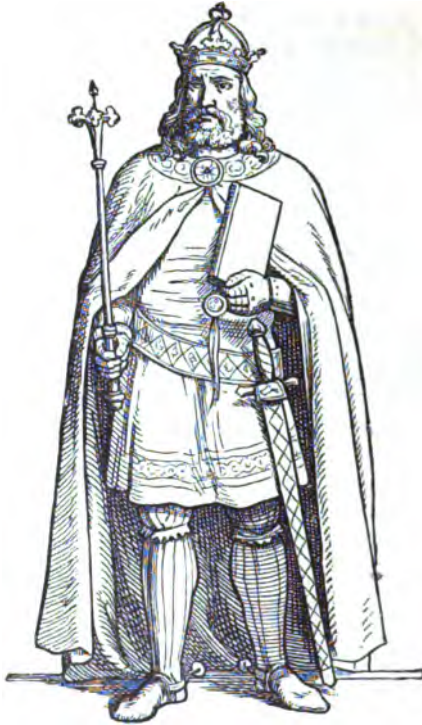
§ 23. Lewis of Bavaria was immoderate in his passion for aggrandizing his own house, and thus very soon gave offense to the German princes. The family of the Ascanii became extinct in Brandenburg in 1319, by the death of the Margrave Waldemar. In 1324, as soon as Lewis was established in the empire, he declared Brandenburg a vacant fee, escheated to the crown. It had been for five years without a lord, exposed to attacks and encroachments by covetous neighbors on every side, and was in a deplorable state of disorder and poverty. Lewis bestowed it upon his son Lewis, still an infant, and it remained in the family, in spite of much opposition, until 1373. During the wars with the pope, in the younger Lewis's minority, Brandenburg was frequently ravaged by the Poles and the heathen Lithuanians, and was under the ban and interdict of the Church. In 1329, his brother Rudolph being dead, Lewis conferred the Palatinate upon his brother's sons, Rupert I. and Rudolph, and the castle of Heidelberg long remained the residence of the Wittelsbachs of the Rhine. They founded the University of Heidelberg in 1386, and gave to the nation one emperor, Rupert III. (1400-1410). Another contribution to the greatness of the Wittelsbachs soon followed. Margaret Maultasch, daughter of Henry of Carinthia, married a son of King John of Bohemia, with the Tyrol for her dowry. But she hated her husband; and the emperor took it on himself to divorce her, and in 1342 gave her in marriage to his son Lewis, conferring on him at the same time the Tyrol, while he added Carinthia to Austria. He thus made the powerful house of Luxemburg his enemies. King John had given him efficient aid at the battle of Mühlendorf; but from this time he allied himself closely with the pope and the French court, and sent his son Charles to France to be educated. Lewis the Bavarian further took possession of Holland, Zealand, and Her-

negau, as the inheritance of his wife, and his acquisitions alarmed all the princes.

§ 24. Lewis now had the additional misfortune of bringing upon himself a new ban, from Pope Clement VI., by his conduct in assuming to divorce Margaret from her husband; and the pope actively strove to embitter the electors against him. Lewis humbled himself again in the most unworthy manner, offering to submit his crown, his lands, and his life to the pope's disposal; but Clement, as Lewis himself reported to the princes, treated him with contempt, and the whole German people scorned a king whose superstition made him so pusillanimous. The princes summoned Lewis to account before them at Rense for his slavish demeanor toward the pope, and for the manner in which he had grasped at several additions to his family possessions, and the nobles began to clamor for his abdication. In 1347 the watchful pope deemed the time ripe for decisive action, and, having arranged favorable terms with Charles of Luxemburg and his father, King John of Bohemia, he contrived to secure an apparent majority of the electors for his purposes. He assumed to depose Henry, Archbishop of Metz, for no offense but that he could not be induced to join in the plot; while the electoral votes of Cologne and Saxony were notoriously purchased. The three clerical electors, with the princes of Saxony and Bohemia, then met at Rense, not being able to obtain admission to the loyal city of Frankfort, and chose Charles of Luxemburg as king, July 11, 1346. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate were of course not admitted to this pretended college. Charles, unable to enter Aix, was crowned at Bonn; but all the cities on the Rhine, in Suabia, and in Franconia, adhered to Lewis. Philip VI. of France was now at war with England; and King John, though long blind and feeble, went to join him in person. Philip at once recognized Charles IV. as emperor. Charles was dependent on his father, and was therefore compelled to be present on the French side at the disastrous battle of Crécy, August 26, 1346, but fled from the field at the beginning of the English success. But his father, hearing that the French line was wavering, though he could see nothing, ordered his attendants to hold him in the saddle, and lead

forward his troops into the thickest of the fight. He fell, with several German princes in his train. The old king's motto, borne in knightly fashion on his armor, was "Ich dien," "I serve," expressing chivalric devotion to God and to the ladies. Young Edward, the Black Prince, the hero of Crécy, assumed the legend, as well as the three ostrich feathers in the crest of King John, and they are to this day retained as the motto and crest of the Prince of Wales. Charles returned to Germany; but the cities refused to acknowledge his election, and the friends of the house of Wittelsbach maintained the cause of Lewis so valiantly that the issue of the war still seemed doubtful, when it was ended by the sudden death of Lewis. He fell in a fatal attack of apoplexy while on a bear-hunt, October 11, 1347.





Charles IV. (1347-1378).

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES IV. TO THE DEATH OF SIGISMUND, 1347-1437.

§ 1. Charles IV. Secures the Throne. § 2. His Character; he is Crowned at Rome. § 3. The Golden Bull. § 4. It Secures the Sovereignty of the Electors. § 5. Charles IV.'s Acquisitions of Territory; the War of the Cities; Charles's Death. § 6. Results of his Reign. § 7. Wenzel's Character. The "Circles" of Judicial Administration. § 8. Traditions of the "Forest Cantons" of Switzerland. § 9. The Swiss Confederation Formed; its Struggles for Liberty. § 10. The League of the Suabian Cities Crushed. § 11. Wenzel's Cruelty and Tyranny; his Imprisonment

and Deposition. § 12. Rupert's Failure and Death. § 13. Three Claimants of the Crown; Success of Sigismund. § 14. The Empire and the Church. § 15. "The Great Schism;" Rival Popes at Avignon and Rome; the Council of Pisa. § 16. The Increase of Enlightenment; Sigismund's Great Tour. § 17. The Council of Constance. § 18. Preaching of John Huss; his Appeal to the Council. § 19. He is Condemned and Burned. § 20. Effect of the Council's Decision in Germany and Bohemia. § 21. The Hussite Wars. § 22. Sigismund's Italian Expedition and Death.

§ 1. CHARLES IV., the grandson of Henry VII., bought his election by large promises and gifts of money to the electors. He was compelled to make a vow to the pope to enforce neither the resolutions of the electoral league of Rense nor the previous claims of the emperors upon Italy; nor did he shrink from making large concessions to the cities also, in order to win their support. Yet it took this "priests' king" a long time to obtain general recognition. The Bavarian house of Wittelsbach exercised a powerful influence against him, Lewis of Brandenburg, son of King Lewis, at the head of it. This young man was conscious, indeed, that he was not yet able to claim the throne for himself; but he and his party set up in 1349, as a rival king against Charles IV., Günther of Schwarzburg, a straightforward, knightly man, who for several months successfully resisted Charles. On the other hand, Charles, with the help of the foes of Brandenburg, pressed hard upon Lewis. A rumor arose in Brandenburg that the Margrave Waldemar did not really die in 1319, as was supposed, but had secretly gone to the Holy Land as a penitent, and had now returned. A pilgrim pretender appeared, claiming to be Waldemar, the heir of the Ascanii; and Charles acknowledged him as margrave (1348), and stirred up a number of the northern princes to a continuous war against Lewis. One of the most useful acts of Charles's reign, in its consequences, was the foundation in 1348 of a high-school, afterward known as the University of Prague, the oldest, and for a long time the most influential of the German universities. Apart from these events, the first years of Charles's reign were filled with calamity. A frightful pestilence, called the Black Death, swept through Europe (see Chapter XIV.). In Germany, where Charles IV. was not yet recognized by the greater cities of the empire, all was strife and partisan confusion. But Charles made his



Günther of Schwarzburg (1349).

way more by negotiation than by fighting. In 1349 he made terms with Lewis of Brandenburg, and abandoned the false Waldemar, whom he had at first supported. Günther, deserted by his followers, and feeling that his death was near, renounced his claim to the throne, in consideration of 22,000 marks of silver. Two days afterward he died, probably of poison (June 14, 1349). Charles IV. then made friends of the cities, by promising them the greatest privileges.

§ 2. Thus Charles IV. was unquestioned sovereign. He had expended much money to reach his ends, relying far more on gold than on his sword. Cold, calculating, subtle, and cunning in his negotiations, but learned and intellectual,

he was as strong a contrast to his noble-minded grandfather as to his adventurous father. His great art was, in a time when hardly any prince knew how to make his income last, always to be well supplied with money. Thus by constant purchases and acquisitions he increased his family possessions, which finally extended through all Eastern Germany. Nor did he scruple to give up the last rights and resources of the empire, if the transaction would but bring him money. Yet he liked external majesty and pomp. He made an expedition to Rome, but with an insignificant train, and not in the proud spirit of his predecessors. Here in Italy he sold what was left of the rights of the empire, sometimes to cities, sometimes to tyrants. He received the crown of the Cæsars at Rome in 1355, two days before Easter; tarrying in the city, however, but a few hours of one day, under a promise to the pope. The Roman and Italian patriots, such as Cola Rienzi, who in boastful pride called himself Tribune of the Roman Republic, and the poet Petrarch, who, like Dante, hoped to see peace and good order extended by the emperor over Italy and all Christendom, were bitterly disappointed in this monarch. He had not the least inclination to do homage to idle dreams of a greatness that had passed away; and, without an effort to win the respect of the people, he made haste to escape from Italy.

§ 3. Soon after his return from Rome, Charles IV. rendered a great service to his country by an act which forms his one claim to grateful remembrance in Germany. Early in 1356 he proclaimed, at a Diet in Nuremberg, "the Golden Bull," a sort of fundamental law or constitution for the empire, which he had prepared in consultation with the electors; and it was adopted and decreed by the Diet, January 10. It contained twenty-three sections, and seven more were added at a later Diet in Metz, on December 25, of the same year. Its first object was to put an end to the confusion and strife which had long prevailed at the election of the German king. In the earliest times, the king of each tribe had been the elect of the whole body of freemen; and even after the empire was formed the same theory was retained. But the nobles soon secured the customary right of nomination, to be confirmed by the acclamation of the popular assembly,

and gradually usurped the exclusive power of election. (Compare Chapter VIII., § 1, 2; X., § 1.) By the rapid decline of the imperial dignity, and the growth of the great princely houses, the votes became fewer; until, in the twelfth century, it seems to have been a fixed idea in the empire that its head must be chosen by seven princes, the sacred number, and that these votes were inseparably connected with the titles of seven great officers of Church and State: the three archbishops of the rich northern sees, who were also chancellors, respectively, of Germany, Burgundy, and Italy; and the four high officers of the imperial household, who were originally the dukes of the four nations, Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, and Suabians. But the ducal houses of the Franks and Suabians were extinct, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the Margrave of Brandenburg had succeeded to their offices in the royal household. The house of Wittelsbach acquired the Palatinate as well as the duchy of Bavaria, and it seemed dangerous for one family to hold two votes, while the King of Bohemia also pressed his claim to a voice in the election. At several times each of the secular votes was in dispute between claimants of the same family. Thus rights were confused; rival elections were held, and frequent wars arose. Charles IV. and his counselors resolved to put an end to these troubles by precisely defining the rights and powers of the electors, and the mode of exercising them. "Every kingdom which is at odds with itself," says the preamble to the Golden Bull, "will fall. For its princes are the companions of robbers; and therefore God hath removed their candlesticks from their place. They have become blind leaders of the blind; and with blinded thoughts they commit misdeeds."

§ 4. The Golden Bull designated the seven electors: the three spiritual lords of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne; and the four secular lords, the King of Bohemia as arch-winebearer, the Count Palatine on the Rhine as arch-steward, the Duke of Saxony as arch-marshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg as arch-chamberlain. The Electoral Palatinate was left to the house of Wittelsbach, whose ducal line in Bavaria was deprived of its vote. In the same way it was decided that the house of Wittenberg, and not that of Lauenburg,

should hold the vote of Saxony, which had hitherto been in dispute between them. The Golden Bull granted to these electors honors and privileges far above the other princes of the empire. Their territories were always to pass without division to the first-born son. Within them, the elector was to be the supreme tribunal of justice, from whom no appeal lay even to the emperor. They had, within these limits, the right to coin money, to work the mines, and to tax the Jews, all of which had heretofore been parts of the royal prerogative. They were to meet every year in council with the king. Frankfort, was adopted as the place of election, Aix as that of coronation. To these articles were added laws for the preservation of the public peace. Not a word is said in the Golden Bull of the pope, and his pretended right of "confirming" the choice of the electors. Indeed, in this first fundamental law of the "Holy Roman Empire" there is no allusion to Rome or to Italy.

The Golden Bull, in its essential features, remained in force until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, and almost entirely prevented contests over elections. It might have grown into a real constitution for the empire, but for the unfortunate weakness of the emperors themselves, and the indifference of the princes to all but their own aggrandizement. The work of organization, however, never went further. The immediate consequence was the unlimited sovereignty of the electors, who were soon zealously imitated by other princes.

§ 5. After his return from Italy, Charles IV.'s career was one continuous hunt for lands, dignities, and princely privileges. He strove to obtain possession of Brandenburg for his own family. He dexterously stirred up dissension in the house of Bavaria, and in 1373 he succeeded in compelling Otto the Lazy, the younger brother of Lewis of Brandenburg, to yield the marches to him. Thus the house of Luxemburg became established in Brandenburg. Charles IV. doubtless hoped to make the imperial crown hereditary in his own family, and therefore made large concessions to the princes and the Church; while he showed little favor to the cities and the knights, withdrawing grants which he had previously made, and even handing over to princes some of the cities of

the empire as pledges for the payment of money due from him personally. Yet before the end of his life almost all that he had done or attempted for the empire proved to be fruitless, and he violated the regulations of the Golden Bull in his endeavors, which were at last successful (1376), to secure the next election for his son Wenzel. In Suabia, the knights and the cities joined forces against Everard of Wirtemberg, a favorite of the king, and the result was the bloody and protracted "war of the cities," 1377 to 1389, which is memorable for the proof it gave of the extraordinary superiority of gunpowder over muscles in impelling deadly missiles. The enterprising inhabitants of the cities first learned the use of it, and by it gained several victories over superior numbers. This war gave an impressive proof that all internal organization in Germany was passing away. The Church, the empire, and nearly every country in Christendom seemed to be in the course of disintegration. The Turks in the East were threatening to break in upon distracted Europe, when Charles IV., after a long sickness, died in his castle at Prague, November 29, 1378.

§ 6. It was only in his own dominions that he accomplished any permanent work, and to these he was called a father; but a step-father to the empire. From his seventeenth year he actually governed Bohemia, his father being always absent. He enlarged and fortified Prague, adorning it with a cathedral, monasteries, bridges, and towers; he founded there, in 1348, the first German university; and he made it the capital of intelligence and industry in Germany. He was persistent in increasing his hereditary domains, and having successively secured the Upper Palatinate, added Silesia to Bohemia, and taken Brandenburg, with its dependencies, Pomerania and Mecklenburg, from the Bavarian house, he was at his death hereditary sovereign from the Baltic almost to the Danube. He reduced the marches to order, encouraged and protected trade, and left a name in Eastern Germany far more honored than in the empire. He was always in disposition a Bohemian rather than a German. His predecessor, Lewis of Bavaria, had degraded the crown by subserviency to the pope; Charles IV. almost destroyed it by permitting it to become the tool and plaything of the German princes. The

ruinous consequences of his short-sighted selfishness were felt for centuries; and the emperor Maximilian I., who died in 1519, used often to say that "Germany never suffered from a more pestilent plague than the reign of Charles IV."



Wenceslaus (1378-1400).

§ 7. Wenzel, or Wengeslaus, who succeeded his father, Charles IV., had been well educated by him, and initiated, while young, into the business of the government. But his nature was impulsive and passionate, and his habits gradually came to be barbarous. Yet he began well. He zealously undertook to restore the unity of the Church, to maintain civil order, and to improve the coinage. But the "war of the cities" was still raging in South Germany. The great league of the Suabian cities, several associations of knights,



such as the "Schlegler," the knights of St. George and of St. William, and others, and finally such ambitious chiefs as Everard of Wirtemberg and Leopold of Austria, all stood in confused hostility to one another. Wenzel attempted, following his father's example, and in order to restore the public peace, to divide South Germany into four "circles," and to establish tribunals for the settlement of controversies; but amid such disturbances as these he could accomplish nothing. This was the beginning of the division of Germany into circles or judicial districts. But it was not until the "war of the cities" was ended, by the great victory of Everard of Wirtemberg over the Suabian league at Döffingen, that Wenzel was able to carry out his plan. By a decree at the Diet of Eger, in 1389, he established seven "circles" in the empire for the security of the public peace.

§ 8. Meanwhile the struggles of the Swiss cantons for freedom attracted the attention of all Southern Germany. Along the valley of the Reuss, below the snowy crown of the St. Gothard, and upon the slopes surrounding the Lake of Luzerne, shadowed by Pilatus, the Rigi, and other still more massive heights, dwelt from early times a hardy race of peasants, devoted to hunting and pasturage rather than tillage. They governed themselves in the ancient German style, in their "cantons" of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, but paid tribute to the religious foundations at Einsiedeln or Zürich, or else acknowledged as feudal lords some of the noble families, as the Hapsburgs or Attinghausens. Uri alone was "free of the empire." But the whole people became accustomed, in their wild homes, to a fearless independence, and learned to love their freedom. The Hapsburgs, Rudolph and Albert, were never able, even as emperors, fully to vindicate their hereditary claims to lordship over "the four forest states," as the cantons around Lake Luzerne were called. Memorable stories are told by legend of the oppression of the governors sent hither by Albert—of Gessler's tyranny, of the oath at the Rütli, of Tell's shot at the apple, and his leap for safety from the boat to the rock; and how, in the street at Küssnacht, his unfailing arrow slew the governor. Some of these venerable traditions have been embodied by Schiller in immortal verse. But all that history knows of the infancy

of this noble people is given in a few words. The men of the three cantons in 1291 formed a league which may be regarded as the beginning of the Swiss confederation. It was originally only a brotherhood designed for mutual protection, such as was formed about the same time by the cities on the Rhine and in Suabia. By the aid, first of Henry VII. of Luxemburg, and then of Lewis of Bavaria, both of them enemies of the house of Austria, these confederates actually threw off their personal dependence on that house.

§ 9. In return they were faithful to Lewis; and therefore the gloomy Leopold, brother of Frederick the Fair, marched against them with his knights. At the pass of Morgarten, in 1315, the Swiss peasants on foot resisted the harnessed knights, and used their halberds, clubs, and long swords so well, with huge stones rolled down from above or hurled from slings, that Leopold retreated with heavy loss. Lewis then confirmed forever the league of the allies, who thenceforth may be regarded as entirely free. Luzerne, which had been still more closely connected with the Hapsburgs, joined the confederacy in 1332; the free imperial city of Zürich in 1351; Glarus, hitherto mainly subject to the monastery of Seckingen, in 1352; then Zug; and finally, in 1353, the imperial city of Berne, which had saved the league from defeat in the battle of Laupen, fought in 1339 against the neighboring nobles. These eight ancient places formed the old Swiss confederacy. A little while before the great city wars, the valiant and knightly Leopold III. of Austria endeavored to bring back the Swiss to subjection; but the result was the battle of Sempach, July 9, 1386. The flower of the Austrian and Suabian nobility followed the Austrian banner. The knights dismounted, and made a threatening display with their long lances. Opposite them, on a height at the edge of the forest, stood the Swiss. Before making the attack, they fell upon their knees in prayer. Then they came on at full speed, but for a long time paused and wavered before the iron wall of knights, unable to break through. Then, as an ancient song relates, Arnold Struthan of Winkelried saw his opportunity, and called out, "My faithful comrades, take care of my wife and child, and I will make you a way;" and at once, grasping all the spear points as far as he could reach in a

sheaf, he gathered them into his own bosom, and bore them down with him to the ground.

“‘Make way for liberty!’ he cried;  
Made way for liberty, and died.”

Over him swept the Swiss, like a stream; and the knights, hampered by their heavy armor, fell under the clubs and swords of the peasants. Leopold himself was slain, and nearly all the castles of the South German nobles were filled with mourning. Two years afterward another victory was won over the same enemy at Näfels, April 9, 1388. The confederates were now feared far and wide, while the spirit of Austria was broken, and the brave Swiss were left long undisturbed in their strongholds.

§ 10. The brilliant success of the Swiss against the Austrians and their princely allies at Sempach alarmed the princes and nobility, while it encouraged the cities, and the hostility between the two parties broke out fiercely on the Rhine and throughout Bavaria and Suabia. Everard of Wirtemberg, now an old man, was the centre of the league of noblemen, supported by the princely families of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Baden, and Würzburg, and by the associations of knights. The Suabian cities at last gathered their forces at Döffingen, where Everard attacked them with a superior force, August 24, 1388. After a long and doubtful conflict, in which Everard's son, Ulrich, was killed, the citizens were driven from the field, and vast numbers of them slaughtered. The emperor had taken no direct part in the war, but had encouraged the cities, in several instances, against the princes; yet as soon as this decisive battle was fought, he, as usual, heartily embraced the successful cause. At the Diet of Eger, held the following May, he promulgated a decree, which was adopted, dissolving all city leagues, forbidding any combination among the cities, and putting an end to all outside citizenship, or to the relation which the cities had assumed toward cultivators and peasants outside the walls—"stockade citizens"—by which, in return for military service, these were entitled to refuge and protection from marauders or oppressors. The decree provided various regulations for preserving the public peace, and it was at this time that the division into judicial circles was made general and practical. The

political power of the cities was now crushed, and the princely families were as absolute in all Upper Germany, except Switzerland, as elsewhere. Even the inferior nobles, who had thus assisted to destroy the military strength of the cities, were soon made to feel the heavy weight of princely power upon themselves.

§ 11. In 1390 Wenzel held another Diet at Nuremberg, in which he decreed a uniform coinage for all Germany, but the scheme was never carried out. Ever since his coronation, his disposition had been growing more savage and tyrannical; until his oppression and injustice had now made a large section of the Bavarian nobles his bitter foes. During his absence at Nuremberg, a conspiracy was formed among them to depose him, but he returned in time, by vigorous measures, to prevent an immediate outbreak. But his cruelty only increased, until one of his own brothers, the Duke Sigismund, joined the conspirators. Wenzel's favorite companion was the executioner, and he was always followed by large, fierce dogs, by whom his first wife was torn to pieces. Her confessor, St. Nepomuk, was put to death by the king; his only crime being, it was believed, that he refused to betray to Wenzel the confidences of the confessional. This emperor was also notorious for reckless drinking, which led many of the rough common soldiers to regard him as a boon companion, but which wholly unfitted him to govern. He was at length seized by the discontented nobles, with the Margrave Jobst at their head, and taken as a prisoner to Prague, and afterward to Wildberg, in Austria. But Rupert, the Count Palatine, with the forces of the empire to support him, demanded the release of the chief of the state, and in 1394 he was set at liberty. He at once gave himself up to revenge upon his enemies, and to worse excesses than before in his own life; and thus he fell into general contempt, while he entirely neglected the interests of the empire. Meanwhile, ever since his coronation, the Church had been divided between two claimants of the holy see—one at Avignon and one at Rome. In 1398 Wenzel held an interview at Rheims with Louis of France, at which it was agreed that Louis should compel the abdication of the pope at Avignon, and Wenzel that of the pope at Rome. But Pope Boniface IX., unworthy

thy as he was, was yet cunning enough to stir up against Wenzel all the electors on the Rhine, the three archbishops, and Rupert of Bavaria, Count Palatine, whose family had long been ambitious for the throne. These electors met in Oberlahnstein, and decreed the deposition of Wenzel, disguising their real aims under the pretense of piety and patriotism. They reproached him with his vices, and, above all, for having granted away the territory of the empire, by confirming Galeazzo Visconti as Duke of Milan, and of all the conquered towns around, for a payment of one hundred thousand gulden. They chose in his place Rupert, the Count Palatine, one of themselves, as their king. Wenzel did not, indeed, acknowledge their authority, but he seemed to console himself easily for the loss of the German crown.



Rupert (1400-1410).

§ 12. Rupert of the Palatinate (1400–1410), of the house of Wittelsbach, was not a feeble man; but he did not succeed in obtaining consequence, or even general recognition as emperor. He dragged on a tedious, fruitless war with Wenzel for the crown. It then seemed to him better to go to Italy, and recover what Wenzel had given away; but he was defeated by the new tactics of the Condottieri, and came back poorer and less honored than he went. He soon lost all his influence, even in Southwestern Germany, where alone he had been recognized. The violent and avaricious John of Nassau, Archbishop of Mayence, grasped all the power in this region. He was known as “the biting wolf.” He formed of nobles and knights the league of Marbach, “for protection against every man, whosoever it may be;” and accordingly even against the king. And both the rival kings soon fell so low that they competed for the favor of this league. Just as Rupert was about to throw off the yoke of the bishop, and to bring him under proper discipline, he was overtaken by death, in 1410. Germany was then in utter disorganization. From the Rhine to the Elbe, men lived as if there were no empire. The larger districts in the east—Brandenburg, Meissen, Bohemia, and Austria—acted as isolated kingdoms, and paid no regard to the empire, while Franconia and Suabia were in sad disorder.

§ 13. The death of Rupert did not even free the empire from the embarrassment and confusion of a disputed throne. Three claimants of the royal dignity appeared in 1411, all of them from the house of Luxemburg. Charles IV. at his death divided his family possessions, giving Bohemia to his oldest son, Wenzel, Moravia and Silesia to his cousins Jobst and Procopius, and Brandenburg to his second son, Sigismund. Wenzel treated his own kingdom as he did the empire, and it rapidly fell into disorder, while he followed his wild, dissolute life. But still, even after Rupert’s death, he asserted his claims to the German crown, though he did nothing to support them, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg acknowledged him, and refused to join in a new election during his life. Jobst, the Margrave of Moravia, now an old man, and extremely covetous, obtained the votes of Mayence and Cologne for himself, though he seems to have

claimed the empire only as a means of adding to his wealth. "He passed for a great man," says an ancient chronicler; "but there was nothing great about him but his beard." Finally, Sigismund of Brandenburg was himself chosen and supported by the Electors of Trèves and the Palatinate, and thus, with his own vote, commanded a larger number than either of his rivals. Sigismund was by far the ablest and most hopeful candidate for the throne. After his father's death (1378) he mortgaged the marches of Brandenburg to Jobst and Procopius for money to prosecute his schemes in the East, where his father's prudence had opened for him a prospect of uniting two great kingdoms. Hungary and Poland had been admirably governed by Lewis the Great, a descendant of the house of Anjou, until his death in 1384. He left two daughters, Mary and Hedwig, and Sigismund was betrothed to the elder. But the Poles rejected him, and elected Hedwig queen; and she married Ladislaw of the Jagello family, who, with the whole people of Poland, embraced Christianity. But, after long conflicts, Sigismund secured his affianced bride, married her, and obtained the throne of Poland. He was now regarded as the hope of the empire, and received the support of its well-wishers: among them, of the wise Frederick VI. of Hohenzollern, Count of Nuremberg, to whom, in 1414, he granted the marches of Brandenburg. Jobst fortunately died in 1411; Wenzel contented himself with the empty name of Roman king, until he too died childless in 1419; and meanwhile Sigismund, through the skill of Frederick of Hohenzollern, by large grants at the expense of the royal prerogative and estates, obtained the acquiescence of all the electors in his imperial dignity, and began his undisputed reign.

§ 14. Once more there seemed to be hope that Germany might be restored to a healthful condition. Sigismund, second son of Charles IV., was in the prime of manhood: a handsome, knightly man, of high endowments and culture. His own princely possessions were large enough to command respect. When he assumed the throne, with this family power in his hands, on good terms with the house of Bavaria, with Frederick of Hohenzollern for his nearest friend and counselor, there seemed to be a prospect once more of a real resto-



Sigismund (1410-1437).

ration of the empire. But he also took part, as an emperor, in the great questions which agitated Christendom. The condition of the Church, then distracted by rival popes, demanded a speedy reform; and even when the emperor was of no weight in Germany, his title was still regarded in all other nations as the highest in the Christian world; and the less there was to hope from the pope, the more was it borne in mind that the emperor was the earthly guardian of the Church.

§ 15. For seventy years, ever since Philip the Fair of France deposed Pope Boniface VIII., the papal see had been fixed at Avignon (from 1308 to 1378, the so-called Babylonian exile of the Church). During this period the dignity of the



papal court had fallen very low, through immorality and luxury, the trade in offices and extortions of money. When a new pope was finally elected at Rome, many of the cardinals were discontented with the result, returned to Avignon, and set up one of their number as pope. Thus began the division of the Church, or the great schism, which lasted from 1378 till 1418. The popes excommunicated one another, and each laid the ban upon all countries and people which obeyed the other. The strife confused the minds of believers more and more, and since both of the popes had need of money, their extortions and shameful devices for exacting it were constantly multiplied. It was during this period that Boniface IX. put in practice on a large scale the sale of indulgences, which gradually degenerated into the sale of forgiveness for sins, and thus brought together vast sums of money, especially from Germany. Intelligent and well-disposed people looked upon a general council, under these circumstances, as the only remedy. A council of the entire Church, they believed, must, according to Christ's promise, be guided by the Holy Spirit, and be infallible. It would possess an authority higher than the contending popes, and would be able to complete a reformation in the head and the members of the Church. At last the cardinals, both at Rome and at Avignon, resolved to call such a council at Pisa in 1409. It deposed both popes, and elected a new one. But as neither of the former ones gave way, the evil was only increased, and there were three popes, as there were three emperors, at the same time. Sigismund resolved to put an end to this confusion. The most powerful of the three popes, John XXII. (Balthasar Cossa), was compelled by the arms of the young King of Naples to flee from Rome, and asked the aid of Sigismund, who therefore easily prevailed on him to summon a new general council at Constance, on German soil.

§ 16. Indeed, the need of a thorough reform in Church and State was already widely felt. It was an age of intellectual inquiry and of spiritual awakening. During the fourteenth century, Wickliffe had preached vigorously in England against a formal religion, against the dominion of the Church over the conscience, and the worship of idols. Jerome and other "reformers before the Reformation" had taught the same doc-

trines in Bohemia, and John Huss was now proclaiming this new and Scriptural theology from his chair in the University of Prague. Thousands of people, who had not embraced or even heard these doctrines, were hungering for truth, and wore the yoke of the Church lightly. High-schools were rapidly increasing in number and influence throughout Germany. The University of Prague, the oldest of these, was founded in 1348, and those of Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, and Leipsic rapidly followed, all within sixty years. All these became centres of enlightenment, and of the demand for reform; while, under the public preaching of Huss, assisted by his friend Jerome of Prague, the greater part of Bohemia adopted the reformed belief before 1410. The unsettled minds, who desired a reformation of the Church, but were not ready to defy its authority, were as eager for the council as were the most zealous Catholics, and there was a general hope that, by its wisdom, the unity of the Church might be restored and its teachings purified.

Before the council assembled, Sigismund sought to insure the peace of the Church by making an adventurous, perhaps a perilous journey, to Aragon, Paris, and London. He accomplished nothing of his purpose. In France he gave much offense by conferring knighthood, an act thought to be an infringement on the prerogative of the king of the country. At London the ship which brought him was met by the Duke of Gloucester, who rode into the water, demanding of the emperor, at the sword's point, a declaration that he did not purpose to interfere with the king's authority in England. The time when the Holy Roman Empire claimed supremacy over all Christendom was still fresh enough in memory to excite jealousy.

§ 17. The Council of Constance, which assembled in October, 1414, once more brought together all Western Christendom in one great community. Prelates came to it from Italy, Germany, France, England, and finally from Spain; and even the Patriarch of Constantinople, already threatened by the Turks, was represented by an embassy. A pope and an emperor were present, with most of the German princes of the empire, and their noble trains competed with one another in the number of their servants and horses; with ambassadors

of foreign kings, themselves sometimes of princely birth, deputies from several universities, especially that of Paris; representatives of cathedral chapters and monasteries; and innumerable money-changers, merchants, peddlers, and adventurers of every sort and of every country, seeking their fortunes in the vast throng. All these assembled at a period distinguished for its devotion to outward display and momentary enjoyment. Solemn offices and processions were held; tourneys and royal entrances. Prelates displayed their magnificent attire, with mitres and fillets; cardinals came in red hats, doctors in blue robes, abbots and monks in black, brown, or white cowls; and amid them flashed the gold and silver splendor of the knights, with their feathery plumes, their robes hung with bells, their horses covered with ornament, their falcons and dogs. All the languages of the West were heard mingled in the din. The whole mass, gathered into one small, crowded city of the Middle Ages, and into the tents which covered the neighborhood, presented a most varied and animated scene. From the first the spiritual work before the council seemed to be undertaken with zeal. The votes were taken by nations. The dissolute pope, John XXII., was compelled to abdicate, March 1, 1415, though he first tried by various conspiracies to dissolve the council, and finally, on March 20, fled, under the protection of Frederick of Austria, and revoked his abdication. He was, however, arrested, deposed, and compelled to submit. The council also rejected the other two popes, and finally elected Martin V. to the holy see, and thus happily restored the unity of the Church. But the wish of Sigismund and of the German nation first to consider and carry out a true reformation was defeated, and the new pope was able to deprive the council of the best fruits of its labors by making separate agreements with the several nations. Meanwhile Frederick of Austria, who had helped the pope to escape, was put under the ban by the Emperor Sigismund. The quick Swiss were at once up against their old enemy, and wrested from him the territory extending toward the Rhine—the whole valley of the Aar, including the ancient residences of the Hapsburg family.

§ 18. The most memorable act of the Council of Constance

was its condemnation of Huss. John Huss, a Bohemian, born in 1373, was a favorite preacher and teacher in the University of Prague (§ 14), and confessor to the pious wife of the Emperor Wenzel. He there studied the teachings of Matthias of Janow, and of the English reformer, John Wickliffe, of the University of Oxford; and took an active part in circulating Wickliffe's writings, though he never went so far as the English radical in rejecting the peculiar dogmas of the Church. For instance, Huss believed in transubstantiation to the last. But he became prominent as a severe preacher of repentance, and a bold reprover of ecclesiastical abuses, especially of the trade in indulgences. At the same time, being a zealous Bohemian and rector of the university, he threw its government into the hands of the Bohemians, and thus deeply offended the Germans, who thenceforth abandoned the university, and went mostly to Leipsic. The pope summoned Huss to Rome to be judged for heresy, and on his failure to appear deposed and excommunicated him. Huss made his appeal to "the pope when better instructed," preached with zealous eloquence to the people, and called on Christ, as the head of the true and invisible Church; while his friend, Jerome of Prague, burned the pope's bull of excommunication in the public whipping-place. Summoned to appear before the general council of the Church, and furnished by Sigismund with a safe-conduct to and from the council, Huss came to Constance for a final decision upon his case.

§ 19. On November 28, 1414, his enemies having shamefully maligned him, Huss was seized and thrown into a vile, pestilential dungeon. Sigismund, who arrived soon after, was uneasy at the breach of his safe-conduct, but was easily persuaded to leave the heretic to the judgment of the Church. The council itself desired reform, but would not listen to any doubts of the infallibility of the Church, and especially of itself; but Huss, for three days, in the face of the Church fathers, appealed to his conscience and to the Scriptures, and refused to deny or recant the heresies with which he was charged. (June 5, 7, and 8, 1415). His defense was doubtless defiant in tone. The extreme papal party was resolved to destroy him. The moderate reformers regarded his zeal and thoroughness as fanaticism which was dangerous to their

cause, and hoped to vindicate their own orthodoxy by joining his persecutors. His denunciations of the wealth and power held and abused by the higher clergy made the prelates his enemies. Thus the council, as a whole, was against him, and he was condemned to death. With frightful imprecations, he was deprived of his priestly office, his body was given over to death, and his soul to the devil. "And I," said Huss, "give it into the hands of my Lord Jesus Christ." Praying and singing psalms of praise, he walked to the stake through a numberless throng of people. As the flames rose around, he sang a devotional hymn, cried three times, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit;" and the third time, the fire striking upon his face, his lips were seen to move as in silent prayer; his head bowed, and he died. It was his forty-second birthday, July 6, 1415. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine, that the Bohemians might not gather them. Nearly a year later, his friend, Jerome of Prague, who in his terrible trials had first attempted to flee, and had then recanted, withdrew his recantation, and met his death by fire in the same place with equal firmness, May 23, 1416. Huss used to say, in allusion to his own name, which in the Bohemian dialect means a goose: "The goose is a weak and tame creature, and can not fly high; but stronger birds will come after it, falcons and eagles, and will soar aloft, breaking through all snares."

The martyrdom of Huss made a profound impression, even upon his persecutors. Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II., in his interesting "History of Bohemia," says: "Both John and Jerome endured the torture with firmness, and made haste to the fire as if they were invited to a feast; without uttering a sound that could suggest a failure of courage. When they began to burn, they sang a hymn, and scarcely could the flames and crackling of the fire stop their singing. No philosopher is reported to have met death with such intrepidity as theirs." Surely it was not without cause that the early reformers, pointing to the death of Huss, often cried, "Their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges."

§ 20. The Council of Constance continued in session for nearly three years after the murder of Huss. But it soon

became evident that no reform in the Church could be accomplished by this body, and that when it succeeded in uniting the Church under one pope, its serious work was done. On May 16, 1418, Pope Martin V. suddenly left Constance, and the council quietly dissolved. Meanwhile the fate of Huss was considered throughout Germany and Bohemia, and many voices were raised in denunciation, especially of the breach of the imperial safe-conduct given to him. On September 23, 1415, the council adopted a decree defending its action and that of the emperor, in which it expressly declared that no faith or promise could be kept or considered as binding, under the sanction of any natural, divine, or human law, if it be to the prejudice of the Catholic faith. The bitter feeling aroused in Germany among men of intelligence and honesty, by such open defiance of truth and honor, was but a shadow of that which prevailed in Bohemia. During the wars and disturbances of Wenzel's reign, the Bohemians had fallen back, to some extent, into barbarism; and when they heard of the martyrdom of their favorite teacher, they were excited to frenzy. The doctrines of Huss, and the preaching of his disciples, were welcomed and proclaimed more eagerly than ever. In particular, since the Council of Constance now selected for especial condemnation the demand of Huss for "the sacrament in both kinds" for the laity, they took up this demand as their watchword, and the sacred cup as their banner. It was merely a rule of discipline in the Roman Church to deny the cup to lay communicants, adopted in the twelfth century, to prevent the danger of "spilling the blood of Christ;" but the demand for its abrogation was now regarded by the Catholics as a crime worthy of death and of excommunication.

§ 21. The bitterness of feeling was increased by the fact that Wenzel was childless, so that his kingdom at his death must fall to Sigismund, whom the Bohemians hated and despised, as guilty of breaking his own safe-conduct, and acquiescing in the murder of their prophet. Ziska, a man of great power, took the lead of the Hussites. Wenzel died of apoplexy on August 16, 1419, just as their insurrection began. The Bohemians refused to accept Sigismund as his successor;

and the whole country was filled with rebellion and religious zeal. Preachers went about with the sacred cup in hand as an emblem, and the people took up arms for their faith with the cup pictured on their banners. It was in vain that Sigismund led Hungarian and imperial armies, and that papal legates preached a crusade against them as pernicious heretics. For the first time in several centuries, a whole nation, not merely the knights, but the artisans and peasants, flew to arms in defense of religion and their country. Before their rolling wagons, which they built in Old Testament style into barricades around their camps; before the sound of their inspired battle-hymns, and before their scythes, clubs, flails, and spikes, the king's armies turned and fled, often before they came in sight. Thus they won many a victory under Ziska, who was now entirely blind: the most decisive one at Deutschbrod, in Moravia, in 1421. The far-famed warlike spirit of the German nation seemed to be lost. It was clearly seen how dangerous was the unbridled freedom of the individual princes and cities, when such an enemy was to be met. In spite of many efforts, no lasting peace and no common principles of action could be reached. Some kept negotiating; others disobeyed the imperial levy; the cities and the nobles threw the burden each on the other; and if a national army were at any time really mustered, it dispersed before a decisive action was fought. At the passing of the river Tau, the papal legate, son of an English king, in his wrath at the cowardly conduct of the soldiers, tore the imperial banner to pieces, and flung them at the feet of the nobles. But to no purpose: courage and honor seemed gone; and it was plain that the German nation had lost with its imperial constitution all its valor. After a last effort in 1431, all attempts to conquer Bohemia by force were abandoned.

§ 22. In this state of the empire, Sigismund gave up the thought of reforming it, and, abandoning it to itself, devoted his attention exclusively to his own princely territories. During his expedition to Italy in 1431 and the two following years, he was crowned as king at Milan, and as emperor at Rome; but, like some of his predecessors, he used these lofty dignities only for his own profit and that of his hereditary

territories. Philip the Good, a member of the ducal house of Burgundy, which was now rapidly growing in power, could not be prevented from acquiring, at the expense of the empire, first Luxemburg and Namur, and finally Holland. Sigismund had also, some time before, fallen out with his old friend, Frederick of Hohenzollern, to whom, at the Council of Constance, he had ceded his electorate of Brandenburg. His efforts, now that the house of Luxemburg was sure to become extinct at his death, was to secure all that he had acquired to Albert of Austria, the husband of his only daughter, Elizabeth. The Council of Basle (1431-1443), from which the people hoped for the reformation of which that of Constance had disappointed them, made a bold attack on clerical abuses; but the pope had influence enough to remove it, first to Ferrara, and then to Florence; and though the boldest of the fathers remained behind and elected a new pope, yet their patience finally wore out, and the council came to nothing. Meanwhile the Hussites for a time, in wild hordes bent on plunder, made their way to the Danube, the Rhine, and even the Baltic; but after the death of their leader, Ziska, they broke up into parties. The Council of Basle mediated between Sigismund and the moderate party among the Bohemians (the Calixtines), and by the treaty of Iglau (1436), a little before his death, he assured to them their religious freedom, and was at last acknowledged as their king. Sigismund died at Gnam, December 9, 1437. He bequeathed the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia to his son-in-law, Albert, and thus founded the power of the house of Hapsburg; while the other great German dynasty of the present time, the house of Hohenzollern, also grew to much of its greatness under Sigismund, and upon lands which had belonged to the Luxemburgs.





Albert II. (1437-1439).

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALBERT II. TO THE REFORMATION,  
1438-1517.

§ 1. The House of Hohenzollern. § 2. The House of Hapsburg. § 3. Albert II. of Austria German King. § 4. Pope Eugene IV. and the Council of Basle. § 5. Election of Frederick III.; his Character and Coronation. § 6. Condition of Germany; Civil Wars. § 7. The Prinzenraub. § 8. The Turks in the East; Affairs of Bohemia and Brandenburg. § 9. Charles the Bold of Burgundy. § 10. League of the Swiss Cantons; their War with Charles. § 11. Overthrow of Charles the Bold; his Death. § 12. Swiss Mercenaries. § 13. Achievements and Death of

Frederick III. § 14. Accession and Character of Maximilian. § 15. The Electoral Princes at this Period. § 16. The Public Peace Proclaimed at Worms; Circles of Justice Established. § 17. Constitutional Changes in the Empire. § 18. Disputes between Maximilian and the States; Diet of Freiburg, 1498. § 19. War with France and the Swiss; Peace of Basle. § 20. Diet of Augsburg in 1500. § 21. The Electors United against the King. § 22. Maximilian Regains his Influence. § 23. He calls Himself "Emperor Elect." The League of Cambray. § 24. Final Division of the Empire into Circles; the Constitution and Realm in Decay. § 25. The Frisians and their Country. § 26. The Frisian League. § 27. Its Wars with Denmark and Holland. § 28. Crusade against the Stedinger. Fate of the Frisians. § 29. The People of Ditmarsh and their Wars for Freedom.

§ 1. At the death of Sigismund, the two great dynasties, the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, met for the first time in a contest for the supreme power in Germany and Europe. Frederick of Brandenburg and Albert of Austria were the competitors, one of whom, it was evident, must obtain the imperial crown; and their claims seemed to be nearly equal. Frederick had been a faithful friend and counselor of the empire throughout a long life; Albert was the heir of Sigismund, and the most powerful of all the German princes. The rapid rise of each of these historic families demands a brief notice.

The ancient castle of Hohenzollern still stands, though much changed by repairs and extensions, in one of the fairest regions of Suabian Wirtemberg, not far from the original homes of the Hohenstaufens and the Welfs. The title, Count of Zollern, was conferred by Henry IV. in the eleventh century; and the extensive estates in Southern Wirtemberg remained in possession of one branch of the family, the Zollerns of Sigmaringen, were made a principality during the Thirty-Years' War, and finally came to the elder line, the royal family of Prussia, in 1849. In 1190 Henry VI. appointed the Count of Zollern to the imperial office of Burgrave of Nuremberg. By fortunate marriages and prudent purchases, his descendants, who retained the office, gradually acquired extensive estates in Franconia, Moravia, and Burgundy, and their wisdom and growing power steadily increased their weight in the councils of the German princes. We have seen that Rudolph of Hapsburg owed his crown to one of

them, Frederick III., in 1273; and in return for this service the dignity of Burgrave of Nuremberg was made hereditary in the Zollern family. The next burgrave, Frederick IV., secured by his valor the decisive victory of Mühldorf for Lewis of Bavaria in 1322. The Emperor Charles IV. raised the family to the dignity of Princes of the Empire, and granted them the right to work the mines within their territories—a royal right reserved by the Golden Bull to the electors alone. Frederick VI. was enriched by Sigismund with large gifts of money, and was made his deputy in Brandenburg in 1411. The marches were in utter confusion, under the feuds and ravages of the unrestrained knighthood. Frederick reduced them to order, and at the Council of Constance, in 1417, received from Sigismund the margraviate of Brandenburg with the dignity of Elector; but Sigismund soon became jealous of his growing power, and gave all his influence to the rival house of Hapsburg.

§ 2. The Hapsburg family first rose to importance in the empire in the person of the Swiss Count Rudolph, who was elected emperor in 1273. Its family estates originally lay around Lake Constance, with detached lands in Suabia and in Alsace. In 1282 Austria and Styria, as we have seen, were secured to the Hapsburgs. The duchy of Austria grew out of the eastern march of Bavaria. It included the land on both shores of the Danube, divided by the Ems into the territory above and that below the Ems. This beautiful and fruitful land, watered by a river hardly less magnificent than the Rhine, bounded on the north by the plateaus of Bohemia and Moravia, and on the south by the Alps, whose offshoots afford every variety of hill and valley, and sometimes stretch out even to the Danube, was at a very early period entirely appropriated by Germans. It became the theatre of heroic legend, of the pilgrimages and battles of the Nibelungen; and by the ancient ducal house of the Babenbergs, to whom Vienna owes its first prosperity, was opened every where to German civilization, language, and song. The people were of Bavarian descent; but, like the Tyrolese, had grown to have a distinct character and life of their own, and were open-hearted, full of merriment, and faithful. Austria from the first was less dependent on the

empire than the other duchies. The Hapsburgs steadily increased their possessions by fortunate marriages; but Frederick "of the empty pocket," who assisted John XXII. to escape from the Council of Constance, and thus fell under the ban of Sigismund, lost a great part of his old family lands in war with the Swiss. Albert V. of Austria (Albert II. of Germany) was, at the death of Sigismund, the head of the Hapsburg family, and he inherited in right of his wife, Sigismund's daughter, the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, making him by far the most powerful prince of the empire.

§ 3. The electors were influenced in Albert's favor by the fact that the territories he inherited from Sigismund lay outside of Germany, and that his efforts would naturally be devoted to these rather than to the empire; and their desire was for an emperor who would leave them to themselves. The majority of them, therefore, decided for Albert, and the rest acceded, March 18, 1438; and thus the house of Austria obtained the imperial throne, which it afterward held so long. Albert II. (1438, 1439) was a man of power, thoughtful and self-contained, but bold and enterprising. The Hungarians, however, did not accept the decision of the electors, but clung to their own king, and united in a solemn vow that Albert should not receive the imperial crown without their consent. But the mediation of the Council of Basle, which was still in session, pacified them. The main purpose of Albert, during his short reign, was to establish the public peace; and the plan adopted was that which had already been repeatedly attempted under the Luxemburgs, of dividing the empire into "circles" or "large districts," for the collection of imperial revenues and the enforcement of military levies, as well as for the administration of high courts of justice. The whole empire, as well as Albert's own territories, was in great need of such an organization, for the Turks were already threatening Hungary and Germany. The circles into which the empire, except Austria and Bohemia, was to be divided were defined at once; but the cities again resisted the scheme, fearing with some reason that they would be overreached. Albert led an Austro-Hungarian army to the Theiss, to meet the Turks; but before he could reach Vienna, most of his men dispersed, and he was taken sick and died,

October 27, 1439, at the age of forty-two. He had not been crowned at Aix, nor even entered the empire as its head. He was remembered as an honorable monarch, strenuous in the Catholic faith, who rarely laughed, and still more rarely drew his sword from his side.

§ 4. Meanwhile the conflict between Pope Eugene and the General Council of Basle continued. At the meeting of the electors after Sigismund's death, ambassadors appeared from both the pope and the council, each party eager to obtain the influence of the German princes. But the electors refused to take any part in the quarrel, and even went so far as to decree, March 17, 1438, that, until this strife should be decided, the Church in Germany should be under the control and guidance of the German bishops alone. A Diet was held at Nuremberg in July, which Albert II. was prevented from attending, he being engaged in his own kingdom of Bohemia suppressing the revolt; but the ambassadors of the council appeared, asking for aid against the pope. The states remained neutral; but at a Diet held in February following, at Mayence, an attempt was made by the Germans to mediate between the ecclesiastical parties, by urging the council to accept the pope's order of adjournment to some German city. The council, however, would concede nothing. This Diet gave its express sanction to such ordinances of reform as the council had adopted affecting the interests of Germany; and, with a few modifications, the reforming decrees of the Council of Basle were made laws of the empire. The effect was materially to qualify the supremacy of the pope over the German Church. The council, too, although the Diet would not espouse its cause, was encouraged by its action to prosecute the struggle. It repeatedly summoned Pope Eugene IV. to appear for trial, and upon his persistent neglect to obey, on June 25, 1439, decreed his deposition. In November following, Amadeus of Savoy was elected his successor, and called himself Pope Felix V. But neither he nor the council had the power to supplant Pope Eugene.

§ 5. Upon Albert's death, the selfish ambition of the electors alone controlled their choice of a successor. They agreed upon Albert's cousin, Frederick of Styria, a man only too well known, and from whom no good could be expected. Fred-



Frederick III. (1440-1493).

erick III. (1440-1493) was an eccentric and obstinate youth, with the disposition of a graybeard: an invincible sluggard, who would never act with decision, nor cause others to act for him, but awaited events. He had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was devoted to the papacy, so that no one welcomed his election more than the pope, to whom he readily surrendered whatever privileges the German nation had been permitted by the Councils of Constance and Basle to retain. It was characteristic of him to pursue far-sighted plans, while weak and shiftless in matters of immediate moment. His first important effort was to regain for Austria the ancient Hapsburg possessions in Switzerland. The Diet refused to aid him, and he stooped to ask and receive assistance from King

Charles of France, thus affording an opportunity, which that ambitious neighbor improved to the utmost, to interfere in German affairs. But the Swiss maintained their independence. Frederick's reign accomplished nothing for the empire. There was still constant talk of the "National Peace," but it was not until 1442 that Frederick came to Germany, to his first imperial Diet at Frankfort, and assumed the crown at Aix (June 17). Even then the old and bloody custom of private vengeance was maintained, and the consequent social disorder continued. In 1446 the emperor ordained a national peace of five years, but nobody obeyed. It was proposed to establish a supreme tribunal in the empire—an imperial judgment-chamber—but the emperor himself did not adopt the plan. Frederick III. went to Rome, and received from Nicholas V. the crown of the Cæsars with much pomp, March 19, 1452; but the empty form added nothing to his honor or his power. In 1456 the electors, disheartened by the condition of the country and the emperor's neglect of his duty, formally summoned him to meet them at Nuremberg; threatening, if he should fail to do so, to take the affairs of the empire into their own hands. He did not come; and in 1460 they notified him that they could no longer live without a head, and demanded a meeting with him at once, under still stronger threats. They then planned to make George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, Roman king; but Pope Pius II., shocked at the thought of seeing a Hussite on the German throne, at once formed a zealous alliance with Frederick III., and brought their schemes to naught. From this time the papal and the imperial authority in the empire were more intimately associated than ever before.

§ 6. Meanwhile Germany was in the wildest confusion. The troops which France sent to assist Frederick III. were the notorious "Armagnacs:" the rabble of mercenaries who were discharged after serving under Count Armagnac in the war with England, and who spread in armed bands over France, plundering the land. These were gathered again, and sent to Switzerland under the dauphin; but being checked by the Swiss in the terrible fight at St. James on the Birs (1444), in which 1600 Swiss, surrounded by vastly greater numbers, sold their lives dearly, resisting to the last, they

refused to meet such foes again. They lurked in Alsace and Suabia, and resumed their bandit life, until the French were compelled, by threats of a national war, to remove them. In 1449 a new city war broke out in Suabia and Franconia, between a new confederacy of thirty-one cities and the princes of Brandenburg, Baden, Austria, and Wirtemberg, and ended only with the destruction of the confederacy. Nor were the east and north of Germany at peace. In 1423, Frederick the Quarrelsome of Meissen was made elector by Sigismund, with the fief of Saxe-Wittenberg, the ancient house of the Ascanii being extinct. Frederick's sons, Frederick the Gentle and William, waged a bitter fraternal war from 1445 to 1450. During one of their battles, an artillery captain proposed to Frederick to point a great gun at Duke William, and by one shot to relieve Frederick from all rivalry; but he answered, "Shoot where thou wilt, but not at my brother."

§ 7. It was during this war that the famous "rape of the Saxon princes" occurred. Kuntz of Kauffingen, a Saxon knight, who had rendered large services to Frederick the Gentle, and was dissatisfied with his reward, conceived the bold plan of carrying off Frederick's sons, Ernest and Albert, from their residence in the castle of Altenburg. He succeeded in taking them to the forest; but the younger escaped, at a halting-place, from his keeper, who was seized by some charcoal-burners, well disciplined ("drilled"), and given up to the elector. The older prince was also rescued; and Kuntz was taken and executed (1455). This event derives its historical interest and fame from the reflection that, had Kuntz's enterprise succeeded, much that is conspicuous in subsequent records might have been different. These two princes, then but boys, afterward, in 1485, divided the Saxon lands between them; and they became the ancestors of the two Saxon lines—the elder or Ernestine line, which resided in Wittenberg, and the younger, or Albertine, whose homes were in Leipsic and Dresden. Of the elder line were the Electors of Saxony, who took a famous part in the Reformation; also the houses of Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, with the late Prince Albert of England, "the silent father of her kings to be." Of the younger line were Maurice of Saxony, elector in 1546, August II., King of Poland, and his descendants, the present



royal house of Saxony. About the same time with these Saxon troubles, war broke out among the branches of the house of Bavaria (Wittelsbach). Albert Achilles, Burgrave of Nuremberg—a giant in stature, an eloquent orator, and the most famous for personal valor of the warriors of that age—was busy with feuds against the Wittelsbachs and the South German cities. Frederick the Victorious, who had driven out his nephew from the Palatinate, retained the sovereignty there until his death in 1476: in spite of emperor, pope, and barons. In his most famous victory, that at Seckenheim in 1462, he took prisoners the Count of Wirtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Bishop of Metz. They purchased their release with royal ransoms; and he then entertained them splendidly at the Heidelberg Castle, but gave them no bread. They expressed their surprise, but Frederick answered that they had destroyed his peasants' crops, and might now see what life would be without bread. In Westphalia, too, an old quarrel, famous as "the Soest feud," was fought out for five years, from 1444 to 1449. Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, tried to exact tithes from the city of Soest. The citizens resisted, and were sustained by neighboring cities, while the prelate found allies in the Bishops of Münster and Hildesheim, the Count of Nassau, and other lords. Westphalia was devastated by the strife, but the people of Soest defended themselves well; and in the end the archbishop ceded the city to the duchy of Cleves and Mark. All these disturbances occurred in Germany almost at the same time, nor was any effort made by the emperor to put an end to them. He had not the power, indeed, to guard the public peace.

§ 8. In this condition the empire was helpless against foreign foes, and its very existence was threatened by the Turks. As early as 1370 this fierce people invaded Europe, and attacked the ancient Eastern or Byzantine Empire; and soon after they advanced toward Hungary. In 1399 Sigismund, with an army gathered from all Western Christendom, suffered a severe defeat from them at Nicopolis. Finally, on May 29, 1453, they took Constantinople by storm, and were able to found an empire in Europe, south of the Danube. They continued to press forward into Hungary, and in 1469 for the first time crossed the frontier of Germany. The empire

was in danger, as well as the emperor's own territories; but it was in utter confusion; every body followed Frederick III.'s own example of entire indifference to its fate, and no national army marched to defend it. One Diet was held after another, but nothing was so much as resolved upon, the cities being especially cold and selfish; and all seemed ready to yield to the Turks dishonorably, without a struggle. In Bohemia and Hungary the interests of the empire were in no better condition. After Albert II. died, his only son, Ladislaus "Posthumus," was born. Frederick III., who, with all his sloth, was covetous of land, and cunning and unscrupulous in acquiring it, would have been glad to obtain the child's inheritance, Bohemia and Hungary, for himself. But disorders broke out in both countries. Ladislaus died young, and native nobles seized upon the local sovereignty. In Bohemia, which was part of the empire, though inhabited mainly by Slavonic people, George of Podiebrad, supported by the old Hussite party, attained a power which was dangerous to the neighboring German districts. The Hungarians elevated to the throne Matthias Corvinus, who finally succeeded in driving Frederick from the land, seizing Vienna, his capital city, and holding it till he died. In the northeast, the Poles and Lithuanians, united under the royal house of the Jagellons, troubled the country of the German knights, gaining a great victory at Tannenberg in 1410, and finally, in 1466, completely conquering it, and obtaining from the Order the Peace of Thorn, by which most of its land was ceded to Poland, and the fraction retained was held as a fief of that kingdom. Neither emperor nor empire cared to interfere, while thus Slaves and Hungarians, so long subject to the Germans, again became masters of the East and dangerous neighbors to Germany. It was fortunate that in Brandenburg, at least, a barrier of German force was set up against their encroachments by the Hohenzollern Frederick II., "the iron prince."

§ 9. An equally dangerous enemy of the empire was growing up in the West. A collateral branch of the French royal family were dukes of Burgundy; and, by inheritance or conquest, they had succeeded in acquiring all the territory formerly called Lower Lorraine, including the lands around the

mouths of the Rhine, with the regions of the Maas and the Scheldt. This duchy of Burgundy reached its greatest power under Charles the Bold (1467-1477), son of Philip the Good. Charles strove to extend his power up the Rhine; and all the territory west of this river was threatened with subjection to French sovereignty. In a quarrel with his own chapter, the Archbishop of Cologne called on Charles for help; and in 1474 the duke besieged in his behalf the city of Neuss, on the Rhine, which belonged to Cologne. It was due, not to the sluggish movement of the imperial army to its relief, but solely to the heroic resistance of the city itself, that the duke's progress was checked here. The citizens repulsed fifty-six storming parties, and held out through a siege of ten months. But the worst of all was that the emperor himself was in secret negotiation with the public enemy, desiring to wed his son Maximilian to the only daughter of the rich duke. They had already had an interview the year previous at Trèves, where Charles outshone the emperor in splendor. The emperor's jealousy had then broken off the treaty; but it was now renewed: Charles promised his daughter in marriage to Maximilian, and Frederick dismissed the imperial army (1475).

§ 10. But before the restoration of harmony between Frederick III. and Charles of Burgundy, the latter was in trouble elsewhere. Sigismund, Archduke of Austria and Tyrol, had delivered Alsace to Charles in pledge, and Charles had set over it as steward a tyrannical and unjust man, whom the people of Breisach seized and put to death in 1474. The rebels found allies in the Swiss confederation, and the Emperor Frederick encouraged the insurrection, and invited the Swiss to invade Upper Burgundy. Upon coming to terms with Charles, however, he abandoned their cause, and refused to afford any protection to Lorraine against the ambitious duke. Charles the Bold hastened, with all his forces, to punish the Swiss, who now felt the full danger which threatened their liberties. He was among the first princes in Europe to discern the superior efficiency of professional soldiers, and to form a thoroughly disciplined standing army. The large body of troops he had now collected, consisting of Burgundians, Netherlanders, and Italians, had probably never been

equaled in Europe. From Upper Burgundy he marched through the passes of the Jura. The castle of Granson, on Lake Neuenburg, made a valiant defense, until the garrison, deceived by false promises, surrendered; when some of them were hanged up naked on trees, and others drowned in the lake. But the confederates were already on the march. Charles, with three times their force, rested with his right wing on the lake, his left against the Jura Mountain. Thus the battle of Granson was fought, March 3, 1476. The heavy bodies of knights had scarcely checked the stormy charge of the Swiss, when from the mountains echoed the horn of "the Bull of Uri," and ever anew small bands of Swiss leaped out of the vineyards and thickets. The Burgundians, who had just been boasting of a triumph, were panic-struck; their lines broke in hurried flight, and left their richly furnished camp, with all their splendors of gold, silk, and jewels, to the conquerors.

§ 11. Charles, put to shame in his plans of universal conquest, thirsted for revenge, and in three months brought a still greater army into the field. From Lausanne he advanced toward Berne. But again the battle summons of the Swiss went through their land, and "from the huts on the verge of eternal snow to the junction of the Aar with the Rhine," their men thronged to meet him. They met the duke at Murten on the lake, a place which was well defended by the Bernese, and which he had invested in vain; and the decisive battle was fought June 22, 1476. Once more, after the usual battle-prayer, and mutual exhortations that "every man should open his eyes and close his hands firmly, to strike strongly like a man," the Swiss plunged irresistibly among the missiles and spears of the foe. Another panic struck the Burgundians, followed by a flight like that at Granson, and a still more bloody defeat. Messengers with green branches, as heralds of victory, hastened to all the Swiss cities; and a universal ringing of the bells carried the glorious news high among the Alps. The whole German people joined in the celebration, for a foe of the German race and of German freedom was overthrown. Charles was distracted in mind from that day. When the Swiss once more marched against him, to assist René of Lorraine to recover his land, they met at Nancy,

January 5, 1477, only the shadow of his former greatness. Here the proud duke fell, while in flight, by the hand of a Swiss, and his disfigured corpse was hardly recognized. The victory was hailed throughout the empire as that of the German people; but there was no one who took less delight in it than the Emperor Frederick III.

§ 12. The freedom of the Swiss and the renown of their invincible mode of warfare were now established. The victories over Austria and Burgundy had shown how superior an agile infantry was to the heavy, unmanageable, armored knights. The Swiss infantry were at once in demand as mercenaries, especially in the service of the Italian princes and the King of France. Thousands of them left their homes to seek in foreign pay booty and pleasure, and spread the fame of their arms on every battle-field of Italy. But after this time the events of Switzerland no longer belong to the history of Germany. At the battle of Marignano, in 1515, large numbers of Swiss mercenaries fought against King Francis I. of France, and wrought wonders of valor, though finally defeated; and Francis, in his admiration for their excellence as soldiers, made with them the so-called "Eternal Peace" of 1516, by which they were to receive an annuity, and were to permit the king to raise troops in their country. This habit of foreign service corrupted the honest simplicity and faithfulness of the Swiss character, and foreign vices invaded the Alpine valleys. But Switzerland can hardly be regarded, after this time, as in any sense a part of the German Empire; although the formal recognition of its separation, as a principle of public law, was not promulgated until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

§ 13. During the old age of Frederick III. the hereditary possessions of his house were greatly extended. King Matthias of Hungary, indeed, as long as he lived, retained possession of Austria and Vienna; and Frederick was actually hunted from his own land, and lived as a fugitive in the empire; bearing the title of universal monarch, yet dependent for his table on the hospitality of cities and monasteries, and with a yoke of oxen for his train. It was the fixed habit of his mind to regard events with the calmness of a mere observer, even when they most nearly concerned himself. He

was a practical philosopher; he meddled with astrology, medicine, and physiognomy. Injuries and offenses which roused other men to fury were judged by him without emotion. When Matthias spoiled and oppressed his Austrian subjects, Frederick had no pity for them: "They deserved it all; they would not obey me, and now, like the fabled frogs, they must endure King Stork." But under his apparent indifference he maintained his own purposes with great persistence. He steadily pursued the aggrandizement of his family, and succeeded in obtaining Mary of Burgundy as wife to his son Maximilian. They were married at Ghent, August 19, 1477, and thus the house of Austria obtained the vast heritage of Charles the Bold. It was with reluctance that Frederick consented to share the royal title even with his son. For many years he confined Maximilian to an Italian county, saying, "The rest he will get soon enough." But the electors knew that Maximilian was burning with zeal to recover Austria, and, in return for help in this enterprise, would yield much to them which Frederick refused, especially in the matter of appointing the members of the imperial court of justice. Accordingly, when the emperor's consent was obtained, Maximilian was unanimously elected "King of the Romans," February 16, 1486; and he at once took such a share in the administration of the empire as his father was willing to give him. By promising the electors that the high tribunal of justice should be independent of the emperor, Maximilian obtained their aid against the enemies of Austria. At this time King Matthias died; Maximilian drove the Hungarians out of Austria, occupied Vienna, and was welcomed with enthusiasm by the whole people. Frederick's last military success was the reduction to submission, in 1492, of his son-in-law, Albert, Duke of Bavaria, who had supported the cause of Matthias, and who still refused to regard the imperial edicts, attend the Diet, or keep the public peace, until overwhelmed by the superior force of the emperor and of the "Suabian League," formed in 1488, for the maintenance of public order and of Suabian rights and laws. Thus, before the end of Frederick's reign, the house of Austria was raised to the position of an important European power. The dignity of the empire was indeed se



Maximilian I. (1493-1519).

riously impaired ; but the Diets were better organized than ever before, the public peace was in great measure established, the great feuds which had distracted the empire were ended. Frederick III. gloried in the aggrandizement of his family, and adopted as his device, on his plate and buildings, the famous initial letters, A. E. I. O. U. (“*Austris est imperare orbi universo*”—“The whole earth is subject to Austria”). He died August 19, 1493, after a reign of fifty-five years.

§ 14. Maximilian, already elect “King of the Romans,” quietly succeeded his father. He was now thirty-four years of age ; a man of noble disposition and fine culture ; eccen-

tric, amiable, of diversified tastes and unwearying activity. He has been well called the last of the German knights. His tall form, hardened and strengthened by every physical exercise, his spirited blue eye, and his long and waving blonde hair, gave him before the people the aspect of a true king. He was often rash, almost to madness, as when he followed a bear to his den, and fought him there; when he entered the lion's cage, and cowed him down; and, above all, when he chased the chamois and the wild-goat up to the highest peaks of the Tyrolese Alps. He was a soldier, too, not to be overcome by exertion and privation, and, like his ancestor Rudolph, fertile in new devices and cunning modes of attack. He could forge his own armor and his sword, and often took his spear on his shoulder, and marched on foot before his troops. He had also received a broad and varied education, under his father's supervision. He was thus a man so well furnished, in all respects, that he might becomingly set before him the example of Charlemagne, and think of restoring the ancient glories of the empire. But his genius was unfortunately bent upon adventurous schemes, rather than upon obvious and necessary work, and he too soon became occupied beyond the empire.

§ 15. At the close of the fifteenth century, most of the electoral principalities of Germany were held by valiant and patriotic men. At the head of them all was Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, a count of the house of Henneberg. Mayence had suffered a severe blow to its prosperity in 1462, when the pope arbitrarily deposed the elector Diether, and appointed Adolphus II. of Nassau in his place. The people of the city supported Diether; but by treachery one of their gates was opened, and Adolphus entered with his troops, overcoming all resistance, and destroyed not only the independence, but the wealth and beauty of the city. But in 1486 Berthold became elector; a man of quiet efficiency, of broad statesmanship, and of earnest patriotism. He was the leading political reformer of his times. It was through his influence that Maximilian, in 1489, abandoned his father's policy of a dependent chamber of justice. His see, which from the time of the missionary Boniface had been the most powerful in Germany, reached the height of its ascendancy



under him. The city of Mayence was restored to more than its former prosperity, and was strongly fortified. Among the electors at this period were also Frederick the Wise of Saxony, John Cicero of Brandenburg, and Everard, first Duke of Wirtemberg, all of them, in wisdom and true patriotism, worthy associates of Berthold, and all deeply impressed with the need of a better and permanent organization of the empire. Frederick III. was not buried before the Turks again advanced as far as Laibach. In Italy, Maximilian became involved in new wars and disputes, by his second marriage, celebrated March 16, 1494, with Blanca Maria, of the house of Sforza, then sovereign in Milan. The French, too, from the year 1494, began to carry their ambition and their conquests into Italy. Maximilian was eager to reduce the empire to peace and quiet, in order to devote his attention to Italian affairs, in the hope that it would help to protect his own dominions against the Turks, and would at least not embarrass him in other matters. The electors also desired peace, and a better constitution of the realm; but they were resolved still further to limit the royal prerogatives, which Maximilian wished to extend.

§ 16. Maximilian's first Diet assembled at Worms, March 26, 1495, and in his opening address the emperor declared that if the enterprises of France were longer permitted, "the Holy Roman Empire would be wrested from the German nation." He demanded the whole power of the empire against France. The Diet, however, thought the time propitious for internal reform, and actually laid before him a comprehensive draft of a new constitution, in which an imperial council, under the mere presidency of the emperor, should hold the purse and the sword. After long negotiations, in which the helplessness of the emperor became ever more manifest, a compromise was reached. In the first place, the Public Peace was proclaimed, August 7, as a permanent law; and the right of private revenge was forever abolished. The imperial chamber of justice, which Maximilian had hitherto, like his father, treated as an appendage of his person, was established on an independent basis, as he had promised six years before. The president of the court alone was to be named by the emperor, the other judges by the states general; and it was to

sit always in one city, and no longer to follow the person of the monarch. Its powers, too, were greatly enlarged; and it was even authorized to pronounce the ban of the empire independently of the emperor. This tribunal was actually opened in Frankfort, October 31, 1495. Its jurisdiction was supreme over controversies among the nobility. The Diet also voted an imperial tax—"the universal penny:" a sort of capitation tax on the population at large, with a property tax upon the rich of one tenth of one per cent. But neither the collection nor the expenditure of the money was confided to the king. Both were reserved for the general assembly of the states of the empire, to be convoked every year, without whose consent the emperor could begin no war. Even the execution of the ban, pronounced by the chamber of justice, was confided to this assembly. Thus something like a formal constitution, partaking of the nature of a monarchy and of a confederation, was devised; and sanguine men regarded the event as a political reformation of the empire. That part of the work which really proved to be of momentous importance was the establishment of the perpetual peace, after a century of efforts.

§ 17. The peace proclaimed at the Diet of Worms in 1495 was declared to be permanent and national. The absolute need of the maintenance of civil order, the suppression of feuds, and the establishment of an efficient judiciary was felt and acknowledged by all; and though the new law obtained recognition but gradually, yet it soon contributed very largely to the security of trade and of the industrial classes, as well as of the minor nobility.

But it came too late to prevent the disintegration of the empire, which was now nearly complete. Since the prince-doms had become hereditary, since independent countries had grown up out of the great fiefs of the empire, and the ancient popular division into districts (Gauen) had been lost, the "States-General," or "States of the Empire," as the several members of the imperial Diet were called, had become almost entirely independent. The Diets were for a long time formed chiefly of the princes. It was only toward the end of the fifteenth century that the imperial cities and the knights of the empire were represented in them by deputies.

From the time of Rudolph of Hapsburg, indeed, the cities of the empire had been often summoned, when their money was wanted; but they were first formally admitted, through the influence of Berthold of Mayence, in 1487. After this, when a resolution was to be formed, the electors used to deliberate first, and deliver their conclusion to the princes (relation); these considered it, and if approved, gave it to the cities (correlation), whose deputies then wrote home for instructions. It was, of course, almost impossible to reach a result. After the changes made at the Diet of Worms, the empire might be regarded as a constitutional monarchy, with the emperor at its head, and the collected states of the empire at his side. But all was ruined at the beginning. The princes who were not electors had long regarded their territories as their private property, and had established the custom of dividing them among their sons. Thus their lands were divided into smaller and smaller portions. The princes also strove frequently to encroach on the freedom of the cities and the knights, and even to subjugate them, while they vigorously defended their independence. The princes found a check to their power in the cities, nobles, and clergy which were dependent upon them. For in their own territories the subordinate nobles and cities treated their authority as they did that of the empire, striving to throw it off. The princes themselves gave them opportunities for this. They needed money to support their state, to maintain them at court, to carry on wars, or to endow their daughters. Money was constantly becoming a greater power. But money taxes had not been known in the earlier days of the German Empire: personal services were the feudal tribute. The princes had neither right nor power to levy duties without the consent of those who paid them. They were compelled to make a request for supplies of money; and advantage was taken of their wants to set conditions upon the grant. Thus the "states" in the territories of the princes met often, and at last regularly. As their first right, they claimed that of granting supplies, and then, very often, that of superintending the use of them. They went on to claim the right to be consulted whenever a new alliance or treaty was to be made, or the land divided anew; and of course, when, as sometimes

occurred, any part of the land was sold or mortgaged. Thus the princes found their power hampered just as they hampered that of the empire. In exchange for grants of money, they gave up to their "states" the old rights of the feudal lords, the judicial fees and forfeitures and the tolls; so that all the burden fell upon the poorer people, especially the peasants, who gradually sank under it into a condition inexpressibly wretched. Yet the knight, who could not dispense with money, and the prince, who obtained it by making ever greater sacrifices of his inheritance, which was really his capital, were not on the highway to prosperity.

§ 18. The progress of the constitutional reform was slow and hesitating. When the chamber of justice undertook, February, 1496, to pronounce the ban of the empire, Maximilian interfered with its execution. He also failed to collect "the universal penny" in his own dominions, as he had promised. In the summer following, when a Diet was to assemble at Lindau, he sent orders to the members to bring thither the strongest military force they could furnish, with the money already collected, and thence to follow him to Italy; since he could not wait for them. But the Diet assembled at Lindau without troops or money, and the princes required the king's son, the Archduke Philip, to preside; while, under the guidance of the Elector of Mayence, they proceeded to consider the internal affairs of the empire. It was determined to restore the chamber of justice, and new guarantees were devised for its independence, and for the execution of its decrees. The resolutions of Worms were re-enacted, with a zealous purpose to carry them out. In the spring of 1498 Maximilian returned from the utter failure of his Italian expedition, to find the empire wholly alienated from him. Resolved to make war upon Louis XII, who at that time succeeded to the crown of France, he called a Diet to meet in June at Worms, and then transferred it to Freiburg. Here he passionately demanded of the princes aid for a war against France, declaring that he would listen to no advice from them, knowing that they would protest against war. "He spoke," says an official record, "with many wondrous words and gestures, very obscurely and unintelligibly." Berthold replied, "Your majesty is pleased to address us in parables, as Christ

his disciples." In short, the emperor's views and aims were directed to the aggrandizement of the house of Austria as an European power; the Diet was concerned with the state of the empire. While he strove to kindle them to passion, and hurry them into war, they calmly endeavored to control him and to limit his power. A compromise was at last reached, by which, as it proved, the king practically surrendered almost every thing. The money needed for the imperial administration was promised, and much of it was paid in at once. The Diet agreed to support the war against France; but the king bound himself firmly to observe in all points the resolutions of Worms. This Diet was very active and successful in improving the coinage, the criminal jurisprudence, and the laws of inheritance of the realm.

§ 19. Early in the autumn of 1498 Maximilian invaded Upper Burgundy, and then Champagne. Here, emboldened by some successes, he rejected a proposed armistice. But he was soon driven out of France by rain and floods, and entered Gueldres. During the winter, the Swiss, like most of his old allies in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, abandoned Maximilian and formed an alliance with France. The Swiss refused to pay the universal penny, and were richly paid by Louis XII. for service in his army as mercenaries. Maximilian strove to subdue them, but in a series of battles the Swiss, though suffering greatly from want, were uniformly victorious; and Maximilian reluctantly accepted a peace, by the terms of which the Swiss confederacy was relieved of all taxation under the empire, and, in fact, of all subjection to its laws and government. This treaty, known as the Peace of Basle, was signed September 22, 1499. The French had already taken Milan in August, so that all the honor and profit of the war remained with them.

§ 20. Another Diet, important in the constitutional history of the empire, met at Augsburg, April 10, 1500. Here a new scheme for levying an army was adopted. Every four hundred inhabitants, assembling by parishes, should fit out a foot soldier. A permanent imperial council was established, to take the place of frequent Diets, and to serve as a standing committee of the states of the empire. For the purpose of representation in this council, and of judicial administration,

the empire was divided into six "circles," or, as they were at first called, "provinces," with a high tribunal of justice in each: namely, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. The emperor had no power in the imperial council, except to preside in person, or to name a vice-president. But the council itself possessed extraordinary powers, as a supreme court of justice, civil and criminal, for many purposes as a legislature, and as a ministry of the empire for both foreign and home affairs. Maximilian yielded to all these encroachments on his prerogative, doubtless in the hope of obtaining aid, at last, to restore the imperial dignity in a foreign war. But the levy of troops was very slowly made, and the council thwarted all the emperor's purposes by concluding an armistice with France, and proposing to yield Milan as a fief to that country.

§ 21. In May, 1501, Maximilian visited the council, or "government," at Nuremberg, and protested zealously against the disgrace thus brought upon him and the empire. He then, in defiance of a resolution of the Diet that the king should grant no fief of the empire without consulting the electors, himself granted the feudal dependencies of Milan to Louis XII. in person. Indeed, he soon threw the whole constitution of the realm into confusion. By embarrassing the action of the council and of the chamber of justice, and by withholding the pay of all their members, he caused those bodies to dissolve. The electors justly apprehended that he might set up tools of his own in their places. They assembled at Gelnhausen, June 30, 1502, and pledged themselves to stand together as one man in support of the reformed constitution, and to meet every three months to consider the affairs of the empire. It is believed that they even planned the deposition of Maximilian, and there are traditions that only his personal dignity and kingly bearing saved him from the fate of Wenzel. They summoned a new Diet to meet in November. Maximilian, however, though afraid to countermand their summons, cunningly made it his own, proclaiming a Diet, in his name, at the same time and place; and the electors at once withdrew their invitation. They finally brought together an assembly at Mayence in June, 1503, but accom-

plished nothing beyond warning and advising the king to adhere to the resolutions of Worms and Augsburg.

§ 22. Maximilian meanwhile used what was left of the royal powers and prerogatives with the utmost skill and energy in strengthening his own position. He thus made many strong friends, among both the higher clergy and the princes. By carrying on a vigorous and successful war in 1504 against Rupert, Count Palatine, and thus depriving him of the inheritance of Landshut, the king further enlarged his own possessions in the empire. At the next Diet, held in February, 1505, at Cologne, he appeared with a splendor and a power such as no emperor had possessed for some generations. The leader of the reforming electors, Berthold of Mayence, was dead. His strong supporter, the Elector of Trèves, was also dead, and Maximilian's dependent and kinsman, Jacob of Baden, held the see. There was no longer a strong, organized body of princes, resolved to enforce the principles of the Augsburg Diet. Theories of the constitution were now quietly abandoned, and practical questions met. The king demanded supplies and troops for the expedition to Hungary, and then to Rome. They were granted. His plans in Hungary were easily fulfilled; and in February, 1507, he brought together the Diet at Costnitz, on the borders of Italy, and proclaimed a march to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

§ 23. The states again granted his demands, but the troops were slowly collected; and he arrived at Trent, with a considerable force and a splendid retinue, on February 3, 1508. Here he assumed the title of "Roman Emperor Elect," although none had been called emperor before until actually crowned at Rome. Pope Julius II., however, acquiesced in his assumption; and under its shelter the title "emperor" was afterward borne by all his successors in the empire, though but one of them ever received the papal consecration. The first attack was made upon the Venetians, but after some trifling successes, which filled Maximilian with confidence, the little republic brought into the field an army very superior to his own, and drove him back at all points, so that he was compelled to return in haste to Germany and seek aid. The electors refused to do any thing more until a Diet could consider the question, and it was not until April 21, 1509,

that this assembly could be collected at Worms. Meanwhile, in December, Maximilian suddenly changed his foreign policy, whose main feature had been a bitter jealousy of France, and concluded the League of Cambray with Louis XII. for the humiliation of Venice and the division of its possessions. This act, and his arbitrary course in home affairs, entirely alienated the Diet from the emperor, and they decisively refused to aid him further. Maximilian carried on the war, with the resources of his Austrian dominions, until 1510, when Louis XII. quarreled with him, and the League of Cambray was broken; he then concluded an armistice with Venice.

§ 24. The disputes between the emperor and the states, upon the administration of the laws, were carried on in successive annual Diets. That which met at Trèves, and afterward adjourned to Cologne, in 1512, effected a new agreement, in which Maximilian again surrendered most of his claims. The division into circles was confirmed, and extended to cover the whole empire: Saxony and Brandenburg forming the seventh, the four Rhine electorates the eighth, Austria the ninth, and Burgundy the tenth circle. "Captains" were to be appointed in each circle by the "states," to enforce the laws and decrees of the imperial chamber. Eight councilors were to be named, who should attend the emperor's court, and form a sort of ministry. But none of these appointments appear to have been made, and even the division into circles remained without practical importance until the Diet of Worms in 1521. The armistice with Venice came to an end in 1512, and for several succeeding years Maximilian carried on the war with unabated personal energy, but with failing resources; at times fighting with the French against the pope and Venice, and again with the pope and the English against the French. The empire was left to take care of itself, and for five years no Diet assembled. Meanwhile Germany was in confusion: a number of local civil wars were waged by princes upon one another or upon neighboring cities, and many of the cities were themselves torn by dissension and rebellion. Robber knights abounded in some parts of the empire, and bishops themselves associated for plunder. The dissatisfaction of the peasants and



laborers, who ascribed all their sufferings to the wickedness of their rulers, became alarming. When at length the Diet met at Mayence, July 1, 1517, nothing was heard but complaints on every side: the inefficiency of the chamber of justice, and the undue influence of powerful men over it; the general disregard of law; the disorders in the cities, the insecurity of the highways, the oppression of widows and orphans; these and other crying evils were laid before the states, who, however, did nothing but demand of the emperor that he apply a remedy. Even at this time none of the rulers apprehended that the human mind was on the very eve of a revolution so momentous that it would completely obscure, by contrast, all the efforts and needs of Germany for a political reform.

§ 25. Here we must turn aside from the narrative of imperial events to survey the course of a struggle for liberty long carried on in the northern part of the empire, and not less heroic and memorable than the storied wars of Swiss independence. On the flat coasts of the North Sea, the rich "march-lands," once the bed of the ocean, were also peopled by a remnant of the ancient free peasantry of the German race, whose history has hitherto scarcely touched that of the empire at large, but demands a brief retrospect here. Their land was and is, in a peculiar sense, the creation of its inhabitants. It would be swept to-day by each returning tide but for the dikes built to protect it. These form a continuous curve, from Texel in North Holland to and beyond the river Eider, the northern boundary of Holstein. They project from each side far into the wide river-mouths of the Ems, Jahde, Weser, Elbe, and Eider; and wherever it is necessary to permit the passage of a river or brook, there are sluices so contrived as to be shut during high water by the action of the waves themselves. The contest between man and the ocean here goes on unceasingly. A spring-tide will sometimes overflow the dikes, and at one impulse sweep away what had been acquired by the labor of centuries. Thus, among many other instances, in 1287 the Dollart broke its dikes, and in 1511 the Jahde, producing terrible inundations. Cities and villages, thousands of plowed fields and meadows, with men and cattle, have been at such times buried in

the waves. But man slowly begins again his patient conflict. At every ebb of the tide the land along the coast is left covered with rich slime; and when this is mixed with the river mud deposited by the fresh-water streams, it produces a most fertile soil. This land is gradually raised higher, until it is overflowed rarely or not at all by ordinary tides; then vegetation appears on it, and becomes more abundant, until it is ready for cultivation. It is protected by a new dike, and thus a strip of fruitful marsh-land is acquired, called a "polder."

§ 26. These conflicts of man with the elements are a part of history, as well as those fought by the sword against his own kind, and are surely not less attractive and noble. The Frisians had been engaged in such a conflict from the most ancient times. Charlemagne, for this reason, exempted them from distant military service. Thus the feudal tenure of land was not established among them. The peasants lived in free communities, in the ancient German fashion, with a few noble families who did not threaten their liberties. Each district, and each community in it, regulated its own affairs; justice was administered by their native judges according to their own laws. Friesland belonged to the empire; and the authority of counts of the empire was conferred on the chief prelates—in the west on the Archbishop of Utrecht, and farther eastward on the Bishops of Münster and Bremen. These prelates could not expect to raise the office which they held to the princely power which it acquired elsewhere in the empire. Yet the Frisians, too, soon suffered from the encroachments of neighboring princes, and formed for the protection of their freedom a confederacy like that of the Swiss among their mountains. This was the league of the seven Frisian districts: West Friesland, the Westergau, the Ostergau, Drenthe, Gröningen, Emden (or East Friesland), and Rûstringen.

§ 27. Farther to the east dwelt the Stedinger, on the Lower Weser, and the Dithmarshers on the western coast of Holstein—peoples who had similarly preserved their freedom and isolation. The Stedinger were not of pure Frisian descent, but mixed with Saxons; the Dithmarshers were Saxons. Farther north, beyond the Eider, dwelt and still dwell the

North Frisians, with their peculiar Frisian dialect, which they still preserve. King Abel of Denmark undertook to subjugate these people. They took an oath on his approach that he should perish, or every Frisian should die in his freedom. They defeated his army at the Eider in 1252, and the tyrant, who had obtained his throne by fratricide, was slain with an axe. A few years later, King William of Holland attempted to raise his power as count to that of a feudal prince over the Frisians; and built fortresses to bring them into subjection, as the Hapsburgs did in Switzerland. Friesland can be approached by an army only upon the ice of winter or during the drought of summer; a rain or thaw at once makes the heavy, tough soil of the moors impassable for men, horses, and wagons. King William made his campaign in winter, leading his army, with horses and trains, over the ice. But, like King Abel, he was defeated by the Frisians. In the fourteenth century the North Frisians were subjected to the Danish monarchy, after the great irruption of 1354 had desolated and almost depopulated their country; but it was the ocean, not the Danes, that conquered them. The West Frisians, too, were deprived of their independence by a similar deluge, and became subjects of the Counts of Holland, but retained their personal freedom.

§ 28. The Stedinger were overcome much sooner, after a heroic but mournful defense. They belonged to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bremen, who had long been eager to make himself master of their land, as had the Count of Oldenburg, and others of their neighbors. A priest was dissatisfied with the offering which a peasant woman gave him at the confessional, and in administering the sacrament of the supper put the coin into her mouth, instead of the host. The woman in her terror believed that the body of the Lord had turned into stone on account of her sin, but on reaching home, and reverently taking the penny upon a clean cloth, its real nature was seen, and her enraged husband slew the priest with an axe. The people then drove all the clergy from the land. Absurd accusations were made at Rome by Conrad of Marburg and his Dominican monks that the people were addicted to heathenish magic and barbarities; the pope laid the ban and inter-

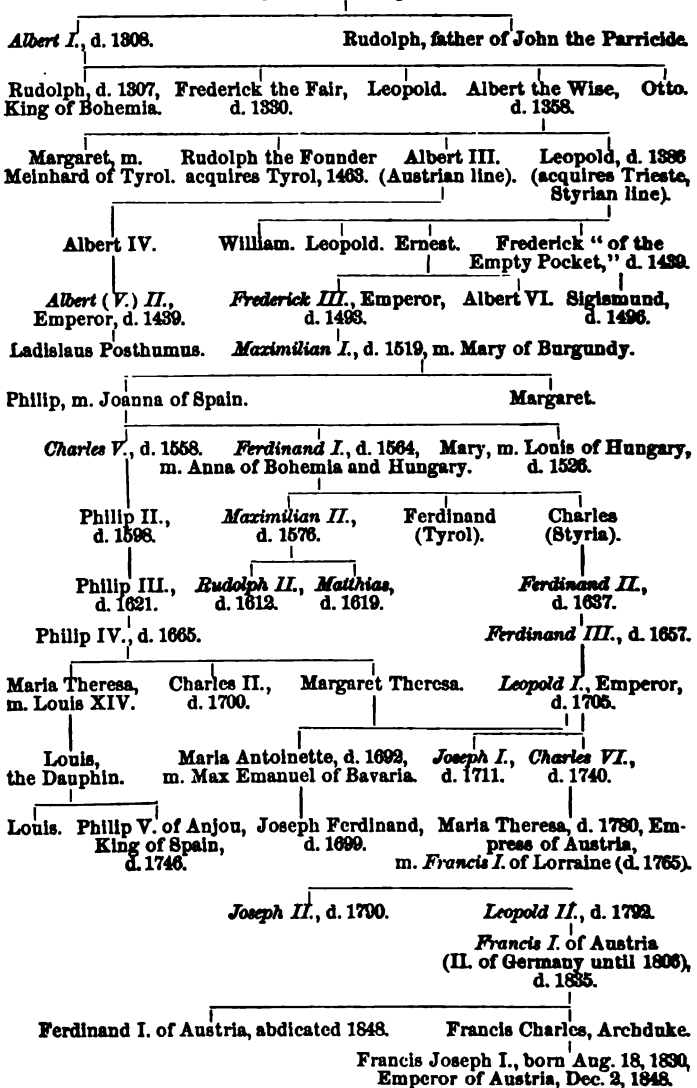
dict upon them, and a crusade against them was set on foot. The neighboring princes and nobles seized this opportunity to destroy their freedom. The Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Münster, Lübeck, and Ratzeburg, the Counts of Holland, Cleves, Oldenburg, and Lippe, marched against them, with an army of fanatics, commanded by the Duke of Brabant. The Stedinger then swore that they would rather die a double death than live to be the mockery of godless priests; and nearly the whole of them perished in the bloody fight at Altenesch in 1234. The remnant submitted to the princes, most of them becoming subjects of Oldenburg. The union of the free peasant communities, which had extended from Texel almost to the island of Sylt, was now interrupted. The people of Drenthe, who had long carried on a bloody struggle against the Bishops of Utrecht, soon after came to terms, and as an atonement for their crime built a monastery upon the spot where they once tortured to death a bishop, who had sunk and become entangled in the swamp. But the rest of the people of Westergau, Ostergau, Gröningen, Emden, and Rüstringen still resolutely defended their land and their freedom. Another Count of Holland, William IV., a kinsman of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, marched against the Frisians, and was slain, in 1345. Lewis obtained his inheritance, and under the house of Bavaria these countries enjoyed peace. But fierce party divisions broke out among the people. For a time they fell under the dominion of Holland, but they all resisted its continuance. Even when the county of Holland afterward fell into the hands of the Dukes of Burgundy, the Frisians held but a loose relation of dependence, nor did Charles the Bold subdue them. Upon his death, Maximilian brought the counties west of the Ems to the house of Saxony. They struggled bravely against its supremacy, especially the East Frisians, but were finally subjugated by Charles V., to whom Duke George of Saxony sold his claims upon the land in 1515. Thus the independence of the Frisian confederates was lost, at the end of the Middle Ages, after they had defended it with a heroism comparable to that of the Swiss. Only East Friesland remained independent, under the house of Cirksena, which now reached the dignity of counts of the empire. But all the Frisians retained a

remnant of their ancient freedom in the independent self-government of their popular communities.

§ 29. The people of Dithmarsh defended their freedom with similar heroism. Their governor (count) was the Archbishop of Bremen; and their relation to this prelate strengthened them to throw off the yoke which the Kings of Denmark, beginning with Waldemar II., laid on them. But after the battle of Bornhöved in 1227, which was decided by their desertion from the Danes to the Germans, the power of Denmark was broken, and Holstein and Dithmarsh were again free. The people now lived with all the rights of freemen, governing themselves in their local divisions of districts and parishes, and wielding their ancient Saxon weapons—their clubs and short-swords—right vigorously against every encroachment. The nobles among them accepted the same laws as the peasants, and would not submit to the governors of the archbishop's choice unless selected from themselves. But here, too, conflicts arose with the neighboring princes. Count Gerard the Great, of Holstein, with the Duke of Mecklenburg and other princes, overran their land in 1319. The terrified men of Dithmarsh were shut up in the church of Oldenwörden; the besiegers fired the building, and as the flames rose to the roof, and the melted lead poured down upon them, they begged for quarter. This was inhumanly refused. They then resolved that if they must die, their foes should die with them; and they sallied forth in desperation, fell upon the army of the nobles, which was already scattering in search of plunder, and achieved a bloody victory and an honorable peace. Nearly a century afterward, in 1404, they defeated Duke Gerard of Schleswig, on his return from a plundering inroad into their country, on the marshy banks of the Hamme, whose broad mouth forms one of the few approaches to Dithmarsh. The choice by Schleswig of King Christian I. of Denmark for its ruler greatly increased the danger of the people of Dithmarsh. The Emperor Frederick III., always a traitor to German freedom, assigned the fief of Dithmarsh in 1474 to Christian I., as "a land without a ruler, that abused its freedom." He afterward recalled the grant, which the people never recognized, and the question was still in dispute when Christian I. died. But his son John,

King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, together with Frederick, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in 1500 undertook anew to subjugate the land. Their own national army was strengthened by "the black guard," a band of wandering mercenaries, distinguished for their cruelty as well as their military skill. Many noblemen joined the over-confident army of invasion, which advanced through the heavy frosts in great splendor of arms and equipment, as if to a field of sport with the peasants. They captured Meldorf, the most important town in the land, butchered the unarmed population, and set out thence for Heide by way of Hemmingstedt, February 17, 1500, the guard in advance, with the cry, "Look out, peasants, the guard is coming!" Meanwhile there was a thaw, and the roads were softened. The Dithmarsh men built before Hemmingstedt, from ditch to ditch, across the narrow causeway which formed the only practicable passage through the swamp, a barricade, and placed three hundred brave men behind it, under Wolf Jostrand. The slow, heavy train of wagons and horsemen paused before this obstacle. The Dithmarshers fired their guns into the close throng; and then broke forth, burdened with no armor, and easily leaping with their long staves over the ditches. As the Danes found themselves inextricably fixed in the deep soil, a panic seized them, like that of Granson, and the battle became a massacre by the Frisians of their hated oppressors. Women and maidens joined in the fight, and fired upon the Danes. "Look out, guards, the peasant is coming," was now the cry. The men of Meldorf opened the sluices; the tide, raised by the northwest wind, covered the roads, and the enemy were utterly destroyed. King John and Duke Frederick only escaped by rapid flight. The flower of the nobility of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein lay among the dead, and the booty was enormous. Twenty thousand of the Danish army, two thirds of the whole, are believed to have been slain, though the assailants lost but sixty men. We may add that the freedom thus successfully defended was retained by the Dithmarshers until 1559, when, distracted by parties and abandoned by the empire, they submitted to Holstein, and through it to Denmark; though only after a brave defense, and upon conditions worthy of free and valiant men.

## GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

*Rudolph of Hapsburg, d. 1291.*

NOTE.—The names in *italics* are those of Emperors of Germany.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GERMAN CIVILIZATION IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES. THE CITIES AND THEIR LEAGUES.

- § 1. Social Changes during this Period. § 2. Meagreness of its Records. § 3. Rapid Growth of the Cities; their Advantages; their Liberties. § 4. Internal Struggles for Power. § 5. A German City of the Fifteenth Century. § 6. Its Industries, Guilds, and Festivals. § 7. The Cities Described by Æneas Sylvius. § 8. City Minstrelsy. § 9. Hanse Leagues; "the German Hanse." § 10. Its Constitution and Success. § 11. Its Wars with Denmark. § 12. Its Commerce. § 13. Its Want of Organization, and Decline. § 14. League of the Rhenish Cities. § 15. League of the Cities of Suabia. § 16. The Great City War in South Germany. § 17. Decline of the Cities.

§ 1. GERMAN history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not splendid in conquest or in national achievement; yet the life and character of the people during this period are an interesting and important study. It was a time of transition from the dark ages to the ever freer and fuller life of the modern nations. The characteristics of the German tribes in the days of Tacitus, indeed, may be traced in their descendants to-day; and there is no other European race which has preserved to the same extent and for so long a time its individual peculiarities. But the age in question was that during which the modern nations of Europe drew between them the great lines of separation that have substantially divided them to this day, not only as distinct kingdoms or commonwealths, but as peoples, each of them with a well-marked national character of its own. The conception of the empire as the supreme power in Christendom passed away in France, Spain, and Italy long before it was abandoned in Germany; but in such countries as England, France, and even Spain, the reigning sovereigns steadily built up their thrones, and became nearly absolute, while the German kings had lost all but the name of monarchy before they gave up the dream of sovereignty over the world. Thus Germany became a name for an aggregate



of independent principalities; but while it lost its commanding position as a nation, it found some compensation in the abundant variety thus obtained for individual life, and in the fullness, freedom, and richness of the culture secured to the people. Other nations, with their policy and arms, filled the world with noise, and the annals of the times are devoted to their exploits; but Germany quietly invented and worked the printing-press, and prepared for the Reformation.

§ 2. Thus whatever is most noteworthy in German annals, from the time of the Hohenstaufens until the circulation of printed books began to extend religious knowledge and thought, is the work of the people, and not of their rulers. But it is the brilliant deeds of the warrior and the statesman which inspire the chronicler, and fill even popular legend and song. The great achievements of the multitude are always wrought without consciousness of their greatness; and before the results are appreciated the processes are often forgotten. Hence our materials for a narrative of the wars and projects of Charles the Great or of Barbarossa are far more abundant than for an account of the progressive steps by which the art of printing was perfected or field-artillery made effective; or of the growth of commerce, or of political and social institutions in the free cities. In German history, the two centuries preceding Luther are the poorest of all in great and prominent men, and even in memorable incidents; and the narrative of public affairs during this period is meagre if not unattractive. But the silent changes which were taking place in the thoughts, habits, and lives of the people are the key to all their subsequent history; and even the very imperfect knowledge of them which remains to us will repay a careful study.

§ 3. The rapid decline of knighthood and of the dignity and character of the nobility, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, were accompanied and followed by an equally rapid growth in the wealth and importance of the cities and of the trading classes. The age of romance, of poetry, and popular devotion to heroism was gone; that of calculating industry and laborious acquisition came on apace. For two centuries no great poem was produced, no important historical work written, no legendary hero enthroned in the people's hearts.

The illusions of earlier days passed away; hard common-sense was accepted as the rule of life. The popular sports gradually changed; the knightly games and tournaments gave place to burlesque plays and the feats of clowns and jugglers, heroic songs to rhymed jest and folly. Active minds and skilled hands thronged to the cities; and since no national government protected them, they formed associations, guilds, and leagues of every kind to protect themselves. Thus, while the character of the nobility and the knights degenerated sadly, as the knightly spirit declined, the German cities acquired not only wealth and strength, but independence, and something of a democratic spirit of association and love for liberty. The lords of the land originally had jurisdiction over the cities in their territory, and the emperor in the cities of the empire, and exercised it through the agency of burgraves and bailiffs. But their rights were gradually ceded back to the cities themselves, often by needy lords in exchange for money, sometimes for other considerations, but almost always peacefully; so that nearly all the cities became free communities. They formed, in fact, small republics, with their own government and magistrates. Their governments were still aristocratic—that is, they were in the hands of a few prominent families (called Patricians, or Honorables), whose members alone were eligible to office as judges and members of the council. But the wealthier inhabitants—merchants, proprietors of land, and manufacturers—gradually became associated with them. These were the men of the world, whose minds were trained by active intercourse with others. They could speak other languages than their own, and were accustomed to control themselves and to influence others in trade. They also acquired wealth, and their money was indispensable to the cities and to the noblemen, who intermarried with them freely for its sake. For in those days money was a greater power than now; it could buy knighthood and titles of nobility, or even of sovereignty, from the State, and dispensations for crime from the Church. Such men could not long be kept down; they soon obtained an equal share in the government, and formed with the old ruling families the council, in distinction from the burghesses, who were of lower rank. The prosperity and

power of the cities began under this aristocratic constitution. As trade extended, they secured and increased their wealth by an economical administration of affairs, and thus obtained more and more influence over the princes and noblemen of the land. They began also to extend their boundaries beyond their walls, to take neighboring villages and districts under their control, and to protect these dependencies from feuds and plunder. The practice of establishing suburbs, whose residents (Pfaßbürger, "Palisade-citizens," who dwelt within inclosures, but not within the walls) claimed the rights and privileges of citizens, threatened to build up in the cities a sovereignty too powerful for the knights and princes of the land, who therefore looked with jealousy, and often with bitter enmity, upon their growth. But they were strong in themselves and in their union, and steadily gained in independence at the expense of the princes and nobility.

§ 4. As early as in the thirteenth century there began in nearly all the cities struggles over the form of their internal government. The common citizens—that is, the settled artisans, who were divided into guilds according to their several trades—being in good circumstances and conscious of their own strength, began to demand a share in the city government. The pride or severity of the ruling families often oppressed and offended them. Most of the cities have records of bloody riots and battles from this cause. But these agitations ended almost every where in the guilds obtaining a place and voice in the councils and in the executive administration. In some places, as in Spire, Zürich, and Augsburg, there was simply a division of power between "the dynasties" and the commons, so that the latter were not only represented in the smaller ruling council or senate of the city, but often held another and larger council of their own. At other places, as Regensburg, the dynasties were actually expelled, or only suffered to remain on condition of joining the guilds. In but a few cities, as in Nuremberg, did they retain their control. Thus each city formed a political organization adapted to its own inhabitants, and the municipal constitutions and customs grew up with that rich variety of development which has ever since been characteristic of them.

§ 5. After much unfruitful struggling and passionate agi-

tation, there comes in with the fifteenth century a period of repose in the German cities generally, of splendid prosperity and enjoyment, during which municipal life was one of great comfort. Trade and wealth took refuge behind their strong walls; for the cities continued to be the centres of commerce, which grew rapidly in spite of the wildness of the times, and was greatly promoted by the annual fairs. Armed mercenaries were employed to protect traveling merchants and to punish breaches of the peace; while the citizens themselves, in all classes, were accustomed to arms and ready for battle. The cities often acquired possession even of remote castles, to protect their highways; their own precincts, even when they extended for miles around, were inclosed with a wall and ditch, and the entrances to the inclosure were protected by guards and towers. The city itself was surrounded by a deep ditch, which was often double, with stone walls, turreted and battlemented, behind it, taking the place of the more ancient palisade forts. The space within was limited; but the open places were adorned by public buildings, churches, and, above all, magnificent town-halls (Rathhäuser). These Gothic edifices, with their leafy mouldings, galleries, and columned passages, still form the ornament of many cities, such as Aix, Nuremberg, Brunswick, Lübeck, and Cologne. Numbers of churches, convents, and chapels were built by the city, or by its ecclesiastical corporations, whose endowments of land often made them very rich. Latin schools were soon connected with them, and their teachers, always priests, became men of importance in the cities, whither multitudes of poor students flocked to receive instruction, supporting themselves by begging. The custom of paving the streets was introduced in the fourteenth century, though many large cities did not practice it till later. Fresh streams of running water were in many places brought into the streets. The houses commonly presented the gable to the narrow and winding street, and had courts which extended far back, in which the cattle were kept at night. The houses were at first built with plain panel-work, and were mostly thatched with straw. They were then but simply furnished; but show and ornament steadily increased. They rose high, with towering roofs, pierced with sashes and openings; for the main

floors were usually occupied as stores. The upper stories projected a little over the massive ground-floor; pretty bow-windows were thrown forward still further. The beams were adorned with pious mottoes and carvings, the corners and niches with wooden figures, and the main door with the family arms. Such a house, as seen from the street, presented a somewhat gloomy appearance, but also one that was singularly pleasing to the artistic eye. An extensive hall, surrounded by staircases and galleries, was entered by the front door. It was employed in business houses, like the court-yard surrounded by the back-buildings, for bargaining and selling goods, while the residence lay in the rear, or in the upper stories. Thus the accommodations of the family were narrow, but neat and comfortable. The terrors of city life were felt, when fire spread desolation through the labyrinths of narrow streets, or when a pestilence brooded in the thick, close air.

§ 6. These communities were the homes of all branches of manufacturing and artistic industry. Here were goldsmiths, armor-makers, painters, and sculptors, who brought renown to their native cities. Here were industrious scholars, who were now often laymen, though formerly always priests, who investigated and chronicled the history of their city and their times. The ruling families, the city nobility, proud of trade and wealth, held their grand festivals and dances, and their election banquets, in which the representatives of the guilds afterward shared. But the laboring artisans, with their guilds and corporate monopolies, had also their pride and pleasures. Each had its own banners, emblems, and peculiar customs; nor did they lack banquets and festivals, with formal sessions and uniform attire. Each member of the guild, supported and protected by it, found his own importance only in it; and his service belonged to it, and through it to the community of the city at large. Thus selfish aims often yielded to the common good, and personal gain was sacrificed to the benefit of all. While each guild watched over its own interests, by preventing, for instance, the settlement of too many master-workmen, it was also careful for the valiant and honorable conduct of its members. The Church festivals were enjoyed by the whole people, especially those of the city's own guardian saint, who was honored by

solemn and splendid processions. But each feast brought its own pleasure: Easter, its palms and its mirth; Whitsuntide, the green boughs; and the spring, the May-days, when a handsome youth, crowned with green leaves, came from the forest into the city, a symbol of victory over the winter. This festival afterward grew into the shooting-matches, at which the citizens practiced with their destructive crossbows. Corpus Christi brought its processions, Christmas the brightly illuminated streets, Shrovetide its carnival of fun. The people in those times were full of unwearying merriment; minstrels and dancers, jugglers and players, were welcome guests. The women, too, had their own festivals; as when, on the eve of St. John's day, the wives and maidens of Cologne trooped to the Rhine to throw in flowers, and take out water which was regarded as holy; or as when the Brunswick ladies devoted a special day to gathering herbs in the forest for sacred uses. The council often had to interfere with the love of show and extravagance, and to provide by severe decrees for the public order and peace. This was the more necessary, since in the cities, as well as elsewhere, the defiant nobles were inclined to arbitrary conduct and violence; and their rudeness was not restrained by respect from disturbing the most beautiful custom.

§ 7. Æneas Sylvius, a sensible and elegant Italian writer, who was once secretary of the council of Basle, afterward chancellor of the Emperor Frederick III., then cardinal, and finally pope (Pius II.), gives a eulogistic description of the German cities about the middle of the fifteenth century. The following are some of the striking features of the picture he draws: "In Aix, the ancient capital of the empire, there is a palace with stone figures of the emperors, and a temple rich in relics. Cologne is not excelled in Europe for the splendor of its churches and citizens' houses, its wealth, and its defensive strength. Old Mayence is handsomely built, and its only fault is the narrowness of its streets. Worms, though smaller, is the most charming of cities. The cathedral of Spire was burned down, but now rises again more magnificent than ever, and holds the tombs of the emperors. Strasburg is traversed, like Venice, with canals, but is pleasanter and more healthy. It has a cathedral of freestone, with one finished spire, which

hides its wonderful top in the clouds. Its city hall, and even its private houses, are such as no prince need be ashamed of. The honorable character of Basle and its respect for law are praised by the whole world. Berne and Zürich are also cities of wealth and military strength. Augsburg is beautiful, rich, and well-governed. Salzburg is magnificent; Regensburg is rich in sanctuaries and pious memories. But Vienna is the most splendid of all; the ambassadors of Bosnia declared that the spire of St. Stephen's alone was worth more than their kingdom. The houses are of stone, with large cellars; the windows are of glass (then a rare luxury); the people at home have rich furniture, and keep singing-birds. But their manners are willful and violent. Breslau stands in a country that was formerly Sclavonic, and is built of bricks, but is powerful, and its episcopal see is rich. Dantzic in Prussia is strong by land and sea, and can perhaps send out fifty thousand warriors. Prague is half German, and resembles Florence in splendor. But Lübeck excels all the northern cities in lofty buildings and handsome churches. Its influence is so commanding that three mighty kingdoms of the North accept or reject their rulers at its will." He also praises the cities of Mecklenburg, Lower Saxony, and Flanders. "In Thuringia and upon the Main, Frankfort is worthy of note. In Franconia are the episcopal sees of Bamberg, Aschaffenburg, and Würzburg; but Nuremberg towers above all. To the traveler coming from Lower Franconia this splendid city shows from afar its majestic beauty; and the impression is strengthened on entering the gate, and beholding its handsome streets and neat houses. Here are the venerable and beautiful churches of St. Sebald and St. Lawrence; the proud and strong castle of the emperors, and citizens' houses that seem built for princes; so that in Scotland the kings would wish to be housed like citizens of the middle class in Nuremberg. In Suabia, Ulm is supreme in municipal beauty. Bavaria, too, contains pleasant cities. On the whole, it may be asserted that no nation in Europe possesses cleaner and more agreeable cities than Germany; and their appearance is as fresh as if they were built but yesterday. They accumulate wealth by trade; at every feast silver vessels are used for drink; and every citizen's wife wears ornaments of

gold. The citizens, too, are soldiers, and each of them has a sort of armory in his house. The boys learn to ride before they can talk, and sit unmoved in the saddle when their horses run at full speed; while the men wear their armor as lightly as their limbs. One who has seen the armories of the Germans will smile at the stores of armor in other nations. Surely you Germans might still be the lords of the world, as you once were, but for your many masters—the fault all wise men have found with you.” Thus, in spite of the ruined empire, strangers found the municipal life of the Germans worthy of respect.

§ 8. Now that life at the courts was degenerate, and knight-hood sunk almost to barbarism, intellectual activity took refuge in the cities. The free knightly minstrelsy of the minnesingers was silent; and in their place came the didactic, moral, and satiric poets, mostly clergymen and scholars, whose most famous works are “The Welsh (romance) Guest” (1216), “The Racer” (1300), and Sebastian Brandt’s “Ship of Fools” (1494). But it was not long before the artisans acquired the noble art of song, though they limited it, as they did their trades, by rigid rules, and in accordance with the aims of their guilds. Thus arose the artisan minstrels (*meistersänger*), who practiced the art of composing and singing verses in the cities as a trade. They were without the simple, impulsive tenderness of the early minnesingers; but their songs express the pious and merry disposition of the strong artisans. In some cities they held sessions in the city hall itself, or in the church. They flourished most in Southern Germany, first of all in Mayence, where the formal, poetic “praise of women” marks the transition from the troubadour to the city minstrel; and afterward in Strasburg, Ulm, and above all in Nuremberg, the home of art. Hans Nunnenbeck, the weaver, Michael Behaim, and others, are well known; but the most famous of all is Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg shoemaker, though he properly belongs to the next period, and can not be reckoned as strictly one of the guild of “master-singers.” But this form of minstrelsy lasted through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was maintained in Ulm to the year 1839.

§ 9. Very early in the Middle Ages, merchants, whose trade led them to remote cities and foreign countries, formed asso-



ciations to assure to one another aid and protection. Such an association was called by an old name, preserved in the Low-German dialect, a Hanse. The first of these companies, of which any thing is known, was formed of merchants who dwelt in the island of Gothland, or frequented it. This island had an active trade with the sea-coast, especially with Riga and Novogorod, and through these towns with the interior of Russia. The merchants of Cologne and of Lower Germany in the English trade had a similar Hanse league; and smaller ones were formed in the Netherlands and elsewhere. But far beyond all these in importance was a league of cities in Lower Germany, headed by Lübeck, which became known in the fourteenth century as the German Hanse. It grew out of a combination of the so-called Wend cities of Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, and Stralsund, with the ancient league of Gothland merchants, and became so influential that the other associations of the same kind were compelled, for their own advantage, to join it. We can fix no precise date for its foundation. The event usually assumed as its origin, the convention of 1241 between Lübeck and Hamburg for the reciprocal protection of their trade, was but one of many important acts of the same kind. The cities of the Hanse were at first classed in three "thirds:" 1. The Wend cities, with Lübeck, including Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, and others; and with these were associated the interior cities of Braundenburg, Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Tangermünde, and even Breslau. 2. The Westphalian and Prussian "third:" Cologne, Soest, Dortmund, Münster, and Minden, with the cities of Holland and Zealand, including Amsterdam on one hand, and those of Prussia, such as Thorn, Elbing, Dantzic, Kulm, Königsberg, and Braunschweig, on the other. 3. The Gothland "third," embracing the Germans of Gothland, those in Riga, Dorpat, Revel, and other cities of Livonia and Esthonia. Hamburg and Bremen at first assumed peculiar relations to the league, but Hamburg afterward joined the Wend third, while Bremen united with Brunswick, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Goslar, Hanover, Göttingen, Hildesheim, Halle, Nordhausen, Mühlhausen, and Erfurt, to form a new Saxon division, and each division of the enlarged Hansa was then called a "fourth."

§ 10. Lübeck continued to be the most important of these cities, and the capital of the Hansa. Here its Diet was held, at regular intervals, or upon a special summons to meet an emergency. The larger cities were directly represented at these sessions, while the smaller ones connected themselves with these, and were represented through them. Thus, Rostock spoke for nearly all the cities of Brandenburg. Thus each of them shared the protection and the common rights of all. It was the purpose of the league to present a united front to foreigners, and to obtain from them all the advantages possible in trade; also to guard the highways from robbery, to open new avenues of traffic, by land and water, to establish common regulations for coinage, weights, and measures, for the disposition of stranded goods, for the detention of staples in particular markets, and for the settlement of all disputes; and, finally, to maintain civil order, and uphold the aristocratic city governments. A common fund was provided by fixed contributions; while, in case of war, each city was called on for a contingent of men and ships, both merchant vessels and ships of war. Thus the Hanse soon became the greatest power in the northern seas. It actually brought to pass what Henry the Lion had striven for, the supremacy of the Germans over all Northern Europe; and that by its own resources, without aid from the empire, to which it paid little regard. Its success was gained mainly by the use of money among the needy princes; by the wisdom of its negotiations; and, in cases of greater difficulty, by the prohibition and suppression of trade with foreign powers, and the exclusion of unmanageable members from the league; nor did it hesitate, when it was necessary, to declare war against kings.

§ 11. The Kings of Denmark, the most powerful monarchs in the Scandinavian North, strove in vain to destroy the ascendancy of the Hanse. Indeed, they were frequently driven to invoke its aid against disorders in their own land, and for the maintenance of their own throne; and in return they could only grant new privileges to trade. In 1361 Waldemar III. (Atterdag) conquered Gothland, and destroyed Wisby, with thirteen hundred German citizens, and vast amounts of property. The Wend cities, with Lübeck at

their head, determined on revenge. The Kings of Sweden and Norway were forced by their people, who were dependent on the Hanse for supplies, to take its part. John Wittenberg, the Burgomaster of Lübeck, besieged Copenhagen, where Waldemar's son was slain, and threatened Helsingborg. But meanwhile the Danes, who were now strengthened by the desertion of the Swedes to them, defeated and destroyed the fleet of Wittenberg, who atoned for his neglect by the loss of his head. The whole German Hanse then bestirred itself, in spite of emperor and pope, whom the Danes had won over, and at a Diet of the league in Cologne resolved to prosecute the war. From Zealand to Livonia, from Briel and Amsterdam to Riga and Dorpat, and even to Breslau and Cracow, the cities mustered their forces against the Scandinavian North. The greatest fleet Germany had ever seen was collected; it frightened Norway to a peace, set up in Sweden Albert of Mecklenburg as king, and captured and sacked Copenhagen. Waldemar in terror fled with his treasures from his kingdom; and in 1370 the Danish States-General made a peace with the Hanse which secured it for a long time an ascendancy over the Scandinavian kingdoms.

§ 12. The Hanse was now in complete control of the commerce of the North. In Norway they occupied an entire quarter of the city of Bergen, in which the German merchants, always bachelors, lived in luxury and pride, with their strange manners and rough games. They imported grain, beer, linen, woollen cloths, and the precious goods of the South, and exported in exchange skins, salted meats and fish, and ship timber. The herring fisheries on the coast of Schönen were prosecuted by them almost exclusively, and furnished half of Europe with the fish so necessary during the frequent fasts. They also exported from Sweden metals and the other products of the North. The powerful city of Novogorod was the staple market of Russia, in which leather, honey, and wax were obtained for cloths from the Netherlands. In London the Hanse merchants had their own quarters, the Steelyard, where they purchased chiefly wool, but in later times, when the English manufactures became important, fine cloths. The limits of the Hanse commerce in the Southwest were in the Netherlands, through which trade was carried on with

the South, with France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy; so that these countries were rarely visited by the Hanse merchants themselves.

§ 13. Thus the prosperity and power of the Hanse during the decline of the empire, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, showed that German energy and enterprise were still in full life. But the league itself suffered more and more from the defects incident to its imperfect organization: a want of harmony, selfish greed in individual members, and the sad want of a national government to wield and direct its great powers. The trade of the Netherlands first rivaled that of the Hanse, and then that of England gradually overshadowed it, and established connections in Prussia, Poland, and Russia. At the end of the fifteenth century the German Hanse was already beginning to decline.

§ 14. Besides this great league, which controlled the commerce of all North Germany, several other confederacies of cities grew up in the empire. Such leagues were temporarily formed in Lower Saxony and in Westphalia, though they never attained historical importance. But the Rhenish cities formed one of great influence, almost as ancient as the Hanse. In 1254 Mayence and Worms combined, under the noble Arnold Walpot, to resist unjust tolls levied on the Rhine. This league was sanctioned by King William of Holland, during the great interregnum. It soon came to include Basle, Strasburg, Worms, Spires, Mayence, and Frankfort; and a number of cities of the second rank as far down as Wesel: both those on the Rhine, as Freiburg, Breisach, Bingen, Oberwesel, Boppard, Bonn, and Neuss, and some interior towns, such as Oppenheim and Fulda; and was temporarily joined by more distant cities, among them Regensburg, Nuremberg, Colmar, Metz, and Trèves. In the time of its power it compelled even the neighboring princes, the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Counts Palatine, and many more, to join it and observe the peace it proclaimed. But the bond of the league was a loose one, its members were too much scattered, and it had only mercenary soldiers, so that it rapidly fell to pieces, and did not survive the fourteenth century. Its remnants joined the more memorable league of the Svanian cities.

§ 15. The cities of South Germany felt their passion for independence kindled by the example of Switzerland, where the citizens and peasants humbled the pride of their princes. From the time when Lewis of Bavaria so successfully sustained the cities in the Diet at Frankfort in 1338, the clearest minds among the city leaders entertained the hope that they might bring about a restoration of the empire to real power, and maintain it under a sort of imperial constitution which would make a legislative council of the representatives of the cities. But the next emperor, Charles IV., was not the man to carry out such a scheme. As soon as he became sovereign, he began to mortgage cities of the empire to prelates and princes. In appointing Everard of Wirtemberg imperial governor of Suabia, he granted him a sort of claim upon the cities in that province. The Golden Bull was also unwelcome to the cities, since it denied the rights of citizenship to the "Pfahlbürger," or suburban residents, and forbade leagues of the cities. But when Charles IV., in his effort to secure the throne to his son Wenzel in 1377, again mortgaged cities to electors and princes, and granted authority over them to the hated Everard, seventeen cities in Suabia united for the maintenance of their freedom by war. At Reutlingen they obtained a victory over Everard's son Ulric, who escaped with difficulty, though less hurt by the wounds the citizens gave him than by the scorn and mockery with which his father treated him after the defeat.

§ 16. Wenzel now recognized the league of the cities, and made a preliminary peace. He even seemed at first ready to defend them. But his plan was, in fact, but to incite the princes and the cities each against the other, that he might control them both. To complete the confusion, the nobles also, who were striving for greater independence, leagued themselves together, as enemies alike of the princes and the cities. Thus arose in Suabia the league of the "Martinsvögel," and afterward that of the "Schwegler." Wenzel now gave the office of governor in Suabia to Leopold III. of Austria, whose aim was to restore the lost ascendancy of his house in Switzerland, Alsace, and Suabia. The cities of Switzerland, finding their freedom in danger, sought the friendship of those of the Suabian league, now increased in number to

thirty-seven. But Leopold was cunning enough to stir up strife and division between them. He then marched against the Swiss alone, but was defeated and slain at Sempach in 1386. The victory of the Swiss greatly encouraged the Suabians against the neighboring princes, who had all conspired to destroy their growing power. It was then that the Wittelsbach lords treacherously captured Pilgrin, Archbishop of Salzburg, the ally of the cities. Thus was kindled the great war of the cities in 1388. All South Germany was filled with feuds, murders, pillage, and desolation. In Bavaria and Franconia the citizens retained the upper hand. At Döffingen, in Suabia, Everard "the Grinner" and his son Ulric met in battle the citizens, who occupied the churchyard of the place and fought bravely. Ulric, who burned to wipe out the disgrace at Reutlingen, also fought with vigor. He fell, and his forces wavered; but old Everard took the command of them at once, crying out, "The fallen is but as another man." In the hottest of the fight, "the shamming wolf" of Wunnenstein, the captain of the Martinsvögel, fell upon the citizen army; for on that day princes and knights, themselves at bitter enmity, made common cause against the still more hated cities. Thus the citizens were utterly defeated, and the league came to a premature end. The similar league of Frankfort and the cities of the Wetterau was also dissolved. The mercenaries of the Rhenish cities, now a disreputable and dissolute mob, were scattered by the sword of the Emperor Rupert of the Palatinate, who at one time burned sixty of them in a lime-kiln. At the Diet of Eger, in 1389, Wenzel, disregarding his promises, formally forbade the cities to unite in a confederation for any purpose.

§ 17. Thus the city associations of South Germany came to an end, sooner and with less glory than the Hanse. Yet the individual cities in that region continued for a long time to be ornaments of the nation. Sixty years after this they were still able to carry on a second great city war against the most warlike prince of his day, Albert Achilles, and came out of it with honor in 1449. But these imperfect unions only illustrated the evils of a loosely compacted confederacy. One hampered another, and each embarrassed all, by their levies of tolls and transit claims on merchandise, which they

all eagerly insisted on for themselves, and refused to surrender for the common good. Most of them gradually declined; some of them chose to accept a dependent relation to princes, in preference to their costly and insecure freedom under the empire. Thus, at the close of the Middle Ages, the flourishing period of most of the South German cities was at an end.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### GERMAN CIVILIZATION CONTINUED: LIFE OF THE PEOPLE, PLAGUE AND PERSECUTION, SCIENCE AND ART.

- § 1. Decay of Manners. § 2. The Peasantry Oppressed. § 3. Life of the Nobles; Robber Knights. § 4. Confederacies of the Knights. § 5. The German Order; its Prussian Possessions. § 6. It is Defeated by Ladislaw Jagello. § 7. Encroachments of Poland. § 8. The Land becomes a Duchy. § 9. Military Life. § 10. Vagabonds. § 11. Popular Songs. § 12. Dress and Fashion; Food and Drink. § 13. The Clergy. § 14. The Black Death; its Effect on the Character of the People. § 15. Cruel Persecution of the Jews. § 16. Fanatical Sects; the Flagellants. § 17. Secret Tribunals of Justice. § 18. Corruptions of Doctrine and Worship. § 19. Progress of Religious Truth. § 20. Theology and Natural Science. § 21. Invention of the Art of Printing. § 22. Its Immediate Results. § 23. Early Use of Gunpowder. § 24. Its Influence upon the Art of War.

§ 1. THE decline of the knightly spirit, and the return of rough, wild manners, brought with them the decline of the knightly minstrelsy. Even from the court of the emperor, and as early as Rudolph's time, the minstrels were dismissed without honor or reward. The grand associating idea of knighthood, as an order bound to guard the honor of their common faith and life with the sword against every assailant, was lost. The nobleman came soon to look little farther than the narrow bounds of his own possessions, often scarcely beyond those of his own village or castle. Every thing grew ruder again. The armor in use became ruder; in place of the mail made of rings and chains, heavy plate armor was used, which almost weighed down horse and man, and became at last a hinderance rather than a protection in battle. Instead of the beautiful attire of the thirteenth century, a perverted taste delighted in gay contrasts of color and eccentricities of cut. More than all, manners grew ruder; the exaggerated and often affected devotion to the ladies gave place to arrogant contempt for them. The men held their wild drinking-parties apart. In appearing at the court of a prince or an emperor, a vulgar show of splendor was required, with many deo



orated horses and servants, to make up for deficiencies in character and life. Thus the knight, like the prince, was commonly embarrassed and burdened with debt, and the peasant had to toil the harder to make up his levies and contributions.

§ 2. In the times of the early emperors, we found the villages, in Austria, for example, enjoying a free and independent life of their own; and where they had resident magistrates, as in Brandenburg, the villages were well organized and administered. The princes, in their want of money, had been compelled to assign the incomes of their villages to nobles, who enforced their claims with violence and oppression.\* Thus every where in Germany the peasants became bondsmen, and sank into such poverty as had not been known among them before. Every failure or misfortune of their master fell most severely on them. The more independent the knight became of his prince, the more he practiced the custom of private vengeance, and petty local wars raged ceaselessly through the German lands. But castles were hard to take; so that enemies preferred to cut off one another's revenues by ravaging their villages, driving off the cattle, destroying the crops, and even by sowing weeds in the soil, so as to destroy its productiveness for long periods of time. Thus the whole burden of the age fell upon "the poor people," and their pleasure in life was gone. Then the Hussite war showed them the strength that lay even in the lower orders when united; and the peasantry began to indulge their discontent and hatred, and at length to conspire together against their masters.

§ 3. Nor was the life of the nobles, who alone still enjoyed civil freedom, an enviable one. The banquet and the chase were almost the only pleasures which filled up their idle days, when not busy with their feuds. The mighty forests were full of game; and so were many hunting-grounds which had

\* At an early period we find patches of land given to peasants as fiefs. Many freemen, too, voluntarily accepted a feudal tenure, and paid homage and fealty; though they still formed a higher grade than the actual bondsmen. But in neither case was the peasant the independent owner of the land. It belonged to his feudal lord, who might be a noble or knight, a monastery or a prelate, to whom he was bound to render service, and by whom he might even be arbitrarily dispossessed.

once been the site of populous villages. Though the great wild ox and the elk had disappeared, there were still the bear and the wolf, and red and black game without number, which the peasant dared not kill, even when they wasted his own little farm. At a court festival, the knights were entertained with banquets, with princely hunting, and with tournaments, which were maintained as the last vestige of the nobler days of knighthood, and were now more formal and splendid than ever. But many noble knights could not support the dignity of their rank. Bitter poverty often lurked within the walls of a small castle, where a knight, or a whole band of knights, lived with a few servants, a few half-starved horses, and a great pack of fierce dogs. Then despair, joined with a rude and unscrupulous disposition, often drove them to scandalous methods of obtaining a livelihood—to the freebooters' method, called "living by the stirrup." The servant on the watch-tower looked for the train of the merchant, moving over the wretched roads or upon the river; he called the greedy throng to horse, and they lay in ambush in the gloom of the wood, at an angle of the road, or by a chain stretched across the stream, until the convoy of beasts of burden, wagons or boats, with its guards, was thrown into confusion and mastered. The goods were carried off, and the tradesman placed in confinement, until ransomed at a heavy price, or, if this could not be, was put to a painful death. Such practices were indeed regarded as ignoble; and worthy emperors, like Rudolph of Hapsburg, or often princes or powerful cities, would hang such knights over the ruins of their fastnesses; but as long as no strong hand maintained order throughout the realm, such robbers' castles would ever spring up anew, like poisonous fungi, from the earth, as the degenerate nobles would from time to time turn to this last resource for obtaining the means of life.

§ 4. It was the nobility of the Brandenburg territories that distinguished themselves by the most unbridled disorder. Under the Ascanii, they had been prohibited, with the exception of a few of the most eminent families, from possessing fortified castles. But in the wild times of the Bavarian and Luxemburg princes, even the lower nobility occupied fortresses, and were constantly engaged in feuds among them.

selves, or against the cities or the neighboring lords. They were not exactly freebooters; but this unmeasured extension of the right of private revenge always carried with it the practice of plunder. When Frederick of Hohenzollern entered the country, and strove to establish peace and law, he was opposed by the league of the Ouitzows—two brothers, who had many castles, and were the leaders of the nobles. They expected soon to drive away “the refuse of Nuremberg.” But Frederick I. brought powder and cannon to crush their strong walls and their defiant spirits. In Southern and South-western Germany, in Suabia and Franconia, where the knights were in part vassals of the empire, or were aspiring to be such, they often came in conflict with the princes, who were also increasing their power. Thus they quarreled with Everard the Grumbler, the bold Count of Wirtemberg. They formed leagues among themselves, to protect their power and independence. These were often tournament associations, which met together, and adopted peculiar mottoes and armor as a distinction. But they soon grew bolder, and defied emperors and princes. Such a league, for instance, was that of the Schlegler in Suabia. Apart from the princes, they had also to contend with the valiant cities; and a common hatred toward those often brought the nobles into a temporary alliance with the princes. This fierce knighthood fell before the new invention of gunpowder, which the strongest walls could not resist. It was not until after this invention that the permanent peace of the country could actually be maintained in Germany.

§ 5. While the Knights Templars were cruelly suppressed in France as early as 1311, and the Knights of St. John withdrawn to Rhodes, and afterward to Malta, the German order, in its newly won domains on the Baltic Sea, had still a time of prosperity before it. Throughout the thirteenth century these knights carried on terrible contests with the original heathen inhabitants, the Prussians, and finally owed their victory entirely to the constant reinforcement of their numbers by German crusaders. The land thus won and colonized was in the north, rough, full of lakes, swamps, and unbroken forests, yet well adapted for agriculture and for the shipping trade; and it soon became the home of a strong and valiant

body of Germans, who formed a "shield of the empire" against the Slavonic East. Since the occupation of the order in the Holy Land was gone, its grandmaster removed in 1309 to Marienburg, a magnificent castle on the right bank of the Nogat. Throughout the fourteenth century the order sustained its power and prosperity. The houses of the order had knights-commanders at their head, under the grandmaster; and each of them, called a convent, contained at first twelve knights, but in after-times often as many as thirty, or even fifty. The rules of the order were strictly observed, and a spirit of Christian morality and of knightly valor was maintained. The order was the feudal lord of the conquered territories, which extended westward almost to the Oder, and eastward to Narva and Reval. The government was noble and humane, with no trace of slavery. The peasants were well off, and the land was opened by roads. Three hundred vessels loaded with corn were sent every year from the port of Dantzic to England and the Netherlands. The order and its territories were especially prosperous under the great grandmaster, Wienrich of Kniprode, who died in 1382. Of the cities in this region, some were founded by the order, as Thorn and Kulm, while others were colonies from German cities, as Elbing was of Lübeck. They became numerous and important; some of them joined the Hanse league, and gradually began to struggle for complete independence of the order, their feudal lord, aspiring to a position like that of the free cities of the empire.

§ 6. This was the first step toward the ruin of the new state. Many men of noble birth came into the land, with the German colonists and peasants, and, though not members of the order, they entered its service and accepted fiefs as its vassals. Even ancient Prussian and Polish families thus became its feudal dependents, or acquired free lands by an absolute title; and from these classes grew up the nobles of the country, who acknowledged the order as its feudal lord, but soon entered on the same wild courses as the German nobility. The order itself grew rich and arrogant, and its morals and discipline declined, until every security for the public peace was gone. Its discipline was well maintained as long as there were heathen enemies at hand. But when Ladislaw

Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, and his people became Christians, its fortune turned. Here was a new and strong Sclavonic power, which, under the stimulus of the ancient antipathy between the two races, contested the control by Germans of the sea-coast and the mouths of the rivers. Against the German order, which was commanded by Grandmaster Ulric of Jungingen, Ladislaw led an army of more than a hundred and sixty thousand men, including, according to Sarmatian custom, vast hordes of cavalry. A bloody battle occurred at Tannenberg in 1410. The knights fought amid storm and rain, sustaining the honor of their order and of the German name; but the grandmaster and the noblest of the commanders were slain, and the order was utterly defeated. Henry of Plauen, however, a knight and a hero, saved Magdeburg from capture, and obtained peace on terms which left to the order most of its territory.

§ 7. But the order needed money to pay the costs of the war and to redeem its captured members. For this purpose it levied oppressive duties, which could be collected only by ceding to the cities and the nobles a share in legislation. Many of the nobility, believing that under Polish sovereignty they would enjoy much greater license, turned against their German rulers. Even within the order confusion and a rebellious disposition prevailed. Henry of Plauen himself fell a victim to the unbridled passions of his knights. No help could be expected from the emperors, neither from Sigismund, nor afterward from Frederick III. Thus the nobles and cities were gradually led into open rebellion. The order found it necessary to pledge its castles, its last resort, as security for the pay of mercenary soldiers; and the mortgagees sold them again to the King of Poland. Finally, in 1457, Lewis of Erlichshausen, the grandmaster, left Marienburg itself, finding it impossible to redeem it from the hired troops. The war against the Poles lasted some time longer, but the order was at last compelled to accept the treaty of Thorn (1466), by which it ceded to Poland all West Prussia, the bishopric of Ermeland, and the cities of Elbing and Thorn, and accepted the remnant of its territories as a fief of that kingdom. The glory of the order was gone; and so was the prosperity of the country, which never revived under Polish rule. The

Slavonic power grew in the East. The principal aim of the Brandenburg princes was always to resist its growth; and they eventually succeeded in recovering the land of the order, and raising it to still greater importance. It was from this land that the Brandenburg electorate and kingdom took its own later name of Prussia.

§ 8. It was with reluctance and discontent that the order submitted to the Polish sovereignty. The knights hoped to obtain more influence in the empire by selecting their grand-masters thenceforth from the great princely families of Germany. Thus an electoral prince was first placed at their head, then in 1511 Albert, a prince of Brandenburg, a grandson of Albert Achilles. Yet this policy accomplished nothing. Albert did not even succeed in obtaining active assistance from his cousin, Joachim I. of Brandenburg, though he held out long in refusing to render homage to Poland. Since there was no prospect of aid from the empire, he finally yielded the feudal supremacy to Poland, but at the time of the Reformation he formed the land of the order into a secular and hereditary duchy.

§ 9. The knights having fallen into barbarism, the peasants into slavery, no more desirable life was to be found, except by men who bore arms. Even the bondsman in the castle, who was paid by his master, was better off than the poor peasant. He was at least not one of the downtrodden; he could catch glimpses of battle, booty, and pleasure. The ancient German valor was alive in these people, and history can tell many a tale of their faithfulness unto death. Others of this class preferred a wandering life. After the thirteenth century, war was no longer carried on by a general levy of the vassals, attended by a few mounted bondsmen, but by mercenaries who made arms their trade. Such a life was attractive to the man of spirit and strength, who could obtain armor, a lance, and a sword. It was hordes of soldiers such as these who carried on war with the inhuman destructiveness characteristic of the times. Yet they preserved a sort of knightly character, and kept alive among the people a delight in battle, in adventure and song, though of a rude kind. Almost every deed of arms among them was the theme of a song, and the praises of a wander

ing life were sounded in verse, with merry jests and bold mockery.

§ 10. The lawlessness and disorder of the times deprived multitudes of their homes, and even of every inducement to seek or to make a home. The very love of adventure was strong enough to induce thousands to break all local and family ties, and to give themselves up to a life of wandering. During the fourteenth century, especially, all Germany swarmed with vagabonds of every degree. The rules of the artisan guilds required every young workman to travel for some years through strange cities, practicing his trade, before he might establish himself at home; and many of these journeymen became confirmed vagrants. Traveling knights, monks, scholars, women, players, jugglers, buffoons, peddlers, thieves and swindlers thronged through the land. Before the state and the authorities they were outlaws; but they were extremely welcome to the masses of the people, at all their festivals and public gatherings in the streets and upon holidays, and made merriment for all. Some of them became famous in popular legend, and are celebrated in tradition for their tricks and jests: as the Parson of Kalenberg, in South Germany, and "Till Eulenspiegel" in the North. Eulenspiegel became a general name for a popular clown, or merry Andrew. (Hence the French words, Ulespiègle, espièglerie.) The exhibitions of the traveling actors and gladiators of the Roman Empire doubtless continued to be favorite amusements of the German tribes throughout the dark ages, but were gradually modified in character, until they resulted in the buffoonery, the boxing-matches, and even the monkish miracle-plays of the fifteenth century. Many of the vagrants found patrons in the higher clergy or the rich proprietors and merchants; and the favor which gaudily dressed dancing-women obtained from both spiritual and secular dignitaries was one of the scandals of pious observers of the times.

§ 11. Whatever may have been the influence of these people on industry and morals, they were for several generations the guardians of the German minstrelsy. They assembled in numbers around the tables of the great lords, in the train of embassies and armies, at assemblies of the states and at popular festivals, and sang the praises of princes and heroes in

the intervals of their displays of jugglery and fortune-telling. Rarely did even the greatest nobleman or king dare to dismiss them without their reward; for they had it in their power to take a terrible revenge. Moving through the land, and singing every where among the people of the deeds and character of the men who bore great names, they exercised somewhat of the influence upon public opinion which the press now wields, and, when moved by one impulse of hatred or prejudice, might seriously injure the best reputation. In fact, they became the severest critics of the luxury, dissoluteness, and impiety of many of the bishops, and thus did a large share of the work of undermining the influence of the Church, and the superstitious reverence for the clergy, among the German people. The old minstrelsy of the minnesingers had disappeared; its artificial and affected tone was no longer acceptable to any; and the popular taste welcomed the direct, often coarse and rough songs of the wanderers, a genuine reflection of the mind and life of the people. The noblest among these singers were those who sang of parting and absence, of faithful love, of longings for home, and of the delights of a wandering career. Many such old songs as these are still familiar in Germany, though their authors are utterly unknown—songs which seem to have grown up among the people, with the melodies to which they are wedded, like uncared-for but fragrant flowers of the forest. Besides these grew up also merry drinking-songs, and facetious rhymed proverbs. Pilgrims on their begging-tours also had their songs, and even in the musical devotions of the Church, German songs of praise soon took their place side by side with the ancient Latin hymns. Among the people were still sung the old heroic songs of Siegfried the Horned, Dietrich of Berne, and the faithful Hildebrand, until after Luther's day. But in North Germany they took more delight in the equally ancient but merry and satirical stories of the sly Reinecke the Fox, in the Low-German dialect. There were many popular songs in the same language.

§ 12. Thus German life did not lack song and music, play and jest. Even the higher classes preferred the rough wit of the people to tender knightly verse; and the court fool became an indispensable person, often more esteemed by his



prince than scholars and minstrels. Nor can it be denied that the manners of all classes grew more loose and frivolous. The dignified dress of earlier times went out with the thirteenth century. The men afterward wore closely fitting garments of varied colors; and the women and girls no longer went about modestly covered with head-band and veil. The fashions became silly and petty at last. The men wore, with their short coats that scarcely reached beyond the belt, huge, puffed sleeves, covered with pearls and gold lace, or else adorned with ribbons that almost reached the ground. Their trousers were of staring colors, one leg, for instance, blue, and the other red; the shoes and boots came forward in long points, which young knights must cut off before a battle. The seams of the velvet and brocade garments of both men and women were often set with little bells, which rang at every step. Thus the upper ranks of society moved about in cities and at courts, strange and striking objects. But dress was certainly a much more important part of life, especially to the male sex, than it is now. It was at once the expression of personal dignity, and the badge of rank, profession, or trade. Rival families, guilds, and cities competed with one another in devising rich or conspicuous forms of attire, and in the fourteenth century the several classes in the social scale began to be rigidly distinguished by their dress—a custom which was maintained until the French Revolution. Delicate food and delicious drinks were also among the chief cares of those who could afford such indulgence. The rhymers of the times find scarcely any thing more inspiring in their eulogies than the dishes and wines consumed by their heroes. The inventions of foreign cooks, especially the French and Greeks, were in demand. Hot spices were used in almost incredible quantities in the food; pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs were held in especial esteem. Wine was made every where, even in North Germany, and the vintage in the South was earlier than it is now, since the forests have been so much reduced. Great cities rivaled one another in preparing beverages: Aix was famous for its mead, Erfurt proud of its beer. Ulm was the chief market for all kinds of wine, which were valued less for their purity and natural flavor than for the aromatic and "medicinal"

qualities given them by spices. The streets, market-places, and drinking-booths formed in the evening a general exchange for the news and gossip of the day.

§ 13. The clergy were sunk in worldliness. The Church was so degenerate, especially after the popes in Avignon set the example, and the great schism of the antipopes confused men's faith, that bishops, abbots, deans, and chaplains often thought of nothing but consuming their rich livings, or at most of going through the forms of public worship, and for the rest took their full share in all the vicious pleasures of the times. In spite of the prohibitions of the Church, multitudes of the priests had wives, though their numerous children bore the stigma of illegitimacy; and the priests themselves, burdened in their own consciences, and taught to dread their very ministrations of sacred things as deadly sins, became objects of pity and contempt. Most of the regular clergy or monks took their vows only to secure a living in idleness; and the common people mocked them. Many of the popular proverbs of the times expressed the general view of their aims; for instance, one of these says: "If you want one good time, kill a fowl; if you want one a year long, take a wife; but if you must have a good time all your days, turn priest." We find complaints that the clergy threw off the clerical garb, and moved about in the same idle and showy clothing as the laity; that they rode to the chase with falcons on their hands; that they sold the awful denunciations of the Church, the ban and interdict, to satisfy their avarice, or perhaps for beer; that they brought not peace, but a sword. Thus the Archbishop of Mayence rode to the Council of Constance clad in complete armor. While half the people groaned in indescribable poverty, the other and privileged half seemed to forget, in their mad pursuit of pleasure, all the serious objects of life. But a little external ceremony, very like a pleasant game, with a trifling act of penance or the purchase of a cheap "indulgence," was enough to make peace with the Church, and, for those who would and could be thus satisfied, with their own consciences. The clergy as a class, therefore, were in ill repute, and were little trusted; yet we find that the few among them whose consistent piety gained them the confidence of the people were

held in the highest reverence, and were consulted in spiritual things by throngs of penitents.

§ 14. Before the middle of the fourteenth century there were many leading minds which had attained views of Christian doctrine and of Church reform as advanced as those with which Luther startled all Europe five generations later. But a series of the most awful and melancholy events in history now threw Christendom, and especially Germany, into confusion, and seemed to threaten a return of barbarism. In the year 1348 the superstitious were under extraordinary excitement, with rumors of strange portents and signs in nature, and of the approaching end of the world; when a frightful pestilence, which had already ravaged China, Tartary, and the Levant, broke out in Southern France, and rapidly extended over all Europe, spreading terror before it. This "Black Death," as it was called, not only destroyed far larger numbers of people than any other calamity in human annals, but it had an immense influence on the mode of thought, the character and life, of the survivors; yet the authentic accounts we have of it are but meagre, and the statistics extremely vague. One of the very few precise details transmitted to us is that the Franciscan Minorite monks of Germany alone actually kept an account of the deaths among them by this plague, and they numbered 124,434. It is believed by the most careful investigators, however, that Europe lost by this pestilence much more than a fourth of its whole population, and German historians assert that one half of their own nation perished in it. Many towns, villages, and districts were utterly depopulated; and even in great cities men could not be found to bury the dead. Ships with rich cargoes were found drifting at sea, with not one of the crew left to tell of their misery. As there was no sanitary science, and medical skill was confessedly helpless, the people were in blank dismay, half of them frantic with zeal to avert God's wrath by prayer or penance, half of them busy with suspicions of a conspiracy to destroy them, and thirsting for revenge. Whenever men have been placed in masses face to face with such an awful and unavoidable calamity, all restraints of character and education have given way. As in Athens in B.C. 430, as in London A.D. 1665, so this plague

brought with it a moral pestilence, still more terrible than itself. Regard for the rights of others or for their own future was cast away by the multitude, and free sway was given to the desperate effort for immediate gratification. The two years during which the plague kept its course through Germany undid the work of generations in civilizing the thoughts and manners of the people. And it is hard to say whether during this time the influence of religion in checking immorality and consoling sorrow was as great as that of the superstitions connected with it in producing consternation and inciting to cruelty.

§ 15. As soon as the Black Death entered France, a cry arose that the Jews had formed a general conspiracy to poison the springs and wells, and to destroy the Christians. Religious toleration had been making rapid progress during the two centuries preceding. In 1254 the city league declared that its protection would be extended alike to Jews and to Christians. In 1347 the Emperor Charles IV. directed the city of Spire to enroll the Jews among its citizens. And now, in July, 1348, when the outcry against the Jews became serious, Pope Clement VI. issued a bull, forbidding Christians, under penalty of excommunication, to slay a Jew, baptize him by force, or rob him of his property without a judicial process. As the bigoted fury of the populace began to threaten the richest and most enterprising citizens of many of the cities, the authorities did their best to check it and to protect the threatened sect. But it was in vain. They were seized by the mob, and in some places, as in Berne and Freiburg, the weak magistrates yielded, and put them to the torture. The confessions wrested from their agony were at once carried to all the cities, with the news that in Zöfingen the poison had actually been found; and the terrified populace became uncontrollable. Two thousand Jews were burned at Berne, as many more at Strasburg. At Cologne the mob broke into the Jewish quarter, burned the houses, and slaughtered the helpless inhabitants without mercy. Throughout all the cities of the archbishopric they met the same fate; and all their goods were then divided between the archbishop and the city, by a formal compact, which begins by reciting that "all the Jews in the city as well as in the province

of Cologne, have unfortunately been slain and are dead." In Basle, Constance, Freiburg, and in nearly every city of Alsace, Franconia, and Bavaria, there were frightful massacres. In Worms, Spire, Oppenheim, and Mayence, the chroniclers assure us, the Jews shut themselves up in their own quarters to escape the populace, and put themselves to death in a body. A few voices were raised for mercy, but it was long before they were heeded; and meanwhile by far the greater part of all the Jews in Germany were destroyed. Nor is the superstitious horror of the people for an Israelite the worst feature of these occurrences: brutal passion and a thirst for plunder quickly became the leading forces in the persecution. A contemporary chronicler truly says, "Their money was the poison which slew the Jews."

§ 16. This persecution of the Jews, one of the most cruel and destructive outbreaks of national and social prejudice ever known, can not fairly be charged upon the Church and the religion of the times. The higher clergy and all men honored for their piety opposed it. But the agitations caused by the religious feelings and superstitions of the people were scarcely less ruinous to society and to character. Multitudes of fanatical preachers and sects rose up among the ignorant, teaching that the plague was God's special vengeance upon national or personal sins, and could only be averted by penance. The most noted of these sects was that of the "Flagellants," or scourgers, which first appeared in Italy in the thirteenth century, and was afterward revived at various times of public affliction in several cities of Italy and Germany; but after the Black Death came, in 1349, it suddenly overspread the nation. They marched through the country, several hundreds together, in a well-disciplined procession. Twice each day—in the morning and in the evening—they did penance. Singing psalms, they stripped themselves to the waist, and scourged one another in turn with thongs armed with iron points, which lacerated the flesh. They would tolerate no begging and receive no gifts; nor could any one be admitted to join them unless able to pay fourpence a day for his own expenses. They bore as their charter a letter, said to have been written in marble by the divine hand at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Jerusalem.

declaring that God had resolved to destroy the world for its sins, but, through the mediation of Christ and of Mary, would show mercy, if men would repent and endure penance. Under the terrors of the plague, the people in vast throngs followed these fanatics, and were deeply impressed by their preaching; but Pope Clement VI. forbade their processions, and excommunicated them, October 20, 1349. The Flagellants boldly defied the pope for a time, but when the pestilence declined, their power was gone. A few of them continued to preach against the pope and the Church, sometimes foreshadowing the purer doctrines of the Reformation, but in general their fanaticism passed all bounds; and their unsuccessful attempts to work miracles, and the many claimants among them of Messianic honors, rapidly brought them into disrepute. Indeed, the great religious movement occasioned by the plague seems to have been but superficial and temporary. As soon as the pestilence subsided, an old chronicler remarks, "The world began again to be merry, and men made them new clothes, and sang new airs."

§ 17. At this time superstition and dense ignorance were widespread. Stories of magic were constantly told and believed, and the miracles with which the Church offset them were hardly less absurd. Other terrors were added. Public justice was administered so imperfectly that private and arbitrary violence took its place; while the tribunals which formerly sat in the open sunlight before the people now covered themselves with night and secrecy. "The Holy Feme" sprang up in Westphalia. Originally a public tribunal of the city, such as is found in Brunswick, and in other places, it afterward spread far and wide, but in a changed form. Its members held their sessions in secret and by night. Unknown messengers of the tribunal summoned the accused. Disguised judges, volunteer officers, from among "the knowing ones," gave judgment, often in wild, desolate places, and often in some ancient seat of justice, as at the Linden-tree at Dortmund. The sentence was executed, even if the criminal had not appeared or had made his escape. The dagger, with the mark of the Feme, found in the dead body, told how surely the avenging arm had struck in the darkness. It was a fearful time, when Justice, like crime, must walk in disguise.

§ 18. The habits of thought which made possible such beliefs and actions as these were part of the same movement to which the corruption of Church doctrine and government must also be referred. The perverted Roman Christianity from which the Reformation was a revolt was not the Christianity of Charlemagne, nor even that of Hildebrand. Hasty readers sometimes imagine that the Church, for many centuries before the Reformation, had firmly held the doctrines which Luther rejected. But, in fact, most of them were recent innovations. Peter the Lombard, Bishop of Paris in the twelfth century, was the first theologian to enumerate "the Seven Sacraments," and Eugene IV., in 1431, was the first of the popes to proclaim them. The doctrine of transubstantiation was first embodied in the Church Confession by the Lateran Council of November, 1215, the same which first required auricular confession of all the laity. It was more than a century later before the celibacy of the clergy and the denial of the sacramental cup to all but priests became established law, and the idea that the pope is the vicar of Christ upon earth, and the bearer of divine honors, was accepted. All these corruptions of the earlier faith were the results of ambition in the hierarchy, and of gross and sensual modes of thought in the people; and the same causes led to the rapid development, in the fifteenth century especially, of the worship of the Virgin Mary, who was honored with ceremonies and prayers from which Christians of earlier ages would have shrunk as blasphemous. Nor can the Church of the beginning of the sixteenth century be understood by studying the Confession adopted by the Council of Trent a generation or more afterward. The teachings and practices which called forth Luther's protest were far too gross, when once explained, to bear the examination of sincere friends of Romanism; who, without knowing it themselves, were greatly influenced, even in their formal statements of belief, by the controversies of the Reformation. The value of that great event to the world can not be comprehended without a knowledge of what it has done for the Catholic Church within its own boundaries.

§ 19. But long before the epoch which is known as "the Reformation," there began to spread quietly abroad, in spite

of the persecutions of the Church and of the degenerate orders, a new spirit of true Christianity. It was fostered, for instance, by the brotherhoods and the Lollards, on the Rhine and in the Netherlands. Individual preachers, too, like Tauler in Strasburg, faithfully pointed to the almost forgotten sources of religious truth. Many of these quiet, true Christians sealed their faith by imprisonment and death; but they planted the germs of a new moral life, which produced fruit in the following period of reform. Indeed, the honorable title of "Reformers before the Reformation" can not be limited to the few names whose extraordinary genius or fate has made them conspicuous in history. The doctrines of Huss lived on in Bohemia and the neighboring lands long after the martyrdom of the great teacher. "Heresies" of all kinds were rife throughout Europe, although multitudes of them are without any record, save that of the hierarchy which cruelly suppressed them. Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Ferdinand and Isabella, died in 1498, after burning alive nearly nine thousand persons. Savonarola was put to death in that year by the Church authorities, for preaching righteousness in Florence. In the same way with Spain, Italy, and England, Germany was filled with zealous inquiry and protest. Hans Böhme in Franconia, John von Wesel in Worms, John Geiler in Strasburg, referred the multitudes that thronged after them to the teachings of Christ in Scripture, as an antidote to the errors and falsehoods of the Church; while scholarly writers among the clergy, as well as earnest, popular exhorters, were proclaiming with assurance the approach of a great spiritual revolution. Thus we may still clearly, though imperfectly, trace through the history of the popular mind a progressive preparation for the reform movement, from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the appearance of Luther.

§ 20. Until the fourteenth century, learning was entirely dependent on the Church. All that was known or attempted in history, natural science, and other branches of knowledge, must accommodate itself to the conceptions of Catholic Christianity. The desire to establish religious doctrine more and more on the foundations of growing reason and intelligence gave rise to the theological science of scholastics, in which



men such as the Italians Anselm and Thomas Aquinas distinguished themselves, as well as the German Albertus Magnus of Cologne, whose mysterious knowledge and "white magic" legend makes so wonderful. But this science, which at first did service to serious religious thought, in part degenerated toward the end of the Middle Ages into absurd verbal quibbling, and in part began to encourage doubts of the teachings of the Church. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries arose a general tendency to new ideas and modes of life; more attention was given to nature and to the investigation of its laws, though superstitious aims were still connected with such studies. Thus, when the heavens were studiously examined, it was less with the purpose of extending the scientific knowledge of the heavenly bodies, which we call astronomy, than of reading in them future events and human destinies, as astrology pretends to do. When substances were analyzed and recomposed, and the elements of chemistry, first discovered by the Arabians, were further investigated, it was the alchemist's credulous aim to acquire some mysterious power in the arts, to make the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, or, above all, to produce gold. Even the elements of geometry and algebra, which were also brought from Arabia to Western Europe, did not escape superstitious abuse. Thus the infancy of science was still connected with the whole traditional world of magic and the invocation of spirits, which lay so deeply rooted in the minds of that age.

§ 21. A higher intelligence made its way very gradually. The art of printing was the most potent influence in promoting its growth. This was a German invention, and perhaps the greatest service Germany has done to mankind. The art of wood-engraving was the most important preliminary step toward it. The popular playing-cards were made by cutting the figures out in relief, covering these with moist colors, and stamping them. This invention was soon used for pictures of sacred scenes and persons; and while the people could neither read nor write, they had in collections of such pictures a sort of Bible. Then legends, names, or verses were cut under the pictures; and then the pictures were sometimes entirely omitted, and whole pages of reading-matter cut and

stamped, forming a book. But the grand conception of making movable types, each bearing a single letter, and composing the words of them, was first formed by John Gutenberg, of the patrician family of Gänsefleisch, of Mayence. He was driven from his native city by a disturbance among the guilds, and went to Strasburg, where he invented the art of printing about the year 1450. Great trouble was experienced in discovering the proper material in which to cut the separate letters; neither wood nor lead answered well. Being short of resources, Gutenberg formed a partnership with John Faust, also of Mayence. Faust's assistant, Peter Schöffer, afterward his son-in-law, a skillful copyist and draughtsman, discovered the proper alloy for type-metal, and invented printing-ink. In 1461 appeared the first large book printed in Germany, a handsome Bible, exhibiting the perfection that the art possessed at its very origin. Gutenberg was deprived of the benefits of the invention by Faust, who bought in the entire establishment, under a sale for his own debt. But Gutenberg afterward found another partner, and went on with the business elsewhere.

§ 22. When Adolphus of Nassau captured Mayence in 1462, the workmen skilled in the art, which had been kept a secret, were scattered through the world; and by the end of the fifteenth century the principal nations of Europe, and especially Italy, France, and England, had become rivals of Germany in prosecuting it. Books had previously been transcribed, chiefly by monks, upon expensive parchment, and often beautifully ornamented with elaborate drawings and paintings. They had therefore been an article of luxury, and confined to the rich. But a book printed on paper was easily made accessible to all classes, for copies were so numerous that each could be sold at a low price. Besides books of devotion, the writings of the Greek and Latin poets, historians, and philosophers, most of which had fallen into oblivion during the Middle Ages, now gradually obtained wide circulation. After the fall of Constantinople, and the subjugation of Greece by the Turks, fugitive Greeks brought the works of their forefathers' genius to Italy, where enlightened men had already begun to study them. This branch of learning, called "the Humanities," spread from

Italy through Germany, France, England, and other countries, and contributed powerfully to produce a finer taste and more intelligent habits of thought, such as put to shame the rude ignorance of the monks. It was the art of printing that broke down the slavery in which the blind faith of the Church held the human mind; and even the censorship which Rome set up to oppose it was not able to undo its work.

§ 23. Just as the convents fell before the art of printing, so did the castles of the robber knights before the invention of gunpowder. Thus, at the coming of the Reformation, these degenerate remnants of the once noble institution of knight-hood were swept away. It is supposed by many that the knowledge of gunpowder was brought into Europe from China during the great Mongolian emigration of the thirteenth century, the Chinese having long possessed it. The Arabs, too, understood how to make explosive powder, by mixing saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur. But all the Eastern makers produced only the fine powder, and the art of making it in grains seems to have been the device of Berthold Schwarz, a German monk of the Franciscan order, of Freiburg or Mayence, in 1354; and he is commonly called the inventor of gunpowder. He had a laboratory, in which he devoted himself to alchemy; and is said to have made his discovery by accident. But as early as 1346, a chronicle reports that there was at Aix "an iron barrel to shoot thunder;" and in 1356 the armory at Nuremberg contained guns of iron and of copper, which threw missiles of stone and lead. One of the earliest instances in which cannon are known to have been effectively used in a great battle was at Agincourt in 1415. But gunpowder was long regarded with abhorrence by the people, and made its way into general use but slowly.

§ 24. The invention of gunpowder ultimately wrought a complete revolution in the art of war; though it is a mistake to attribute to it the rapid growth in importance of the infantry during the fourteenth century. This is rather due to the efficiency of the pike, in the hands of a footman, as a defense against cavalry. But the value of infantry vastly increased, as, by successive improvements, muskets became

manageable and effective. The principal strength of an army was then necessarily in its foot-soldiers, and much greater skill was demanded in handling troops. The cannons first cast were heavy, and threw stone balls, which were often carefully rounded by filling out their irregularities with lead. Of this kind were the "thunder-guns" used by the city of Augsburg, in the city war of 1388. The French artillerymen greatly improved their weapons, casting lighter pieces, which could be moved upon the field, and threw iron balls. The first musket, probably an Italian invention, was cumbersome, and the soldier carried a forked stick for a rest. All guns were fired by matches; flint-locks were not devised until the sixteenth century. The invention of fire-arms, whether or not it has proved a life-saving agency, on the whole, as many modern writers affirm, certainly did a great service to mankind at the end of the Middle Ages. The military caste of knighthood, with all the social evils which were supported by it, was swept away with ease; for no body-armor could resist the new missiles. The robber knights could no longer make their castles dens of plunder, and defy assault. Frederick, the first of the Hohenzollerns, could not have crushed his defiant and turbulent nobles, with their castle "walls fourteen feet thick," nor could the brave Swiss infantry have destroyed the heavy knights of Charles the Bold and of Francis I., without gunpowder. Knighthood had lost its poetry, its grace, and its nobleness; and while its empty form continued to murmur against this ignoble means of warfare, the new explosive agent cleared the way for the citizens and the industrious middle classes to their true position and work in the nation's progress.

## BOOK IV.

### THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY; FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1517-1648.

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#### CHAPTER XV.

##### BEGINNING AND EARLY PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION; LUTHER.

§ 1. Religious Character of the Germans. § 2. The Decay of the Empire Favorable to the Reformation. § 3. Degeneracy of the Church. § 4. Luther's "Theses" against Tetzl. § 5. Early Life of Luther. § 6. His Religious Experiences. § 7. The Controversy upon Indulgences. § 8. Cardinal Caietan as Mediator. § 9. The House of Hapsburg and the French Monarchy. § 10. Charles V. becomes Emperor. § 11. His Relations to Germany. § 12. His Power Limited; Disorders in Saxony and Wirtemberg. § 13. The Disputation at Leipsic. § 14. Luther's Writings. § 15. The Pope's Bull Burned. § 16. The Diet at Worms. § 17. Disposition of the People. § 18. Luther before the Diet. § 19. Fanaticism at Wittenberg. § 20. Luther's Letter to Elector Frederick. § 21. War in South Germany; Ulric von Hütten. § 22. Condition of the Peasants. § 23. The War in Suabia. § 24. The Rebellion Suppressed. § 25. War in Thuringia. § 26. Progress of the Reformation.

§ 1. THE time had now come when the Germans were to render another important service to mankind. The great reformation of Christianity in the sixteenth century found its origin and support in the character of the German race. From the beginning these people were always distinguished by their preference of substance to form, of reality to show, of the inward and spiritual to all clothing and display. Of the ancient heathen nations, they alone, as Tacitus describes them, regarded the gods as too great to dwell in temples made by hands, or to be represented by graven images; they alone founded their whole social structure upon the sacredness of the marriage tie, with the family as the unit of society and its head as the priest of their religion. They

were also, from the first, the most independent and individual of men, passionate in their love of freedom, Protestants by nature in Church and State, resolute in upholding the right of private judgment. These characteristics prevented the German Empire from becoming a national power, but also saved the German mind from complete enslavement by the papacy, and in the fullness of time made it the centre and chief field of the Reformation. Such a people could not rest in a religion of ordinances and mechanism; they must worship God in person and not by proxy. For ages, pious minds among them had found refuge and comfort in the teachings of the mystics, or in the quiet enjoyment and practice of such fragments of the pure Gospel as a sensual, formal priesthood left to them; but the heart of the nation longed for something better, and needed only one trumpet call from a bold, earnest warrior of the truth, to throw off the whole fabric of superstition. Throughout the fifteenth century the mass of intelligent Christians in Germany had been looking for a reform through the action of the Catholic Church itself; and the Council of Basle, in 1431, gave earnest expression to this desire and purpose. But the popes, with the vast majority of the clergy, were cunning enough to defeat all such efforts; and thus postponed the reformation until the people were so far instructed in the truth, and alienated from the Church and its corruptions, as to be ready for a religious revolution.

§ 2. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were many German princes who were honorable and patriotic in thought and deed; but their influence, though considerable, accomplished no more than to secure for the empire the permanent peace and the division into circles, the beginnings, at least, of a more secure state of society. We have already seen what a swarm of petty independent powers had now grown up, apart from the great princes, and running downward from them to the abbot or knight "of the empire." This subdivision of power was in some respects an aid to the Reformation, since there could be no thorough and systematic suppression of the new doctrines when embraced by individual feudal lords or cities; but it had this disadvantage, that it prevented the nation as a whole from making a decision which should bind it as a whole, whereas in England,

Sweden, and Denmark, the monarch's will gave unity and expression to that of the nation. Germany was thus, through the condition of the empire, made incapable of deciding in a mass, for good or evil, and was therefore only more divided and distracted than ever. The Reformers could not accomplish a political reconstitution of the realm; and thus the internal confusion and powerlessness of Germany, in the midst of its apparent external prosperity, came to the highest point just when nearly all the neighboring countries, and especially France, attained the unity and strength of established monarchies. But Germany, in losing its power, which had so long been regarded as the greatest in the Western world, obtained in exchange only the richer development of its intellectual life. Thought became firmer and more profound, policy more earnest and sympathetic, and where the pressure of need had been felt for ages as a burden, there trust in God and a serious morality remained most firmly established and most pure.

§ 3. But the other great power of the Middle Ages, the Church, was more degenerate than the empire. The Church had of old been regarded as universal, but the veneration it received suffered much from the great schism. General councils had been held, in the hope of doing away with abuses, and accomplishing a reformation in its head and in its members. These efforts had failed; they merely restored the unity of the Church organization, which seemed to have been renewed only to carry on its abuses with greater vigor than ever. It was not only that the papal chair itself was occupied in the period after these councils by such moral monsters as Alexander VI. (Borgia); but much in life and doctrine that could not be reconciled with the Gospel was sustained by the authority of the Church. Many parts of the doctrine taught had little or no connection with the New Testament, and rested only on the wavering "tradition of the Church:" as the belief in purgatory, in the priestly office, and in the seven sacraments. Some were in direct antagonism to the teaching and practice of the early Church, such as the denial of the sacramental cup to the laity, the doctrine of the merit of good works (fasting, pilgrimages, penance, and the like), and that of indulgences. The last-named doctrine, in

particular, had, in the course of the later centuries, cut loose from every Christian conception, and taken the precise form of the sale for money of pardon for sin. The voices of true Christians, in protest against such practices, were never entirely silenced, but they were either disregarded or suppressed. It had long been no secret that the morals of the clergy of all grades were degenerate, and that the convents were no longer abodes of learning, but of ignorance and indulgence. "More ignorant than a monk," was the commonest of popular sayings. Long before Luther's time, the songs and the jests of the people had made the parsons and the monks and the idle practices of the Church their favorite theme of mockery. Finally, the study of "the Humanities" enlightened the thoughts and taste of the educated classes; it often deeply impressed the minds of popes, cardinals, and prelates, and was zealously prosecuted by them. The effect of the new culture, then, was that they in private ridiculed the superstition of the masses, which brought them such advantages, and they sometimes abandoned all belief in Christianity. But these studies could not regenerate men's minds; and their influence did not reach the mass of the people. They still accepted the easy and agreeable forms of the Church, called diligently on the Virgin Mary and the saints, and lived a life destitute of all high spiritual feeling, of all profound moral principle. The condition of the Church at this time was in startling contrast to its far more venerable though gloomy and monastic form in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

§ 4. Intelligent and well-meaning men were still meditating upon a thorough reformation of the Church as necessary at some remote or indefinite time, when the most remarkable event in history since the great migration burst upon them. It was in the last days of Maximilian, when Leo X. was pope, that Albert, Archbishop of Mayence, under an agreement with the pope, proclaimed an indulgence in his diocese. This offer was nothing new or uncommon in itself; but John Tetzel, the peddler of indulgences, a Dominican monk, pressed his trade with peculiar impudence. He boasted that he had brought more souls to heaven by his indulgences than all the apostles by their preaching. He came to Jüterbogk, near the new University of Wittenberg, founded



by Frederick the Wise. At that institution the professor of theology was Dr. Martin Luther, a monk and a priest, who had learned at the confessional the impression which this shameful traffic made in the confused minds of the credulous people. His heart was fired; and on October 31, 1517, he set up, after the custom of learned men of that day, on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, ninety-five propositions or theses, which he engaged to defend against the world. They asserted that God alone could forgive sin, and would do so only upon true repentance; and that the pope had no power but that of every priest to pronounce absolution, in God's name, to all penitent believers; that in its present form the indulgence was unchristian, and contrary to the true Catholic faith, and must be proclaimed without any real knowledge of it by the pope, "who would rather burn St. Peter's Cathedral to ashes than build it up with the skin and hair, the flesh and blood of his flock." Luther thus humbly began his work with perfect confidence in the truth, but without any apprehension of the consequences that would follow.

§ 5. Martin Luther was a man of the common people, whose hearts had preserved more of their simple faith and piety than those of their rulers. He was the son of a miner of Mansfeld, in the Hartz Mountains, and was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483. The mountains that shut in the dreary valley of his home are gloomy, bare, and marked with heaps of black refuse; the house of his parents was small and poor, and the early discipline of the household and of the school was severe. Here the boy of the wonderful depth of soul grew up till his fourteenth year, when his parents, thinking his gifts remarkable, sent him to the Latin school, first with the Franciscans at Magdeburg, and then with his mother's kindred at Eisenach. It was the discipline of want and self-denial which completed his education here, but his power grew under pressure. In 1501, at the age of eighteen, he went to the university at Erfurt. His father had now been taken into the service of the Count of Mansfeld, and was well-to-do, and wished Martin to study law, and to rise in the world. But the young man found the Bible in the university library, and it turned his heart another way. The sudden death of a friend, and the fall of a stroke of lightning at his side, im-

pressed him deeply, as did a dangerous illness of his own, and his mind was profoundly agitated by the question how his own soul stood with God. He had lived an honorable and pure life, but felt that there was much in his own heart that the Eternal Judge could not approve. His tender and excited conscience sought rest in the means prescribed by the Church, but could find none. At length he resolved to escape from perplexity and temptation by devoting himself to a "religious" life, in entire separation from the world. He entered a convent, and became an Augustine monk at Erfurt in 1505.

§ 6. Luther now devoted all his energies to the duties of his new life; but even the severest penance failed to bring him peace. But through all these painful and prolonged failures, he forced his way to a vivid apprehension of the teaching of Paul, and of St. Augustine, the saint of his order, that no man can be justified by the works of the law, or by any outward action, but only by the grace of God, received by faith in the heart. From that time he felt himself a changed man. The torturing conflicts of his mind ceased, and he became calm and joyful; so that in after-days, amid the most terrible dangers, he could smile and sleep like a child. Stau-pitz, the vicar of his order, who had been a faithful guide to him during his internal conflicts, recommended him in 1508 as a teacher to the University of Wittenberg. Here was a large field of labor open to him for instruction and preaching. A journey which he made to Rome in 1510 gave him an insight into the moral decay of the papacy. But he might have gone on to the end as a pious Catholic, opposing the corruptions of the Church without leaving it, and teaching the truth as he saw it in quiet, had not circumstances forced upon him a greater task.

§ 7. Luther's ninety-five propositions flew over Germany, and soon over all Europe, "as if scattered by angels' hands." They were a word in season, a bold testimony against the desecration of all that is divine; and noble minds every where welcomed them with delight. The hue and cry raised against them by Tetzl, by Wimpina in Frankfort, by Sylvester Pri-erias in Italy, and, above all, by Dr. Eck, of Ingolstädt, extended, deepened, and defined the controversy. For Luther's fear-

less spirit did not hesitate, though the fate of Huss confronted him, to take up their defiance and carry on the conflict. "Here am I, Dr. Martin Luther, at Wittenberg," he cried, "and I declare to every arch-heretic, who thinks of eating iron and tearing rocks, that he will here find safe-conduct, open doors, protection and support, by the gracious approval of the noble Christian prince, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony." Thus he hurled his spiritual defiance at his adversaries.

§ 8. Pope Leo X. was a politic, contriving man, who inclined to consider the whole matter a mere monkish quarrel. He summoned Luther to Rome. But through the mediation of the elector and the university, the business of hearing the case against Luther and obtaining his recantation was confided to the papal legate, Thomas de Vio, of Gaeta, known as Cardinal Caietanus, who was then in Germany, and summoned Luther to meet him at Augsburg in 1518. Luther journeyed thither as a pilgrim, humbly seeking shelter at the convents on the way. The cardinal appealed to the Church fathers, in defense of the indulgences, but Luther built his case on the Scriptures. After three vain discussions, the legate directly and imperatively demanded that Luther should at once recant, or never come before him again. "I can not bear the sight of that German beast, with deep eyes and astonishing thoughts," he afterward declared. And Luther said of him, "This spiritual lord knows the Scriptures as an ass does the harp." Hearing that the cardinal meant to seize him and send him to Rome, Luther fled at night, passing out on horseback through a portal in the city wall, leaving behind him a written appeal "to the pope after he learns better," and returned to Wittenberg. But new difficulties and dangers sprang up. The legate demanded, in the name of the pope, that the elector should surrender Luther, or at least drive him from Saxony; and Frederick wavered. But worthy friends of both stood faithfully by Luther; among them young Philip Melancthon (born at Bretten in the Palatinate in 1497), a light of German scholarship, who had recently been called to Wittenberg as professor of the Greek language and literature; also Carlstadt, Jonas, Spalatin, Jerome Schurf, and others. The elector, too, was more and

more impressed by Luther's earnest, evangelical piety, and he dreaded the injury which his university would sustain should its favorite teacher be driven away; so that he grew more favorable to him every day. For Luther had already become the prophet of the German people. His fugitive writings were every where read with eagerness, no longer attacking merely the sale of indulgences, but constantly finding new and stirring themes for denunciation and instruction. The traveling merchant took them with him, and the student on his travels; at the courts of princes, in the open market-place, and within the convent walls, they were the topic of discussion. The pope was eager to gain the good-will of the electors, in view of the approaching election of a successor to Maximilian. He therefore sent a wiser and gentler mediator than Caietan had proved, Baron Miltitz, who summoned Luther to a new conference at Altenburg, January, 1519. Here he was compelled to confess that he would not venture to take Luther out of Germany with an army of ten thousand men; for where he found one man for the pope, there were certainly ten for Luther. But he ingeniously implored the young reformer not to disturb the peace of the Church; and Luther, who was often dreading "lest the song he had struck up would get too high for him," agreed, for the sake of peace, that he would be silent if his adversaries would do the same.

§ 9. The house of Hapsburg now stood at the head of Germany and of Europe. Charles I., the young King of Spain, grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, was heir to the territories of Burgundy, the united crowns of Spain and Naples, and the Austrian possessions in Germany, with a prospect of obtaining Bohemia and Hungary besides. Beyond the ocean, Columbus had discovered (1492) a new world, an immeasurable region, rich in gold, and offering a wide prospect of profitable commerce and colonization; all of which lay at the feet of the Hapsburgs. But one power in Europe could be regarded as their rival: France, under King Francis I., an ambitious man in the prime of life, who claimed part of the late possessions of Charles the Bold as a fief of France, and in Italy, too, in the Duchy of Milan, was resisting Spanish dominion. Besides France, the Hapsburgs had an enemy in the strange, barbarous Turks, who, since their conquest of

Constantinople, threatened Hungary and Austria. Though they were regarded as the foes of Christianity, France had no scruple in forming alliances with them from time to time, during the next two centuries, against the supremacy of the Hapsburgs in Europe. Such was the position of the great monarchies when Luther came forward in Germany, and the great movement of the Reformation began.

§ 10. Maximilian died January 12, 1519, and the imperial throne was vacant for five months. The electors were in deep anxiety upon the subject of the election. Charles I. of Spain was the representative of the house of Hapsburg, from which for nearly one hundred years the emperors had been selected; but Francis I. of France also presented himself as a candidate, and endeavored to purchase the crown by heavy bribes to the electors. Both were foreigners, for even Charles could speak no German but the Dutch dialect, and his manners and culture bore in all respects a Romance stamp. Both were accustomed to absolute power and implicit obedience. The proud Joachim I. of Brandenburg, one of the electors, strove to obtain the crown for himself. Another of them, the gentle and far-sighted Frederick the Wise of Saxony, was supported by a patriotic party, chiefly friends of the Reformation; but he felt too weak to maintain the position, and declined it. Finally, on June 28, the electors agreed upon Charles, and he was crowned at Aix, October 22, 1520, as Charles V. of Germany.

§ 11. For the first time in many generations the imperial crown was on the head of the most powerful prince in Europe. But his power was of little advantage to the German people. The honor of the house of Hapsburg and its victories were not theirs. It had but one foot on German soil; the other rested on its own foreign lands. These did not benefit the empire, as did the foreign possessions of the Franconian and Hohenstaufen emperors; on the contrary, the empire too often was subordinated to the interests of their external possessions. At the time of his greatest power, Charles V. was a master of the world, but not a German emperor.

§ 12. Charles was required by the electors, as a condition of his election, to accept certain stipulations to the prejudice of the imperial power, and similar "capitulations," as they



Charles V. (1520-1550).

were called, were afterward imposed at the election of each of his successors. By this agreement he bound himself to protect and uphold the privileges of the states of the empire; to involve the empire in no war or alliance without the advice and consent of the electors; to lay no tax on the nobles; and to permit the electors to form confederacies or leagues, but to prohibit the nobility and cities from doing so. These provisions complicated the constitution of the empire, and rendered its head more insignificant in power than ever. Under Maximilian, in 1500, a regency of the empire had been erected, consisting of twenty members, electors, princes, and deputies of the imperial cities. It met at Nuremberg, and attempted to govern Germany as a senate

but in a rude and inefficient way. It was not able even to maintain the general peace unbroken. This was amply shown by the feud of Hildesheim, which was caused by a conflict of personal interests between members of the divided house of the Welfs, in which nearly all the lower dynasties of the region took part, so that, from 1519 to 1523, all Lower Saxony was wasted with war and pillage. Similar disorders occurred in Wirtemberg. The worthless Everard the younger succeeded the wise Everard with the beard, and was driven out. Then came the unbridled Ulric of Wirtemberg, still a minor (born 1487). His extravagance was a heavy burden to the nobles and the cities as well as to the peasantry. Under his rule a conspiracy of peasants was formed, which began with bitter jests—they called the league “Poor Conrad” of “No-home,” with estates in “Hungermount”—but went on to fierce insurrection and plunder. The higher orders also revolted; and in 1514 Ulric was compelled to accept the convention of Tübingen, by which his power was limited. The peasants were then reduced to obedience with bloody severity. Soon after, Ulric quarreled with the Suabian league, no longer a confederacy of municipal republics; but, as revived by the Emperor Frederick III., a union of cities and princes to maintain the public peace. The princes, and especially the Dukes of Bavaria, controlled it. The present duke's sister, Sabina, wife of Ulric, was abused and dismissed by Ulric, who also seduced the wife of Hans von Hutten, and then slew the husband with his own hand. Soon after this, he surprised and took possession of the free city of Reutlingen. All now turned against him. The emperor laid his ban upon him; the powerful eloquence of Ulric von Hutten stimulated the knights of the empire against him, and the whole Suabian league took up arms. Thus Ulric of Wirtemberg lost his territory in 1519, and was never able to recover it permanently, though he made many efforts. The league then handed over the land to the emperor, who assigned it to his brother Ferdinand. Ulric himself had no home, and lived on the hospitality of other princes.

§ 13. Among Luther's adversaries was Dr. Eck, of Ingolstadt, who had counted on winning great honor by confuting Luther. The peace agreed on by the papal plenipotentiary

did not serve his ends. He renewed the controversy, attacking Luther's friend Carlstadt (Dr. Bodenstein) in his writings, for doctrines which he and Luther held in common. According to the usage of the times, it was proposed to hold a public "disputation" at Leipsic upon this subject. Luther justly considered that the attack on Carlstadt was aimed at him, and he was too brave to let others fight his battles. He could not disregard such fickle, crafty attacks, he declared, nor permit the truth to be thus exposed to scorn. The disputation was held at Leipsic, before Duke George of Saxony, in 1519, and lasted from June 27 to July 17. Here the giant Eck, with stentorian lungs, and a fox-like cunning in doubling upon his opponents, used all the weapons of the scholastics in defense of the doctrine of papal supremacy, which Carlstadt and Luther impugned. Luther, still slim in figure and with no advantages of presence, opposed him, strong only in his assurance of the truth. The issue was the same as in all word-fights: neither party was convinced. But the controversy took a turn of the greatest significance for Luther's cause. Eck denounced certain assertions of Luther as "Hussite heresies;" and he replied, "What Huss taught was not all false." "Do you mean," cried Eck, "that the Council of Constance erred in condemning him?" "Yes," said Luther; "it erred, as any council may err, if it does not adhere to the Word of God." This declaration was so astounding, at that time, when the Church and its general councils were regarded as under the immediate control of the Holy Spirit, that Duke George sprang from his seat with his usual oath, "Plague take it." Luther's words had struck at the foundation of the papacy.

§ 14. From this time Luther recognized neither Church nor fathers, tradition nor council, as binding upon faith. He acknowledged no infallible guide but the Scriptures, and adopted them as the standard by which to measure what was true or false in the doctrine and usages of the Church. It seemed that the scales fell from his eyes, and he spoke out all that he discerned as true, in spirited and powerful words, before the whole German people, and before all Christendom, wherever he could find a hearing. In 1520 he published two works, one addressed "to the Christian noblemen of



the German nation," on the reformation of Christian life; and the other "on the Babylonish captivity of the Church." In the former he appealed to the active nobility of the empire, who were devoted to him, and whose most zealous leaders were Francis of Sickingen and Ulric of Hutten: he described the manner in which Rome had abused German patience, and insisted with energy on the removal of the scandals which disgraced the Church. Every Christian, he declared, is a member of the spiritual calling—there is no difference between the priests and the laity. In the latter work he attacks the doctrine of the seven sacraments, demands the cup for the laity, and, instead of forced rules of life and vows, insists on Christian freedom for all. These writings were like campaigns fought against Rome; Luther's words set the minds of the German people on fire. Yet he once more permitted Miltitz to persuade him to treat the pope with forbearance, and wrote a treatise on "the freedom of a Christian," in the loftiest style of conciliatory and Christian thought. He sent this to the pope, with a heroic dedication, setting forth that Leo was not responsible for the corruption of the Church: "Thou, holy Father, sittest like a sheep among wolves; like Daniel among the lions, and like Ezekiel among the scorpions, what canst thou do alone against so much that is monstrous? The see of Rome is not worthy of thee; the spirit of evil ought to be pope, and he really reigns, rather than thou, in this Babylon."

§ 15. But it was now too late for reconciliation. Eck did not rest until he obtained from Rome a bull of excommunication, which he triumphantly circulated north of the Alps. In some of the Rhine towns Luther's books were publicly burned. His heart swelled with emotion; he no longer doubted that the pope was Antichrist; and he led a procession of teachers and students from Wittenberg out before the Elster gate, and solemnly burned the pope's bull, December 10, 1520. This act symbolized the final division of the Church of Rome. Meanwhile, until a new emperor was chosen in the place of Maximilian, Luther's friend, Frederick of Saxony, was the Regent of Lower Germany. This fact greatly aided Luther; for Frederick, though averse to impetuous action, was a pious and enlightened man, and became

constantly more strongly attached to the reformer. But in October, 1520, the young King of Spain was crowned at Aix as Charles V., Emperor of Germany; and in January, 1521, he went up the Rhine to hold a great Diet at Worms, at which the affairs of the Church, as well as of the empire, were to be set in order.

§ 16. The German empire here brought together all its ancient splendor before the young emperor. Most of the electors, and a vast assembly of prelates and nobles, were gathered. Two papal legates, Alexander and Caraccioli, came, with the demand that the excommunicated arch-heretic should be punished by the empire. But Frederick, Elector of Saxony, succeeded in obtaining for Luther a safe-conduct to the Diet, on the plea that German usage permitted no man to be condemned unheard. The imperial herald rode to Wittenberg to summon him. Many of his friends warned him of Huss's fate. But Luther went. He set out in his little wooden wagon, drawn by two farm-horses, with his brother and two other friends at his side; while the herald rode before him in full armor, bearing the double eagle of the imperial house. From all sides throngs flocked to see the man of God and of the people. In Weimar he was warned that he was on his way to the scaffold; but he answered, "Though they kindle a fire between here and Worms that blazes to heaven, yet will I go, and strike Behemoth's great teeth." At M $\ddot{u}$ ra, a village near Eisenach, the ancient home of his family, he preached under the village linden-tree, because no church could hold the crowd. He was taken sick, prayed, and recovered. Slowly he drew near to the fair Rhine, and to Worms, so famous in heroic song, but now awaiting a battle with a dragon other than that which the noble Siegfried of old fought within its walls. Again a warning reached him, this time from the faithful and heroic Sickingen, who offered him his castle of Ebernburg, in the valley of the Nahe, as a safe place of refuge. But Luther answered, "If devils are as thick in Worms as the tiles on the roofs, yet will I go thither." At his entrance the whole people were stirred, and the streets filled with

"Sounds, as if some great city were one voice  
Around a king returning from his wars."

§ 17. It seemed like a new youth for the German people, as if in this wonderful agitation a new and loftier soul had taken possession of them. The consciousness of a great crisis was not confined to any class or rank, to the knights or the clergy: the sovereign on the imperial throne, the lowliest peasant at his plow, or the poorest bondsman that kept guard at the door—every man knew that what was now to happen deeply concerned him. The German people had for three hundred years been torn by strife, and the lower orders trodden mercilessly under foot; but here was a new, enlarged life before them, to which not the outbursts of power in the great migration, or the fanaticism of the crusades, could be compared; and now, with but “the great hero and miracle-worker” Luther wished for on the throne, and among the people before the throne a spiritual hero, and Germany might look for a new birth, which should put out of remembrance all its sorrows.

§ 18. But this was not to be. On the throne sat a cold-blooded Spaniard, still a youth in years, but already a veteran in calculating policy. He aimed at a Spanish empire of the world, at new conquests in Italy; he must remain in harmony with the Catholic faith of Spain and with the pope. Nor was his soul capable of any sympathy with the inspiration and depth of the reformer’s earnestness. He regarded the monk who was set before him in that princely assembly with thoughts like those of Cardinal Caietanus. “He shall not make a heretic of me,” he said, as Luther appeared. Luther, dazzled for the moment by the sight of so much greatness, was shy and embarrassed on the first day, and asked for time to answer the demand for his recantation. But on his second audience, April 18, 1521, after much time spent in discussion, it was imperatively demanded of him that he give a short, direct answer whether or not he would recant; and he replied, “Yes, I will give one without horns or teeth, and it is this: Let me be refuted by the testimony of the Scriptures, or by clear, plain reasoning. Otherwise, I am in my conscience the prisoner of God’s Word, and I neither will nor can recant, because it is neither safe nor wise to do any thing against conscience. Here I stand, and can no otherwise. God help me. Amen.” He had won many hearts, and not those

of the common people alone. His elector was proud of him. The young, hasty, hot-blooded Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, paid him a visit the same day, and a duke of the house of Brunswick sent him a pitcher of Eimbeck beer for refreshment. Many members of the clerical party begged Charles to violate his safe-conduct, and destroy Luther at once. But the emperor, at twenty-one, had not yet lost all sense of generosity and fidelity, under the superstitions and deceit which afterward seemed to make up his character, and he kept his promise. It is sad to know that in his old age he sorrowed over this, one of the few acts of his life which can be supposed either to have sprung from an honorable motive or to have accomplished good for mankind. On the next day, April 19, the emperor called on the Diet to proclaim the ban of the empire upon Luther and his followers, still reserving his safe return to Wittenberg. On the 20th the Diet adopted the resolution; although its members entered one hundred and one complaints of scandals in the Church, a sufficient proof that they perceived the necessity of a reformation. But on April 25 the ban was formally denounced, and twenty days were allowed for Luther's return. He set out for Wittenberg the next day. The Edict of Worms, the last act of the Diet, forbade any further propagation of the new doctrines. Through the care of his friend, the Elector of Saxony, Luther was taken in charge by armed knights while passing through the Thuringian forest, and escorted to the Wartburg at Eisenach. He lived here in concealment, under the name of "Knight George," for nearly a year; and amid many obstacles and conflicts, both of body and soul, began his translation of the Bible, his noblest gift to the people. Its substance was a fountain of spiritual life, and its language was the beginning of a new era for German speech and thought.

§ 19. The disappearance of Luther excited much inquiry and conjecture, but did not stop the spread of his doctrines. On May 8, 1521, the emperor issued a decree at Worms proclaiming the ban upon Luther as a heretic, and upon any one who should harbor him or propagate his doctrines; and forbidding any printer or other person to print any book upon theology without the approval of his bishop. Charles V., like the pope, thought the movement for reform could be

crushed at once by the civil power. But he soon found that the most of the knights, and by far the majority of the common people of Germany, were at heart with Luther. The agitation was general and intense; and the sudden release of multitudes from their old beliefs and habits, without thorough instruction in something better, naturally led to much extravagance.

While Luther was still at the Wartburg, there came from Zwickau to Wittenberg artisans, who not only, like Luther, claimed the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures, but professed a sort of prophetic illumination of their own, rejected the baptism of infants, and tried to introduce a community of goods, and a kingdom of God on earth, consisting of the regenerate alone. Melancthon wavered, declaring that Luther alone could discern whether the spirits of the new prophets were good or evil; and Carlstadt joined them. They were soon discontented with the slow and careful process of abolishing ancient forms, as it was practiced in the church at Wittenberg; they wished suddenly and violently to do away with such "heathenish horrors" as mass, priestly garments, pictures, and statues in the churches, and every thing which brought to mind the Catholic service. The fanatical destruction which followed threatened to bring the worst passions into the reform movement. Luther opposed all violence. "The Word made heaven and earth, and all things therein," he declared; "the Word must do the work, not we poor sinners."

§ 20. On hearing of the outbreak at Wittenberg, Luther resolved to meet it in person. The elector sought to detain him; but Luther in reply wrote him a letter on the way, so heroic and illustrative at so many points of his own character that it must be given almost in full:

"Most illustrious and noble Elector, most gracious Lord, the letter of your Electoral Grace, with its condescending advice, reached me Friday evening, when I had determined to start on Sunday morning. That the intention of your Electoral Grace is the best in the world needs no proof or confirmation with me, for I am entirely convinced of it. But in this affair of mine, most gracious Lord, my answer is this: Your Electoral Grace is aware—or, if not, I beg you now to be assured—that I have the Gospel, not from man, but from heaven alone, through Jesus Christ our Lord; so that I might have boasted and written of myself as a servant and evangelist, and will do so from this

time. But the reason why I submitted to a hearing and trial [*i. e.*, at Worms] is, not that I had any doubt of the truth, but, out of excessive humility, to win others. I have yielded enough to your Electoral Grace in that I have stayed away from my place this whole year at your bidding. For the devil knows well enough that this was not out of fear. He saw my heart when I drew near Worms; for if I had known that as many devils lay in wait for me as there are tiles on the roofs, I would still have leaped in among them with joy.

“Now Duke George is not a whit like even one single devil. And since the Father of unfathomable mercy has by his Gospel made us happy masters over all devils and over death, your Electoral Grace can reckon that it would be a great indignity to such a Father if we did not trust him to make us masters also over Duke George's wrath. As for me, I know (your Electoral Grace will pardon my silly speeches) I would ride into his Leipsic if for nine days it rained nothing but Duke Georges, every one of them nine times as furious as this one. He takes my Lord Christ for a man of straw; but my Lord and I can bear that for a while. \* \* \*

“I write this to your Electoral Grace in the belief that you know I am going to Wittenberg under a far higher protectorate than the elector's. I have no thought of so much as asking protection from your Grace. Indeed, I think I am in a position to give more protection to your Grace than you can to me. If I knew that your Grace could and would protect me, I would not go. In this business no sword can counsel or help; God must help in this work alone, without human aid. In this case, therefore, he whose faith is strongest can protect best.

“Suspecting as I do that your Electoral Grace is still weak in faith, I can in no way regard you as the man who could protect or save me.

“Since your Grace asks what you shall do in this matter, believing that you have done far too little, I reply submissively, your Grace has already done too much, and has nothing at all to do. For God will not and can not bear your busy care nor mine. He will have it left to himself, and to no other. Let that direct the judgment of your Grace.

“If your Electoral Grace believe this, you will have security and peace; if not, yet I believe, and I must leave your Grace's unbelief to torture itself in the anxieties which all unbelievers justly suffer. And since I will not be guided by your Grace, you are without blame before God if I be taken or killed. Before men, your Grace must act in this wise: as an Elector, you must be obedient to the higher powers, and let the imperial sovereignty rule in the cities and lands of the empire, without refusal or resistance if that power seize and kill me. For no man but he who set up the power shall put it down, or it is rebellion and against God. But I hope you will exercise reason, and consider that your Electoral Grace was too nobly born yourself to become my jailer. If your Grace hold the door open, and give the enemy free way, if they should come to take me, your Grace will have done enough for obedience. They can ask no more of your Grace than the knowledge that Luther is sojourning in your Grace's land, and this they shall have without any trouble on your Grace's part; for Christ has not taught me to be a Chris-

tian to another's harm. But if they should be so unreasonable as to command your Grace to lay hands on me yourself, I will tell you what is to be done: I will assure your Grace against harm and danger, in body, estate, and soul, on my account, whether your Grace believe this or not.

“I commend your Electoral Grace to the grace of God. If your Grace would believe, you should see the glory of God. It is because you believe not that you have seen nothing. Written at Borna, Ash-Wednesday, A. D. 1522. Your Grace's most humble servant, **MARTIN LUTHER.**”

§ 21. In the strength of Luther's conviction that he had more power to protect Frederick than the elector had to protect him, he rode into Wittenberg, met the storm, and subdued it, Easter-day, March 5, 1522.

But the fanatical ferments in South Germany were more dangerous. The organization of the empire was as much disfigured by abuses as that of the Church, and a political reformation was as obviously necessary as any other. Charles V. desired to break the pride of the nobles and to strengthen the sovereign power in Germany, as well as in Spain and the Netherlands. The government of the empire was modified at the Diet of Worms, so as to increase the emperor's influence. Besides the emperor, the princes found another enemy to their local ascendancy in the knights of the empire, whose independence was endangered by it. These knights were especially strong in Suabia and Franconia. Francis of Sickingen and Sylvester of Schaumberg were their most prominent leaders. They had eagerly accepted the teachings of Luther, who addressed one of his important treatises to them. Ulric von Hutten, an adventurous and impulsive man, who now engaged in battles with the pen as vigorously as the knights of old with the sword, supported Luther earnestly, mocking and ridiculing his opponents. “I have dared,” was the motto with which he approached every fierce controversy. Sickingen conceived a plan for a general overthrow of the power of the princes, and especially of the prelates, and even aimed at a revolution which should restore the political unity of the empire. When he thought that his time had come, he led mercenary soldiers to attack the Archbishop of Trèves in his capital. He could not capture that beautiful city, but was repulsed with loss; and in his own castle, the Landstuhl, in the Palatinate, was soon after besieged by

the archbishop, together with the Elector of the Palatinate and the Landgrave of Hesse. Their heavy guns soon broke down his walls, twenty feet thick; and a ball from one of them sent a splinter from the palisading into his body. The brave man was in the agonies of death when the victorious princes forced their way in and saluted him with respect. He dragged his suffering body to Switzerland, and died on the island of Ufnau, in Zurich, in August of the same year, 1523; and with him perished those far-reaching plans of the knights. All these attempts to carry the Reformation into politics, and to reconstitute the empire in its interests, were opposed by Luther, to the amazement and sorrow of his warrior friends, who had looked for his cordial support. Luther was so engrossed in the spiritual life of the people, and in the purification of the Church, that he undervalued their national and political life; and he persisted in pressing to an extreme the Christian duty of obedience to rulers, although none was bolder than he in denouncing the personal folly and wickedness of princes.

§ 22. Nor were wild plans of change confined to the nobles; but "the poor folk," and especially the peasants of South Germany, were busied with them. Terrible had been the fate of these people in the wild days of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The times were now more peaceful, and the peasants less needy and wretched. In South Germany they were influenced by the example of the Swiss, whose freedom and comfort seemed constantly to show them what they also might attain. Besides, many of their young people went out into the world as soldiers every year; they assisted in the emperor's victories in Italy, and took delight in booty and in the freedom of a wild life while it lasted; and on their return brought back to their villages no longer the yielding, slavish mind of a servant, but the proud feelings of a warrior. Several secret conspiracies had been formed among the South German peasants before the Reformation began. And when Luther preached Gospel freedom for all, they were seized with an earnest longing to improve their external condition also.

§ 23. At the beginning of the year 1525 there was a rising of the peasants in Suabia and Franconia. They assembled



in armed bands, but still behaved with moderation. At this time Ulric of Wirtemberg again invaded his country with six thousand Swiss soldiers, but could not hold it. The peasants grew steadily in strength. New hosts of them gathered at the Odenwald and in the valley of the Neckar. Then the revolt extended up the Main, and west of the Rhine, also into Alsace and Lorraine, until the entire peasantry of South Germany were engaged in it. They formed many armies, or armed mobs, led usually by men of their own class, or by ex-priests. The smaller cities were favorable to their cause. The agitation pervaded the lower classes throughout Bavaria, as far as Salzburg, and into the Tyrol and Styria. The demands of the peasants were at first moderate and just; and even Luther advised the princes and barons, for the sake of peace, to accept the twelve articles they proposed. But in the arrogance brought by their first successes, they went further: their boldest leaders conceived the notion of reconstituting the whole empire. They would have an emperor at the head of it, but no princes, knights, prelates, castles, or convents. To do away with these was what they called administering the Gospel.

§ 24. These undisciplined hosts soon began to lose all restraint, and practiced inhuman cruelties. They seized the Count of Helfenstein, at Weinsberg, with many other nobles, and drove them along a path between two files of spears, which pierced them till they fell. They burned and plundered the monasteries and castles of Suabia and Franconia. They took Heilbronn, and chose it for the capital of their new empire. The Franconian peasants compelled Götz of Berlichingen of the Iron Hand, a knight of the empire, to march at their head; but he could keep no order among them. The most frightful disorders threatened the empire. Then at last the princes, cities, and barons united, and the general of the Suabian league, the steward of Waldburg, defeated the disorderly throngs, first in the Allgau, and then in the Hegau, dispersing them after trifling resistance. He then defeated the Neckar army; while their strongest band, that of the united Franconian and Burgundian peasants, was almost annihilated by him, with the aid of the Electors of the Palatinate and of Trèves. The vengeance of the princely

and noble conquerors almost obliterated the remembrance of the peasants' previous cruelties.

§ 25. At the same time Thuringia was agitated in the same way, save that here the instigation and guidance of the revolt were mainly the work of one desperate man. This was Thomas Münzer, a scholar, who, after traveling in search of adventure, had devoted himself to the Reformation, but, like Carlstadt, had fallen into the extravagances which deformed it. Luther was not decided enough for him. He preached loudly and fiercely against "Dr. Liar, the senseless, luxurious flesh of Wittenberg." He announced a new order of things, both spiritual and temporal: all ranks and fortunes should be equalized, and only prophetic inspiration should hold the sceptre. Such preaching carried away the mercurial throng. He established himself first in Allstedt, in Thuringia, and then in Mühlhausen, whence he expelled the magistrates; and here he undertook to set up his heavenly Jerusalem on earth. The peasants from the Hartz forest to the Thuringian joined him. The ruins of the monasteries burned by him at the foot of each of these forest ranges of hills (Paulinzelle and Walkenried) indicate the extent of the destruction he caused. But the princes now united against him without distinction of religious views. Philip of Hesse, a friend of the Reformation, and Henry of Brunswick and George of Saxony, its bitter enemies, brought their cavalry against Münzer's peasants, who had built a barricade of wagons near Frankenhausen, May 25, 1525. Münzer strained his most extravagant powers of oratory, brandishing "the sword of Gideon," and pointing to the rainbow as a pledge of victory, to inspire his followers with confidence, but in vain. The mob army was easily dispersed by the princes, and 5000 out of their whole body of 9000 were left dead on the field. Münzer himself was taken, and afterward tortured and sent to the gallows. From that time civil order was restored in Germany; but the peasantry had rather injured than improved their condition. Duke George of Saxony followed up his victory by cruelly persecuting the Lutherans in his dominions. The conduct of the sect of Anabaptists at Münster, in 1534, under John of Leyden, was another painful outbreak of fanatical passions and aims.

§ 26. Meanwhile the progress of the reformed doctrines, especially in the great cities, was more rapid than ever. On December 1, 1521, Pope Leo X. died; his successor, Adrian VI., a German, was full of zeal against the abuses of the Church, and sent a legate to the Diet at Nuremberg, in 1523, empowered, while demanding the resolute suppression of Luther's teachings, to acknowledge that the corruptions of the Church had originated with its head at Rome, and to promise a thorough reform. Luther himself mocked at any reformation of which the pope could be the head; and the states of the empire embodied their complaints against the papacy in a long series of propositions, and demanded that a general council of the Church be called to meet in one of the German cities. Meanwhile the Diet determined to tolerate the new faith, and Luther's doctrines were preached at Nuremberg, during the sessions of the Diet, without opposition. In nearly all the large cities, and throughout a great part of Silesia, Mecklenburg, and Prussia, the people embraced the Protestant teaching in throngs. Pope Adrian VI. died September 14, 1523, and his successor, Clement VII., a nephew of Leo X., at once attacked the reformers with all the resources of bigotry. Another Diet was held at Nuremberg in 1524, in which the pope, by his legate, Cardinal Campeggio, implored the suppression of the Protestants; but he was coldly received, and could obtain no answer but a renewed demand for a general council. The spirit of the nation was already one of inquiry, and even the most zealous of the Catholic princes saw that an attempt to extinguish the new doctrines by violence would end in destroying its authors. Later, in 1524, Campeggio brought together at Regensburg the Duke of Bavaria, Ferdinand of Austria, and several South German bishops, who formed a league to exclude Luther's followers from their territories. On the other hand, the Lutheran leaders met at Dessau, and afterward at Gotha, where John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse pledged themselves to protect the truth. At Torgau, in May, 1526, a reformed league was constituted, and was rapidly joined by Luneburg, Anhalt, Magdeburg, and Prussia. At the Diet of Spire, in June of that year, this league was able to secure the passage of an edict, that "In respect of religion, every one shall act as he

will venture to answer for it before God and the emperor." This was justly regarded as a decision in favor of toleration. The emperor wished the Diet to enforce the Edict of Worms, laying the ban on Luther and his followers, but the Diet demanded that a general council of the Church be summoned within a year to consider the question.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE FORMATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES, AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS OF CHARLES V.

§ 1. Luther and the Rebellious Peasants. § 2. German Princes Espouse the Reformed Cause. § 3. It is Favored by the Political Situation. § 4. Victories of Charles V. § 5. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530. § 6. The Smalcaldic League and the Peace of Nuremberg. § 7. Growth of the League. § 8. Rapid Progress of Protestantism. § 9. Efforts for Reconciliation; the Diet of Regensburg. § 10. Luther's Marriage and Labors. § 11. His Last Years and Death. § 12. Charles V. in the Netherlands; the Peace of Crespy. § 13. The Council of Trent; Disunion of the Protestants. § 14. Maurice Invades the Saxon Electorate. § 15. General Submission to Charles V. § 16. Battle of Lochau; Defeat of John Frederick. § 17. Maurice made Elector; the Augsburg Interim. § 18. The Emperor's Enemies in Germany. § 19. Maurice Turns against Him. § 20. The Religious Peace of Augsburg. § 21. Death of Maurice; Abdication of Charles V. § 22. Reformation in Switzerland. § 23. The General Reformers; John Calvin. § 24. Dissensions among the Reformers.

§ 1. LONG before the outbreak of the peasants' war, Luther rebuked and resisted the fanaticisms which were preparing the way for it; and soon after the atrocities of the insurgents began, he wrote a pamphlet against "the plundering and murderous peasants," declaring that they must be treated like mad dogs, and exterminated by every means. He thus carefully drew the line between his work and revolution, between reformation and destruction. But from this time he moderated his style of preaching, and aimed at the establishment of an evangelical Church. He was assisted by individual noblemen, who took part in the Reformation, and guided it toward its goal, though less triumphantly than was at first expected. The noble Electors of Saxony were foremost in this work. Frederick the Wise gave free course to the Reformation which had begun in his own capital and university-city. "The kindly and peaceful prince," as Luther calls him, died May 5, 1525, in the reformed faith.

§ 2. He was succeeded by his brother, John the Constant,

who was entirely devoted to the Reformation (1525-1532). During his reign a Saxon national Church was constituted, under Luther's advice. Luther wrote his Larger and Smaller Catechisms in 1529, for the instruction of the young. Evangelical churches gradually grew up in several principalities, where the powers of the episcopal sees passed into the hands of the ruling princes. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, entered zealously into the cause of the Reformation. Albert of Brandenburg, the grandmaster of the German order, was among the first princes who embraced it, and upon the introduction of the reformed faith he made of the possessions of the order an hereditary duchy of Prussia, which he received and held as a fief of Poland. He thus set the example of a successful secularization—that is, of the transformation of a spiritual jurisdiction, obtained by election or appointment, into a personal and hereditary principality—an example which tempted many an archbishop and bishop to imitate it.

§ 3. For it was not always a heartfelt conviction of truth that attracted lords and barons to the Reformation. The rich lands of the Church were every where confiscated, and were by no means always employed for the purposes of churches and schools. They often went into the bottomless treasuries of extravagant courts. But while the Reformation, like every great historical movement, was mingled with much that was imperfect and wrong, yet a fresh and pious impulse was given to the popular mind wherever it took root; better schools, a more serious moral tone, a reverential spirit, and a zeal for the truth every where followed it. The Reformation advanced rapidly in Northern Germany. The condition of the empire was favorable to its spread. The emperor had left Germany soon after the Diet at Worms, in order to oppose Francis I. in Italy. Until 1525, the empire was governed in his name by the awkwardly constituted imperial council, which could not efficiently reach the several German countries. After 1525 the emperor's brother, Ferdinand of Austria, had more influence in the government of the empire. Ferdinand became King of Hungary and Bohemia in 1526, and the Turks threatened his hereditary land of Austria, and encroached upon it. In 1529 they appeared, for the first time, before Vienna. The house of Austria was in danger,

and needed help from the empire; and while asking for this, it was necessary not to make enemies of the reformers.

§ 4. Thus, for several years after the Diet at Worms, the Lutheran doctrines spread rapidly, without serious opposition on the part of the emperor (Chap. XV., § 26). But the situation in this respect was soon changed. The Emperor Charles V. defeated King Francis and took him prisoner, in the battle of Pavia, in 1525. The next year, at Madrid, Francis signed a humiliating treaty of peace, and was released. He immediately formed an alliance with the pope, who was in dread of Charles's ascendancy in Italy, and the war was renewed. In 1527, an imperial army, mostly of German Lutherans, was sent to Rome, under the Constable de Bourbon, and though he was slain in the assault, they captured the city (May 6), and laid siege to the pope in the Castle of St. Angelo. Before the eyes of Clement VII., the German soldiers mocked the papal processions and ceremonies, and shouted to him in scorn that Luther should now be pope. Francis I. was again compelled to abandon the contest, and signed the Peace of Cambray in 1529. On February 24, 1530, the anniversary of his birth and of the victory at Pavia, Charles V. was crowned by the pope at Bologna with the crown of the Cæsars. He now had time to give attention to Germany. The mere prospect of his coming gave the Catholic party, which had been quietly preparing and gathering its strength, courage to act with more boldness. A Diet met again at Spire in 1529, and resolved to carry out the Edict of Worms and check the Reformation. Nineteen of the states of the empire, with Saxony and Hesse at their head, protested against this resolve, and insisted that a mere majority could not decide questions of faith so as to bind all (April 19, 1529). This protest gave the reformers the name of Protestants.

§ 5. The emperor summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg in 1530. It was a more splendid assembly than even that at Worms nine years before. Luther's friend, the Prince Elector of Saxony, and his theological associates, of whom Melancthon was the most prominent, attended it; but Luther himself, being still under the ban of the empire, remained at Coburg, where, at this time of peril, he wrote his famous hymn, "Our God is a strong fortress" (*Ein feste Burg ist unser*

*Gott*). There were many Protestant princes at the Diet, and their disposition soon found open expression. At the entrance of the papal legate, giving his blessing, many a head remained covered, and many a knee unbent; and the Protestants refused to take part in the procession on Corpus Christi day, although the emperor attended it in person. George, Margrave of Anspach, declared that he would sooner lose his head than join it. "My worthy princes, no heads off, no heads off," answered the cautious emperor, mildly, in his Low-Dutch. On the 25th of June the Protestants presented their Confession of Faith, drawn up by Melanchthon. This was the famous Augsburg Confession (*Confessio Augustana*), which has ever since been regarded as a corner-stone of Protestantism. It was expressed in Melanchthon's peculiar style, clear and moderate, and explained exactly in what respects it coincided with the Catholic faith, and in what it deviated from it. The emperor employed Eck to prepare a refutation (*confutatio*) of it, which was presented to the Diet August 3; and though Melanchthon offered a rejoinder (*apologia*), the emperor declared the case closed, and commanded the defeated Protestants to return to the Catholic Church. Many of the Protestant princes left the Diet before its adjournment; among them Philip of Hesse, who had long been prepared for war. This step seriously alarmed the Catholic party, and they prevailed on Charles to attempt a reconciliation. Many efforts were made for this purpose, in which Melanchthon took an active part, representing the Protestants; and he conceded so much as to offend the majority of them. But it was in vain; on the merits of works and the invocation of saints, no form of words could be devised which both parties would accept. The Catholic majority then resolved that all religious innovations should be suppressed by force, and Charles dismissed the Diet with threats of the severest measures. Judicial processes were instituted against several Protestant princes, for the secularization of Church estates. Thus the breach grew steadily wider. Luther himself never believed a "reconciliation of contraries" to be possible, and insisted on unrestricted freedom of conscience for all.

§ 6. The chiefs of the Protestant party assembled in December at Smalcald, in Thuringia, to counsel together for



their defense; and on March 29, 1531, they formed there "the Smalcaldic League," which was to last six years, and was joined by a large number of princes and of cities. The emperor was again called out of Germany by the affairs of Spain; but first caused his brother Ferdinand to be elected "King of the Romans," or German Emperor, by the Catholic electors at Cologne, January 5, 1531. This was done in spite of the earnest protest of the Elector of Saxony, and the opposition of the Duke of Bavaria, who was jealous of the growing power of the house of Austria. Thus the opponents of Protestantism were at issue among themselves. The Protestants at once took advantage of the duke's disaffection toward the imperial family, and signed an alliance with him, October 24, 1531, which was soon after joined by France and Denmark. Just at this time the Turks made a fierce attack upon both Austria and Italy. Charles V. therefore gladly acceded to an accommodation, through the mediation of Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, and before civil war actually broke out the Religious Peace of Nuremberg was signed, July 23, 1532. Both parties pledged themselves to await the decision of a general council of the Church upon their differences of faith. But the armistice extended to the Lutherans alone, the shortsighted Protestant leaders consenting that the followers of Zwingli should be excluded from it.

§ 7. From this time, for more than ten years, the reformers enjoyed a fruitful and steady period of growth. In 1534 Wirtemberg was added to the reformed countries. Ulric, the banished duke, had fled to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and he, supplied with money by France, defeated the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria in May, 1534, at Laufen, and compelled him, in the Peace of Cadau, June 29, to restore Ulric his possessions. During his long absence the people's affections returned to their hereditary duke, and he repaid them by introducing the Reformation. He paid the expenses of the war out of the confiscated estates of the Church, and joined the Smalcaldic league.

In 1535, Joachim I., Elector of Brandenburg (son of John Cicero) died, having been to the last a bitter foe of Luther and the Reformation. His sons divided the land, and the younger, John of Küstrin, at once introduced the reformed

faith and practice into his territories of Neumark, Kottbus, and Reitz. The elder brother, Joachiin II. (1535-1571), hesitated until 1539, when he also adopted the Reformation. Thus the reformers now had two electorates. On April 24, 1539, old George of Saxony, the father-in-law of Joachim II., also died. He, too, had been a violent opponent of Luther; but his brother Henry (1539-1541), who succeeded him, at once reformed the Church in his land, including the important cities of Leipsic and Dresden. In 1536 Pomerania also joined the league; and Anhalt, Nassau, the Upper Palatinate, and other territories, soon followed.

§ 8. In 1537 the Smalcaldic league was again renewed for six years. Saxony and Hesse were at its head, and the pious elector John Frederick had ruled in Saxony from the year 1532. Nearly all the Protestant princes now belonged to the league. The Bavarian princes, with the Archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg, in vain formed a Catholic league against it. The Reformation and the Smalcaldic league were continually strengthened by new accessions. Even the Elector of Mayence gave the Reformation free course in the lands belonging to his see, in Magdeburg and in Halle, on condition that the feudal tenants would pay his debts. Duke William of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg also began to reform the Church; and even Herman, Elector of Cologne, invited Melancthon to come to him, permitted evangelical preaching, and endeavored to secularize and to reform his archbishopric. Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick, now an old man, still offered a fierce resistance to the Smalcaldians in North Germany. An extremely bitter controversy was carried on first in print, Luther himself taking part in it; and then Henry attacked the free reformed cities of Brunswick and Goslar. But the leaders of the league, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, fell upon him in 1542, expelled him from his country, the Reformation having already taken root there, and in 1546, when he attempted to return, defeated him again, and took him prisoner. Even Frederick, the new king of the Romans, seemed to grow less unfriendly to the reforming cause. Bavaria was the only part of the empire in which the secular government steadfastly upheld the papal supremacy.

§ 9. Pope Clement VII. died September 25, 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III., a shrewd man, who appreciated the importance of the Lutheran movement, and the impossibility of suppressing it by violence. He undertook to reunite the Church by policy. He at once announced his willingness to accede to Charles's wish, and call a general council; and he soon opened negotiations with the Protestants in Germany. Many listened hopefully to his promises; but Luther never doubted that the pope's conciliatory attitude was a pretense, designed to divide the reformers, or to throw upon them the blame of the inevitable conflict. After much time spent in preparation and discussion, the emperor evidently wishing to postpone any decisive step, it was agreed that a conference should be held by representatives of both parties, to strive to reconcile them. Cardinal Contarini, a learned and upright prelate, who had heard Luther at the Diet of Worms, and had since been earnest in advocating reform in the Church, was sent to Germany as the pope's legate and plenipotentiary. In April, 1541, the conference began at the Diet of Regensburg, in the presence of the emperor—his first appearance in Germany for nine years. Contarini was assisted by John Eck, Pflug, and Gropper, while the Protestants were represented by Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistor. To the astonishment of the reformers, the Catholic delegates, under Contarini's influence, accepted, as fundamental articles of faith, the enslavement of the will by original sin, the redemption of man by Christ, and justification by faith alone, and not by works. For a time sincere hopes were entertained of a reconciliation, but it was soon found that no agreement was possible on the subjects of the sacraments and the authority of the Church; and that neither the pope nor the prelates of Germany would acquiesce in the large concessions made to Protestant doctrine. On May 31, Charles V. expressed his delight with the agreement, as far as made; earnestly exhorted the conferees to labor for a complete union, and added his earnest desire for a reformation of the Church. A number of evangelical princes besought Luther to give his powerful influence to the cause of reconciliation; but Luther was finally convinced that the papacy could not be sincere in its new professions, and made a moderate and indecisive answer,

only in order not to seem to provoke strife. The conference ended in a violent controversy, and in dissolving the Diet, June 29, the emperor proclaimed his old policy of referring all differences to a future general council; and meanwhile suppressing neither faith, but carrying on the legal processes, already begun in the Imperial Chamber of Justice, against Protestants who had "secularized" Church property.

§ 10. Luther had long been more inclined to build up than to destroy, and while working for the people as the great teacher and founder of the Protestant Church, his personal labors were mainly confined to his own immediate field at Wittenberg. Among his strongest convictions was that of the sanctity of the marriage tie, the divine institution of the family, and the fatal error of the monastic theories. He urged his friends to marry; but up to the age of forty-two showed no disposition to obey his own precepts. About the year 1523, a number of nuns fled from their solitary life, persuaded of its unnatural character; but were rejected by their own families, and came to Luther for aid and guidance. He found them temporary homes, and sought husbands for those who were young and deserving. Among these was Catharine von Bora, of a noble family in Meissen. In her Luther took a deep interest, and he made repeated efforts to secure her hand for one or another of his friends. But after two failures, on inquiring carefully into the reasons, he learned that Catharine could not entertain the thought of marrying any one, unless it were the Wittenberg preacher, Nicholas of Amsdorf, or the great Dr. Luther himself. Luther did not hesitate an hour, but went with the painter, Cranach, to Catharine, plighted her his troth, and at once invited his friends to their wedding feast (June 13). It was nearly the darkest hour, to outward seeming, of his life-work: the Reformation was regarded by many as an assured failure; but Luther never doubted the final triumph of the truth, and resolved, by holding the main festival of his life in these dark days, to defy his enemies and cheer his friends. Besides, he had entered a cloister against his father's will, and thus deprived his father of a son for many years; and it would be a sort of peace-offering, he said, to leave behind, when he died, a grandson to the old household. There had long been a

rumor that Luther was warmly disposed toward the fugitive nun. "I am not in love," he wrote, "nor governed by passion; but I am fond of her." The union, on the whole, contributed much to his happiness. He had three sons, and a full share of both the joys and the sorrows of family life.

§ 11. In Luther's household and among his friends he was ever cheerful and full of jest, and his lively conversation was full, now of profound wisdom, and again of childlike merriment. But in public he was the spiritual counselor and friend of princes near and far, or the terrible censor of immorality and abuses in the Church, whose wrath was like that of the prophet Elijah. He saw his work spread beyond the boundaries of Germany. Sweden, Denmark, and Norway adopted the new faith, and it found its martyrs in the Netherlands, France, and England. Yet his heart was often depressed with anxiety and apprehension. He saw that the good cause could not be kept entirely pure, as he had hoped; that the desires of avarice for the wealth of the Church and other unholy impulses often had as much effect as zeal for truth; he saw that the morals of the people, who were devoted to pleasure and display, were not radically purified by the Gospel. Besides these sorrows, his own frail body contributed to depress his spirits. Yet his mind rose above all trials to an assurance of triumph; and his pride and humility both found expression in his confident declaration that he was "a chosen instrument of God, well known in heaven, earth, and hell." His personal power was so great that the path once decidedly chosen by him was pursued by his Church in unquestioning obedience. Luther's excessive labors exhausted his vital powers, and before his sixtieth year his strength began rapidly to fail, with signs of premature old age. His cheerfulness was lost, and his vehemence in controversy, especially against the Calvinistic notion of the Eucharist, was greater than ever. Circumstances now assumed more and more the aspect of an approaching deadly strife with arms between his followers and the pope's. As long as it was possible, Luther insisted on peace, and even on complete submission to the emperor, as far as it might be rendered without forfeiting the faith. He wished, at least,

not to survive a religious war. This wish was fulfilled. He was summoned to Eisleben by the Count of Mansfeld, formerly the feudal lord of his family, to arbitrate upon a disputed inheritance. There he was taken sick and died, in the night of February 18, 1546, in his sixty-third year, during his last sufferings trusting joyfully in the truth he had taught. The funeral procession to Wittenberg was a march of mourning for the whole people. They all felt that the dead had no fellow in history for the loftiness of his spirit, the energy of his character, and his vast influence on the future of German civilization. Yet his widow was compelled to earn her own bread during the religious war which followed, and died in poverty at Torgau, December 27, 1552.

§ 12. After the unsuccessful conference at Regensburg, Charles V. went to Italy, and in the same year (1541) undertook an expedition against the Algerine pirates, but accomplished nothing. In 1542 Francis I. declared war against him for the fifth time. Duke William of Cleves also, hoping to secure the duchy of Guelders in spite of Charles, who had annexed it to the Netherlands, took part with Francis. At the same time the emperor was uneasy lest the Reformation, which had been adopted in Cleves, and introduced in Cologne, should overrun his own provinces, the Netherlands, which he wished to retain in the Catholic Church, and to keep entirely separate from Germany. Accordingly, in 1543, he came from the Netherlands into Germany, put a stop to the work of the reformers in Cologne, and visited the land of Cleves with all the terrors of desolation his Spanish troops could inflict. Duke William was compelled to submit, abandon all claims on Guelders, and to renounce the Reformation. He then married Maria of Austria, Charles's niece and Ferdinand's daughter. Toward the other Protestants, Charles still acted with caution. The next year he treated them so kindly at the Diet of Spires that he induced even the Smalcaldians to join him in the war against France. With the whole force of the empire, and in alliance with Henry VIII. of England, he approached Paris, and pressed hard upon Francis I., until that king accepted the Peace of Crespy in 1544. Now for the first time Charles had his hands free in Germany; and his plan was soon disclosed—to break down the independence of the

nobles of the empire, as he had in his youth subdued those of Spain.

§ 13. On the other hand, the Protestant princes were not united among themselves; and some of them, as the Electors of Brandenburg and of the Palatinate, were not in the Smalcaldic league. The Council of Trent was finally opened in December, 1545. At the imperial Diet at Regensburg in 1546, Ferdinand, who represented the emperor, insisted that both parties should submit their differences to the General Council of Trent, and abide by its decision. The Catholics eagerly agreed to this; but the reformers observed that the council was in session beyond the limits of the empire, and that its proceedings began with hostility to the Protestants. Hesse and Saxony refused to be bound by it. The emperor now made an alliance with the pope, who promised him money and soldiers, began to collect troops for himself, and laid the ban of the empire on the two leaders of the Smalcaldic league. Then the cities of Upper Germany collected an army, under the prudent and resolute Sebastian Schertlin; and the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse did the same. But the most powerful princes around them, such as the Elector of the Palatinate, Joachim of Brandenburg, his brother John, and the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, avoided war, and made haste to seek a reconciliation with the emperor. It would still have been easy to defeat in detail the detachments of imperial troops, who were slowly coming from Italy and the Netherlands, if Schertlin's spirited advice to attack them at once had been followed; but the two princes either disagreed or were checked by scruples of conscience. They had forty-seven thousand men and formidable artillery. Yet they lay idly before Landshut and Ingolstädt until autumn, when the emperor had concentrated his forces. An unexpected event then summoned the Elector of Saxony home.

§ 14. The Protestants now found their worst foe among themselves. Young Maurice, Duke of Saxony, an ambitious, shrewd, and far-seeing prince, succeeded his father Henry in the Saxon territories of the Albertine line in 1541. Luther is said to have forewarned the elector against the young lion he might see sitting at his own table. Maurice had

long ago quarreled with his cousin John Frederick, and abandoned the Smalcaldic league. He fought with distinction under Charles V. against both the French and the Turks, and was now in secret correspondence with the emperor, with whom he concluded a treaty of alliance in June, 1546. He then, in November, suddenly made an inroad into the Saxon electorate, and before the end of December took possession of nearly the whole country. Through fear of him, the elector had conducted the war against Charles without vigor or close attention; and now that his fears were confirmed, he hastened back to recover his own territories. At his parting from the Landgrave of Hesse, each of these Protestant leaders bitterly reproached the other for their joint failure.

§ 15. The princes and cities of Upper Germany, whether they had been openly hostile to the emperor or guardedly neutral, now hastened to purchase a reconciliation with him, though by great sacrifices. In January, 1547, Ulric of Wirtemberg fell at Charles's feet, accepted his commands, and paid him the costs of the war; Frederick of the Palatinate then implored forgiveness with tears; in February and March all the cities submitted, and abandoned the Smalcaldic league; Augsburg dismissed from its service Schertlin, the emperor's persistent enemy, and paid Charles 150,000 florins as an "indemnity." All South Germany again belonged unconditionally to the emperor. Hermann, the late Archbishop of Cologne, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the pope, was driven from the city in January, 1547, and the attempted reformation there came to an end.

§ 16. Meanwhile John Frederick reconquered his country, and brought Maurice himself into severe straits, as the spring of 1547 opened. But before the elector suspected his approach, Charles V. and his army were on the Bohemian frontier, and invaded Saxony. Charles marched up the left bank of the Elbe; every means of crossing seemed to have been destroyed. Maurice of Saxony was with him; and the Duke of Alba, who was afterward so famously cruel in the Netherlands, was his lieutenant. The elector was on the right bank, near Mühlberg, and thought himself secured by the river against any sudden attack. On the evening of April 23, a



millar, whose horses the Saxon soldiers had taken from him, came to the emperor, and offered to show him a ford practicable for cavalry. On the evening of the 24th, the river was covered by a fog. Spanish soldiers swam across in the early twilight, with swords in their teeth, and brought back boats to carry over the infantry. The emperor led the cavalry across by the ford. It was Sunday; John Frederick was at church, and left only to meet his army in flight. The battle was but a chase across the heaths of Lochau. The elector was so heavy that he had to climb to the saddle with steps. He was overtaken, and though he defended himself valiantly, was cut with a sabre across the face, and taken prisoner. When he came before the emperor and attempted to kiss his hand, Charles withdrew it, and addressed him harshly. He took him to Wittenberg, which he besieged. But the capital city of Protestantism was valiantly defended by Sibylla, the elector's wife, a lady of the house of Cleves. John Frederick refused to order a capitulation, and Charles caused him to be sentenced to death for high-treason. The elector received the sentence with composure, and showed himself as great and venerable in suffering as he had been slow and irresolute in action.

§ 17. At length the land and the capital city submitted. Luther's preaching had not awakened a warlike disposition in the people, though it had strengthened their patience in endurance, as the elector's own example showed. Yet Charles V. now showed himself wise and moderate, if not magnanimous. Some of his attendants urged him to disturb Luther's grave, but he replied that he warred with the living, not the dead. Nor did he even suppress the Lutheran form of worship. John Frederick ceded his electorate, with Wittenberg, to Maurice, upon whom the emperor soon after conferred the electoral dignity also. The elder line retained only their possessions in Thuringia. The imperial troops quickly reduced all North Germany to subjection. Magdeburg alone still held out. Philip of Hesse lost heart entirely, and negotiated for terms of submission. Maurice of Saxony, his son-in-law, and Joachim II. of Brandenburg, guaranteed him a gracious reception by the emperor. At Halle, Philip threw himself at Charles's feet, but still in such excel-

lent spirits that the emperor is said to have cried out, "Well, I'll teach you to laugh!" The same evening Alba demanded his sword. In vain Joachim flew into a passion, and Maurice appealed to the emperor's written promises. Charles led the two princes as prisoners about with him through the empire, but treated Philip, whom he sent into confinement at Mechlin, more severely than John Frederick, whom he learned to respect, and kept at court. The Council of Trent, after a short sitting, separated; and the emperor's urgent requests that it might be called together again were set at naught by the pope. Charles therefore caused several divines to draw up "The Augsburg Interim" of 1548, a system of religious doctrine and practice, to be carried out until a free general council should meet; and secured the approval of it by the Diet at Augsburg. It preserved the peculiarities of Romish doctrine, yielding hardly any thing to the Protestants but the sacrament in both kinds, and the marriage of the clergy. But Charles promised the Protestants to reform the order of the Church in Germany. His policy is easy to understand, since his supreme aim was to fortify his own power; and he took the most superficial view of the Reformation, having no conception of any genuine meaning in it beyond opposition to external abuses. All earnest Protestants were, of course, dissatisfied with the Interim; while the pope and the zealous Catholics could not approve any concession whatever. The plan was, however, enforced with great severity, especially in Upper Germany; and hundreds of the pious clergy preferred, with their wives and children, to sink to utter destitution, rather than deny their faith. In North Germany, Bremen and Magdeburg defended themselves by arms, and the latter city became a place of refuge for all who were persecuted for the Protestant faith. The emperor laid the ban on the city, and intrusted its execution to Maurice and Joachim II.

§ 18. Charles V. now seemed to have established in Germany that absolute sovereignty which he aimed at in all the countries he ruled. The German princes could see how weak was the foundation of that independence which they had regarded as so precious, and that, having no union among themselves, they were liable to be subjugated by any superior power that might boldly attack them. But the restoration of

the imperial authority was not a benefit to the nation. For Charles V. really brought to the land a foreign sovereignty, a Spanish throne. He filled it with barbarous troops, who scorned German law and customs, and, above all, trod down the Reformation before the emperor's own eyes; first in the cities of South Germany, as in Augsburg. In view of this danger, the independent spirit of the German princes was a great good, and the more so that many of them were really imbued with the truth of the Gospel. Many of the German princely thrones were then occupied by men of noble character and true piety. Such was Ernest of Lüneburg. Such, a little later, was Julius of Brunswick (son of Henry the Younger), founder of the University of Helmstedt (1576). Such, too, were Wolfgang of Anhalt, and Christopher of Wirtemberg (son of Ulric); while Maximilian, afterward Emperor of Germany, son of King Ferdinand, manifested while young a high moral character, and a strong inclination to the reformed faith. The people also were full of an orderly spirit and of religious zeal. The papal influence, like the Spanish, was every where resisted by them. The emperor now brought forward his plan of securing the succession of the empire to his son Philip, and of making the crown hereditary in his family. This alienated from him his brother Ferdinand.

§ 19. But the hopes of Germany centred in Maurice of Saxony. He was not pious, but he was attached to Protestantism, and suffered from the reproach of having betrayed his faith. He even modified the Interim in his territories, with the help of Melancthon, and established for Saxony "the Leipsic Interim," which retained the doctrines of Luther, while admitting in the churches various rites and practices which the reformers had rejected. The neglect by Charles V. of Maurice's pledged word to the Landgrave of Hesse, his father-in-law, and the severe confinement of that prince, gave Maurice further offense. Above all, the ascendancy of the Spanish statesmen, Alva and Granvella—to whom the princes of Germany were made subordinate—excited his anger; and he felt bound to defend the independence of the princes. In this work he had resort to the emperor's own arts of cunning and pretense; and the scholar surpassed his master. He postponed for a long time the execution of the ban upon

Magdeburg, and when his plans were ripe, he gathered around that city a considerable army without arousing the emperor's suspicion. At the same time a new war broke out between Charles V. and King Henry II. of France; and Maurice acting in harmony with France, French money and artful negotiation quickly formed a confederacy against Charles. It was joined by a son of Philip the Magnanimous, William of Hesse, a Duke of Mecklenburg, and the princes of the house of Brandenburg. In recompense for the aid to be given by the King of France, these princes agreed that he should have the cities on his frontier in which the French language was spoken, namely, Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Thus it was by the treason of German princes that France began her encroachments on the western frontier of the empire.

§ 20. All his preparations having been made with wonderful foresight and secrecy, Maurice suddenly marched against the emperor in March, 1552. He was now joined by Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg (Culmbach), a famous warrior, and a leader among the wild and warlike adventurers of Germany. They hastened through Germany, and found the Tyrol unprotected. After taking the castle of Ehrenberg by assault, they reached Innsbrück only a few hours too late to capture Charles V. himself, who was sick with the gout, and had to be carried on a litter in his hurried flight over the Alps. It was even said that Charles would have been a prisoner, but that Maurice allowed him to escape, "having no cage," he said, "for so large a bird." The emperor was compelled to yield. His brother Ferdinand, who had secretly favored the plans of Maurice, in order that he and his children might not lose the succession to the empire, soon after negotiated the truce of Passau, 1552, under which fighting was suspended, the imprisoned princes were released, and religious toleration promised by Ferdinand to the Protestants. Charles, indeed, proudly refused to accept such conditions, but he could no longer enforce his will, and at a Diet three years later, September 25, 1555, the Religious Peace of Augsburg was signed. This assured to the princes and barons religious freedom, and the right to promote the Reformation in their own territories. Subjects who would not accede to the religion of their lords must be permitted to emigrate. Church estates were

not to be secularized; ecclesiastical princes were required to tolerate the Protestant worship; and if a prelate should adopt the reformed faith, he must give up his clerical dignities. This last provision was the contrivance of Ferdinand of Austria, and was known as the "ecclesiastical reservation." All the barons, whether Catholic or Protestant (that is, in harmony with the Augsburg Confession), were to be equal in privileges. The followers of Zwingli and Calvin were still subject to all the rigor of the laws against heretics, and remained so for nearly a century afterward.

§ 21. The former companion in arms of Maurice, Albert Alcibiades, after the truce of Passau, marched with a host of mercenaries, carrying fire and sword through Germany. At first he claimed to be an ally of France, but when Charles V. made his unsuccessful attempt to recapture Metz, he again took the side of the emperor. At length his practice of plunder aroused almost all the princes against him. Maurice of Saxony allied himself with Henry the Younger of Brunswick, whose lands Albert had ravaged. At Sieverhausen, near Hanover, a bloody battle was fought, July 9, 1553, in which two sons of Henry were slain. Maurice himself received a fatal wound in the moment of victory. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and the sixth of his electorate, and his great plans died with him. His brother Augustus succeeded him, and the electors of Saxony long continued to take the lead in North German Protestantism. Charles V., too, retired from the scene of public life, after giving to his son Philip the Netherlands, which he had almost entirely severed from the empire. In 1542, in the same manner, he had taken out of the German imperial union the duchy of Lorraine, then ruled by a favorite princely house. Thus the frontiers of the empire were crumbling off from it, amid these internal agitations, through the fault of the emperor and the princes. In 1556, Charles V. abdicated the imperial throne, which now passed to his brother Ferdinand (1556-1564). He betook himself to the monastery of St. Juste, in Spain, where he died in 1558.

§ 22. Although Switzerland was politically separated from the empire, yet that part of it in which the German language was spoken remained closely connected with Germany in



Ferdinand I. (1556-1564).

its intellectual life. Thus a reformation took place there almost at the same time with that in North Germany, mainly from an independent impulse. Ulric Zwingli, born January 1, 1484, was a pious, cheerful, clear-headed man, well educated in the classical tongues. Before Luther's public career began, he preached in several pulpits in Bâsle and Glarus against abuses in the Church, and especially against the Swiss practice of going to foreign lands to seek employment as mercenaries, making a trade of war. When invited to a celebrated resort for pilgrims, he denounced the whole system of pilgrimages, indulgences, and masses for the dead. Made preacher at Zürich in 1519, he brought out the leading

principles of the German Reformation, but went beyond Luther in rejecting the actual and miraculous presence of the slain body of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine. It was this difference which kept the Swiss reformer from fellowship with the German Protestants, in spite of the effort of Philip of Hesse to bring about a union; Luther insisting so strongly on his belief that he rejected Zwingli's offer of the hand of brotherhood at Marburg in 1529. For the same reason the Swiss were not admitted to the Smalcaldic league, so that the division between Germany and Switzerland continued, in spite of their common Protestantism. Zürich was followed in the Reformation by Basle, Glarus, Appenzell, Schaffhausen, and other cities and counties. The new doctrine soon became the prevailing one; and only the original cantons of Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Luzerne adhered to the ancient Church. At first there was constant irritation between the two parties; then came a breach of the constitution of the league. The Protestant cities forbade all imports into the mountains. Driven by want, the people of the forest cantons came forth in arms, and a battle was fought at Kappel on October 12, 1531. The Protestants, who had been taken by surprise, were defeated, and Zwingli, who as chaplain carried the banner of Zürich, was slain. A progressive separation took place between the Protestant and the Catholic cantons in Switzerland, and the same little "forest states" which had won everlasting honor by their heroic and successful war for civil liberty were now the resolute champions of religious superstition and slavery.

§ 23. The neighboring cities of Upper Germany in general, such as Lindau, Constance, and Strasburg, accepted the Swiss doctrine. This form of the Reformation obtained a great influence through the doctrinal development it received in Geneva. This was a Romance city of the former kingdom of Burgundy, and had been under the influence of Savoy. It took up the Reformation as soon as it, in league with Berne and Freiburg, achieved independence. John Calvin (1509-1564) was a Frenchman, born at Noyon, in Picardy, July 10, 1509, and educated in law and theology in the French universities, mainly at Paris. He was designed for the priesthood, and received a benefice for his support

when only twelve years of age. While still very young, about the year 1532, he became acquainted with the writings of the German reformers; and he embraced the Gospel with zeal, and speedily framed a wonderfully logical system of reformed theology, which appeared in a complete form in his "Institutes" in 1536. On the question of the sacrament, he approached the Lutheran doctrine, but deviated widely from it in other points of importance, such as the unconditional grace of God to the elect. For this faith he was persecuted, and driven from his native country. After traveling without a fixed purpose on the Rhine and in Italy, the enthusiasm of his adherents in Geneva provided him a permanent home there (1534). His severe and sometimes dark and pitiless character; with its firmness and sacred seriousness of purpose, and his doctrines, which fully expressed this character, laid the foundations of a new reformed Church, which was called Calvinistic (or Reformed), in distinction from the Lutheran. Most of the Swiss soon adopted Calvin's theology. In France it found numerous adherents—the so-called Huguenots. This doctrine spread in the Rhine districts, and became the predominant one in the Palatinate (after 1559), and then in Bremen, Hesse-Cassel, and Anhalt. The Netherlands adopted it, after they had thrown off the Spanish sovereignty of Philip II. John Knox introduced the most rigid form of Calvinism into Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary Stuart; and even the Church of England was greatly influenced by Calvin, if not in its government, at least in its doctrines.

§ 24. The original distinction between Calvinism and Lutheranism was important. The Church constitution devised by each had its own marked character. The Church of Calvin elected its own presbyters or elders, and they elected the clergy. Thus a sort of republican spirit of independence was fostered in these churches, and had its influence in Germany wherever they spread. Their habits of thought sought examples in the Old Testament history, and they thus cultivated a spirit of heroic firmness and iron defiance, like that of Israel in the ancient days. They were always ready for battle and quick to draw the sword, while the Lutherans were, in comparison, a patient and enduring people. The latter gained more



influence among the Germans, the former in the Romance nations. But between the sister churches there arose an unchristian hatred, and it embittered the last days of Melancthon (died April 19, 1560), who in vain strove to restore harmony. The tendency to look for the essence of Protestantism in dogma grew steadily; and the more it became clear that no formula could be devised which would satisfy all minds—though Luther had proclaimed the right of independent inquiry and private judgment in interpreting Scripture—the more disputes about doctrine were multiplied. Denunciations of heresy, excommunications, persecutions, and banishments became common. To such miserable disputes the splendid inspiration of the Reformation gave place, and the unworthy weapons of its foes were seized by its own champions, and turned against one another.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### FROM THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG TO THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION, 1555-1629.

- § 1. The Reaction against the Reformation. § 2. Philip II. of Spain and the House of Hapsburg. § 3. The Revolt of the Netherlands. § 4. The Policy of England. § 5. The Condition of Germany. § 6. The Emperors Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. § 7. Rudolph II.; his War with Matthias. § 8. The Elector of Cologne Deposed; "the Grumbach Affair." § 9. Hostilities in South Germany; "the League" and "the Union." § 10. The Succession in Cleves and Jülich. § 11. The Duchy Divided. § 12. Matthias Emperor. Disorders in Bohemia. § 13. The Thirty-Years' War Begins. Death of Matthias. § 14. Ferdinand II. Succeeds Him. Revolt of Bohemia Suppressed. § 15. The Bohemian Protestants Crushed. § 16. Ferdinand Depos the Elector Palatine. § 17. Foreign Troops and Mercenaries Desolate Germany. § 18. The War in Westphalia and Saxony. § 19. Wallenstein and Tilly. § 20. Death of Ernest of Mansfeld. § 21. Wallenstein Checked at Stralsund. § 22. The Edict of Restitution. § 23. Fall of Wallenstein.

§ 1. THE progress of the Reformation continued without a serious check until the middle of the sixteenth century. But the first great outburst of zeal for a pure Gospel gradually spent its strength, and now the reserve power of conservatism and of established institutions showed itself anew. In the general Council of Trent, which met in 1545, and continued its sessions at intervals for eighteen years, the Catholic Church defined its doctrines with sharpness, and drew the lines closely between itself and all branches of reformers. The popes, some of them men of marked ability in state-craft, used all the resources of the Church to regain for it what the religious revival had taken away. The Inquisition was revived with enlarged powers, and was set at work throughout Southern Europe, inflicting tortures and death on all whom Rome called heretics. In 1540, Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, founded the Society of Jesus, whose original object was to convert the heathen; but the society was soon devoted to resisting the Reformation. By founding schools, endowing chairs

in the universities, and skillfully occupying the confessionals of princes, the Jesuits soon acquired an enormous influence among all classes. They took firm root in Germany; first of all at the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt; and then began a persistent and insidious struggle against the spread of the Reform doctrines.

§ 2. The great leader in this struggle, as in every other against freedom in thought and life, was Philip II. of Spain (1556-1598), the son of Charles V., a gloomy and despotic prince, who succeeded his father in the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain. His life was a constant warfare against whatever he regarded as heresy. It concerns Germany but remotely; yet all Europe, after the Reformation, became so compacted in all its interests and movements, that no member of the whole body could suffer without affecting the rest. The conflict was no longer for the sovereignty or power of individual states, but for the religious and political freedom of the whole people. These blessings were at stake. The Austro-Spanish monarchy of the house of Hapsburg, which had been growing up for a century, was endeavoring to destroy them, and only by its defeat could light and law hold the field.

§ 3. Germany was torn to pieces by its political and religious dissensions, and no longer took a leading part in the conflict. It had given rise to the great spiritual movement, but could not support nor protect it. The people of the Netherlands were the first to struggle against Philip II. Germany looked on in inaction, and thus lost the last opportunity of reuniting with the nation this important member of the old empire, its most obvious and natural avenue to ocean commerce. The Netherlands, which were still a part of the circle of Burgundy in the empire, revolted against the oppressions of Philip II. They contended for the rights which had been assured to their ancestors, for religious freedom, and even for their own prosperity, which Spanish taxation threatened to destroy. In 1568 their champions, Egmont and Horn, fell on the scaffold, under the tyranny of Alva. At the same time one of the most bloody persecutions in history was instituted. Some of the forms of law were retained by the Inquisition, but these were of no avail, when it was made a capital offense to petition for the removal of the Spanish troops, to accuse

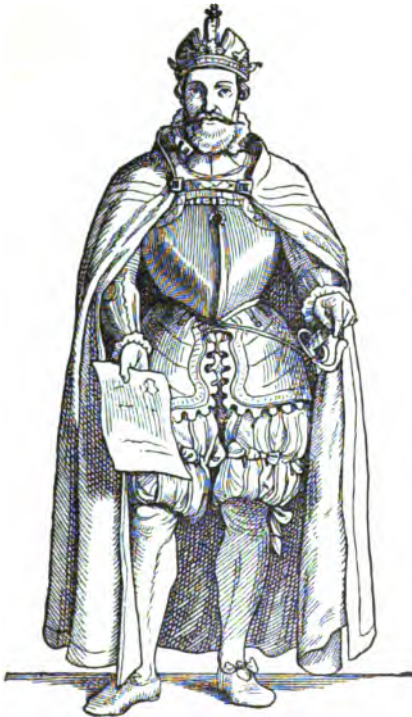
the bloody tribunal of cruelty, to pity its victims, or to question the right of Philip II. to abolish the ancient constitution and privileges of the country. Eighteen thousand murders by "the Holy Office" failed to break the spirit of the people, and under the bold, silent, and thoughtful William of Orange, the son of a German prince, they continued their struggle for liberty; in 1579 founded their national union, and in 1581 declared their entire independence of the Spanish crown. When hard pressed by Philip's generals, they repeatedly turned to the emperor and to Germany for help. Failing to obtain it, they appealed to foreign powers, at the same time struggling manfully for themselves. But this rich province on the coast, with its harbors and trading cities, inclosing the mouths of the most important river of Germany, was lost to the nation.

§ 4. England, under her great queen, Elizabeth (1558-1603), now assumed the work of protecting the freedom of Europe from Spanish oppression, and the Reformation from Catholic supremacy. She took the freedom of the Netherlands under her protection, and the "Invincible Armada" of Philip II. went to pieces on her coast. Thenceforth England and the Netherlands became the rulers of the sea, and even in the Northern Ocean and the Baltic the trade and influence of Germany declined before them. Afterward the wise and enterprising Henry IV. of France (1589-1610) joined Elizabeth in resisting Spanish ascendancy, and Philip II. was ruined by their combined power. His land was exhausted, his treasury bankrupt, and in 1598, when he died, the future of Spain seemed already hopeless.

§ 5. In Germany, the great conflict which agitated all Europe was repeated on a smaller scale. The Catholic states, including Austria, Bavaria, and the territories of the prelates, took sides with Spain. The Protestant states were divided into two factions. The Lutheran Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony supported the empire and the house of Hapsburg. But the Calvinists were more vigorous, far-seeing, and resolute. At the head of their princes stood the Electors of the Palatinate (of Bavarian origin), and next them the descendants of Philip the Magnanimous, Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel. They formed the real opposition to the Catholic and

Austrian influence. But both parties were too weak for independent action, and relied upon foreigners. From the time when Charles V. summoned Spanish and papal assistance, the Protestants followed the example of Maurice of Saxony, and sought alliances with France, England, and the Netherlands. Individual adventurers and officers among them took part in the wars in the Netherlands and in France. But they every where appeared merely as the instruments of others, while foreigners controlled the issue. And the time soon came when foreigners were to fight out the great conflict on German soil, to the lasting injury of the people.

§ 6. When Maurice of Saxony defeated Charles V., the plans of the Spanish monarchy for the consolidation of its power in Germany were broken down; the supremacy of the princes in their own territories was re-established and religious freedom restored. The branch of the German Hapsburgs which succeeded Charles V. in their German possessions, and in Bohemia and Hungary, held itself, after the accession of Ferdinand, aloof from the Spanish branch. Ferdinand I. (1556-1564), Charles V.'s successor, was personally an earnest Catholic. But as he grew old, and had long disputes with the pope about his coronation, he sought to bring about in his own territories a sort of reconciliation between the Catholics and the Protestants. His reign had no important effect upon German history. In Austria, he divided his hereditary possessions among his three sons, thus founding two collateral branches of the house, one in the Tyrol and one in Styria. Maximilian II., who succeeded him in the empire and in Austria (1564-1576), was a noble and gentle prince, who was known to be so favorable to the Reformation that his open accession to it was expected at his father's death. This expectation was not fulfilled, but neither in the empire nor in Austria did he resist its progress. When the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place (August 24, 1572), by which the French court under Charles IX., Maximilian's son-in-law, attempted to annihilate the Huguenots at one blow, the emperor loudly expressed his horror: "Would to God," he cried, "that my daughter's husband had asked my advice. I should have advised him faithfully as a father, so that he would never have done this deed." He secured to his Austrian



Maximilian II. (1564-1576).

subjects their religious freedom, and they nearly all adopted the Augsburg Confession. Even Vienna was then almost entirely Lutheran. But he failed to do the same service to Germany at large. The ascendancy of Philip II., the imminent danger from the Turks, the dissensions in Germany and among the Protestants themselves, and perhaps his own hope of succeeding to the splendid inheritance of the Spanish throne, since Philip's son, Don Carlos, was dead, and to the now vacant throne of Poland, were all obstacles in the way of such a policy.

§ 7. But when Maximilian died, he was succeeded by his son Rudolph II. (1576-1612), who had been educated by the Spanish Jesuits. The policy of Spain and of Austria was

now the same—to destroy Protestantism. Rudolph himself was weak in understanding and in will, and his inclinations were to his stables, or to the study of alchemy and astrology, rather than to the business of the state. He paid no respect to his father's guarantee of religious freedom in his own territories, and his course led to revolts in Siebenbürgen and in Hungary, which again drew the Turks into the country. Amid this confusion, his brother Matthias called together in council the princes of the house of Austria, and they determined to confide the government to Matthias, "because his imperial majesty has at various times betrayed his incapacity of mind," as they declared (1606). Matthias then by armed force compelled his brother to cede to him the sovereignty of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia. In this conflict his principal support had been the Protestant nobles, so that he could not withhold from them their religious freedom. The Protestants of Bohemia, the only country which Rudolph retained, now demanded the same privilege. He was therefore, in May, 1609, forced to grant to them, by letters patent, the full privileges of their several ranks, and in particular the freedom of religion.

§ 8. During Rudolph's reign there was a reaction against Protestantism in the empire, and the ducal house of Bavaria took the lead in a war against it, which proved disastrous to the reformers. Ernest of Bavaria, a prince of the same house, already Bishop of Freisingen, and afterward also of Lüttich, was made Archbishop of Cologne in 1583, after Gerard Truchsess, who had married, and again attempted a reformation in his diocese, was excommunicated by the pope, and driven into exile by Spanish troops from the Netherlands. The Protestant princes had nothing to oppose to this unprecedented deposition of an imperial elector by the pope except a helpless protest. In Saxony, the Albertine line of electors, descended from Augustus, the brother of Maurice, continued in hostility to the deposed Ernestine line, which was still unable to recover its loss. This feud entered into the ecclesiastical as well as the political complications of the time. During Maximilian's reign, John Frederick's son of the same name, a prince as unfortunate as his father, made an adventurous effort, with the help of William of



Rudolph II. (1576-1612).

Grumbach, a Franconian knight, to regain the electoral dignity. Grumbach had been a companion of Albert Alcibiades, and had a large following among the nobles of the empire. Some time afterward his people slew the Bishop of Würzburg, his enemy, and he was put under the ban. He took refuge with John Frederick, and amused him with the hope of regaining the lost honors of his house. But the Emperor Maximilian laid the ban on John Frederick too, and charged Augustus, Elector of Saxony, with its execution. After a valiant defense, Gotha was taken, Grumbach put to a cruel death, and John Frederick sent as a prisoner to Austria (1566). The lands of the duke fell to his brother, and were afterward divided among several lines of descendants. The "Grumbach affair," as it was called, had this



unfortunate result, that the Albertine line of Saxony thenceforth gave themselves up to the influence of Austria, and forfeited their position as the protectors of German Protestantism. Ernest of Bavaria oppressed the Protestants in Münster and Hildesheim, and introduced the Jesuits there, who did much to restore the ancient order of things. Under his guidance, at the command of the emperor, Catholicism was also re-established in Aix. In the South German episcopacies of Würzburg and Bamberg, and especially Salzburg, Protestantism was crushed out among the people by violence. In Strasburg, the Protestant members of the chapter elected for bishop John George of Brandenburg, a Protestant prince, while the Catholics elected a member of the house of Guise. Here, too, the Church party maintained the ascendancy. Thus stood the empire at the end of the sixteenth century. There was general sufficiency and comfort; Germany was richly peopled, well cultivated, and seemed to be at the summit of prosperity. For half a century it had been ravaged by no great war. But hatred, suspicion, bitterness, and jealousy were quietly at work, and men's minds felt an apprehension of some terrible disaster at hand.

§ 9. The disaster thus foreshadowed came on rapidly after the seventeenth century began. There were two young princes, kinsmen, educated together in the rigid school of the Jesuits, who burned with zeal to restore the old Church to its power and to destroy heresy. These were Maximilian of Bavaria, and Ferdinand of Styria, the emperor's cousin. When Ferdinand succeeded to the government in his duchy, which was wholly Protestant, he led his armed forces through the country, shutting the churches, burning the Lutheran books and Bibles, and introducing the mass every where. "Better a desert," was his maxim, "than a country full of heretics." Duke Maximilian was more cautious in Bavaria, which had mostly continued Catholic. His rigid, Spanish mind, versed in state-craft, knew how to control and moderate his native and educated zeal for religion and his ambition for power. But an opportunity was soon offered him for interference in religious matters. In Donauwerth the Protestants broke up a procession of the only Catholic monastery left there; and the emperor pronounced a ban on the city, and

charged Maximilian with its execution. He captured the city, held it as security for the cost of the war, and restored the Catholic worship (1607). This violent treatment of a free evangelical city induced the Protestants of South Germany to form in 1608 a league for their own protection, called "the Union," with Frederick IV. of the Palatinate at its head. Most of its members were of the Reformed Church, and relied on the aid of France. On the other hand, Maximilian of Bavaria had already gathered a small standing army, with which he could offer protection to others, and on July 10, 1609, at Munich, "the League" was formed of the Catholic princes of South Germany, most of them prelates. They expected help from Austria and Spain. It was not long before the two leagues met in arms.

§ 10. In 1609, John William, Duke of Jülich and Cleves, died without leaving heirs. He had been in possession of the duchies on the Rhine—Cleves, Jülich, and Berg—and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg: a very large territory, which had been acquired by him little by little, and was now the most important Catholic principality in Germany, though his subjects were mostly Protestants. The question whether these countries should fall into Catholic or Protestant hands was of great importance. But William of Cleves had obtained from the emperor, as a privilege of his house, that on failure of the direct male line, the female line of descent might inherit the lands. Under this privilege, Brandenburg was the nearest heir. But there were a number of claimants with more or less color of right, among them the Elector of Saxony.

§ 11. The Electors of Brandenburg\* now make their first prominent appearance in German history since the time of Albert Achilles. During the Reformation, and in the Smalcaldic league, they yielded the headship to the Electors of Saxony. Yet Joachim II. took pains to secure the future ag-

\* The Electors of the house of Hohenzollern were Frederick I., 1415-1440; Frederick II. (the man of iron), 1440-1470; Albert Achilles, 1470-1486; John Cicero, 1486-1499; Joachim I., 1499-1535; Joachim II., 1535-1571; John George, 1571-1598; Joachim Frederick, 1598-1608; John Sigismund, 1608-1619; George William, 1619-1640; Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1640-1688.

grandizement of his family. After the secularization of the lands in Prussia (1525), the ducal throne remained in the house of Hohenzollern. Albert, who introduced the Reformation, died in 1568, leaving but one sickly son, Albert Frederick. Joachim had succeeded in obtaining from Poland a joint interest in the fief for the house of Brandenburg. Young Albert Frederick married Mary Eleanor, the eldest sister of John William of Cleves. The children of this marriage were daughters, the eldest of whom became the wife of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg; so that in her right he would obtain both Prussia and the inheritance of Cleves and Jülich. To contest this claim appeared young Wolfgang William of Pfalz-Neuburg, son of a younger sister of Duke John William; and insisted that, as the son of a living sister, his claim was better than that of a son-in-law of a dead one. But it was feared that the emperor would forcibly seize the lands as forfeited to the crown, since he had already appointed Leopold, Bishop of Strasburg and Passau, a brother of Ferdinand of Styria, to take charge of them. John Sigismund and Wolfgang William therefore met at Dortmund, and agreed to make a common cause of their claims; and they took possession of the lands together. At the same time they sought for help against the emperor and the Catholic "League." This they found in the Protestant "Union," and in Henry IV. of France, whose plan was to break down the ascendancy of the Austro-Spanish monarch in Europe by war; and, above all, to prevent the Hapsburgs from increasing their power on the Lower Rhine. The Union and the League were already fighting along the Rhine and the Main. Henry IV. made ready a great army, but fell by the hand of the assassin Ravaiillac, May 14, 1610. This event suddenly changed the whole aspect of affairs, and the Union and the League came to terms the same year, the former losing by death their head, Frederick IV.; and Maximilian, the leader of the League, being anxious not to add to the power of the Hapsburgs. But John Sigismund and Wolfgang William now parted. The latter turned Catholic, married a sister of Maximilian, and joined the League; while the former became a Calvinist, and allied himself with England, Holland, and all the powers which opposed the Hapsburgs. In this struggle Spanish

troops were again brought to the Lower Rhine, under Spinola, to maintain the cause of Wolfgang William and the League. They were quartered most oppressively on the people, and occupied Düsseldorf, Mühlheim, and Wesel. On the other hand, the Dutch took firm possession of Cleves. Foreigners began to plant their manners and life more and more on German soil. Finally, Brandenburg and Neuburg agreed to a division; and the convention of Xanten, November 12, 1614, gave to Brandenburg Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, to Neuburg Jülich and Berg. Yet the foreigners remained in the country. Once more the two great parties rested under arms.

§ 12. Rudolph II. died January 10, 1612, his heart broken in his unfortunate war with his brother Matthias, who finally



Matthias (1612-1619).

wrested even Bohemia from him. Matthias (1612-1619), who succeeded him, desired, for reasons of policy, to take a conciliatory course toward both Catholics and Protestants. But there was still sad confusion in parts of the empire. Bethlen Gabor, a rebel, supported by the Turks, steadily gained strength in Hungary and Siebenbürgen; and the Protestant nobles in Austria showed ever greater boldness. Matthias was childless, and endeavored to secure the succession in Austria, especially in the crown-lands, for the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, the most powerful member of his family. They visited Bohemia together in 1617, and the Bohemians elected Ferdinand their future king, though against the remonstrance of the more decided Protestants. Ferdinand pledged himself to respect all the rights of the Bohemians, and to carry out the royal letter of 1609, assuring their religious liberty. They then repaired, for the same purpose, to Hungary, leaving Bohemia to be governed meanwhile by ten royal councilors. But disputes arose at once. The Abbot of Bran-nan closed an evangelical church then building; and the Archbishop of Prague caused one which had been built at Klostergrab to be torn down. The Protestant nobles regarded these acts as violations of the royal letter, and complained to Matthias. He made an ungracious answer, even threatening them as disturbers of the peace. They believed that his decision was prompted by the report of two of the councilors, Martinitz and Slavata. At the invitation of the passionate and offended Count Matthias Thurn, the Protestant nobles assembled soon after at Prague; a mob gathered at the house in which the council met, and after a bitter dispute with the two suspected councilors, they were thrown out of the window, "according to the ancient Bohemian custom," May 23, 1618.

§ 13. The councilors were thrown from the high windows of the castle into the ditch, said to be a fall of eighty feet; but they fell upon a heap of refuse, and were little hurt. The Catholics regarded the event as a miracle, and declared that the men had been upborne by angels. This was the first act of violence, which completed the breach between the two parties, and may be regarded as the opening of the Thirty-Years' War, which desolated all Germany. The Protestants

were largely in the majority in Bohemia. The whole country rose in arms, only Pilsen and two smaller cities adhering to the king; and, under Thurn's guidance, a provisional government of thirty directors was established. No one doubted that Matthias would take measures at once to avenge his councilors. The Bohemians were far superior to the Austrians in power, and had a further advantage in the sympathy of the Austrian Protestants. Matthias, indeed, was sick with dropsy, and dreaded the effect upon Austria and Hungary of a religious war in Bohemia. He therefore determined still to seek a reconciliation. But Ferdinand, who was already chosen his successor, took part with the Jesuits, and insisted on yielding nothing, though his object was absolute power rather than the supremacy of his faith. By his aid the Jesuits took possession of the government, and defeated every effort for peace. Matthias died, March 20, 1619, while both parties were busily preparing for the struggle, but before any movement of importance was made by either.

§ 14. When Ferdinand II. entered on his government in Austria, his situation was one of extreme difficulty. Thurn and his Bohemians advanced to Vienna. Bethlen Gabor held a threatening position in Hungary. Even the nobility of Austria came to Ferdinand's own castle, and insisted that he should assure to them the rights which the royal letter had promised to the Bohemians, and that he should approve their alliance with the Bohemians. He firmly rejected their demands, though only five hundred knights came at the right moment to protect him. But the irresolution of his enemies left him time for resistance and preparation. He was chosen emperor (Ferdinand II., 1619-1637) at Frankfort, August 28, 1619, by the vote of all the electors, Catholic and Protestant, except the Elector of the Palatinate, and was crowned at Frankfort September 9. But during the very festivities of the occasion came the tidings that the Protestants of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia rejected him as their king. After some disputes, they agreed, August 27, upon Frederick V., the young Elector Palatine, through whom they hoped to obtain the help of the Union. Frederick was a weak, facile youth, controlled by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, who aspired to a crown, and by Christian of



Ferdinand II. (1619-1637).

Anhalt, who led him into vain hopes and enterprises. He accepted the election, in spite of the grief of his old mother, who cried at parting, "Now the Palatinate is going to Bohemia." Frederick entered Prague October 31, 1619, and at once proclaimed liberty of religion; but the fanaticism of his chief adviser, the court-preacher Scultetus, destroyed the images and altars in the cathedral, and fitted it up for Calvinistic worship, an act which embittered Lutherans as well as Catholics against him. Maximilian of Bavaria, to help the emperor, sent his own troops and those of the League—together forming a well-appointed army of Bavarians (1620). The Bohemians were under several leaders, who could not agree: Thurn was irresolute, and Ernest of Mans-

feld was adventurous and equivocal. Besides, the Union now, through the mediation of France, made a craven peace with the League, July 3, 1620, promising to aid Frederick in defending the Palatinate alone. The emperor's threats extorted aid from all the other German princes. The Lutherans were, at best, opposed to Frederick V. on theological grounds; and even John George, Elector of Saxony, was in alliance with Ferdinand. The Bohemians, without a battle, retreated under the walls of Prague before the imperial army, commanded by Maximilian of Bavaria. Here, on the White Hill, the decisive battle was fought, November 8, 1620; and the Bohemians were utterly defeated. Frederick V. was rising from his table when the fugitives reached him. He might still have occupied the city, and thus have saved Bohemia; but he lost his head, and fled the same night, abandoning his crown. His cowardice unmanned his adherents: Prague surrendered; all Bohemia was occupied by Ferdinand's troops, as were Moravia and Silesia, which were still regarded as its dependencies. In his fall, Frederick V. dragged down with him his ally, Margrave John George, of the Hohenzollern family, whose duchy of Jägerndorf, in Silesia, was now forfeited to the emperor. Frederick died at Mayence in 1632.

§ 15. Thus Bohemia was subjugated easily. The emperor had opened the war with Hungarian, Spanish, and Italian troops and supplies. He now made haste, since the rebellious country had brought to naught the constitution he had made, to destroy the power of the nobles, and Protestantism with it. He withdrew the royal letters. He was already master in Austria. His brother-in-law, Sigismund, King of Poland, lent him troops, hordes of wild Cossacks, with which he subdued the country, closed the Protestant churches, and drove the people to mass. His stern, persecuting spirit now treated Bohemia with no less severity and cruelty. He waited, indeed, until the rebels felt sure of safety, and then he imitated the course of Alva in the Netherlands. In 1621, arrests began suddenly. On June 21, twenty-seven eminent nobles were beheaded in the market-place at Prague. The estates of those who had escaped were confiscated. Thousands of families left their homes in want. The evangelical churches were arranged for Catholic service. The universi-



ties and schools were handed over to the Jesuits. The ancient pride of freedom, the prosperity and the faith of the Bohemians were trodden under foot, and the peace of the churchyard was established through the land. The Roman faith was alone tolerated throughout the hereditary lands of the house of Austria. Under the terrible system of repression, but pitiful remnants of evangelical churches survived, mainly in Hungary and Siebenbürgen. During these wars and persecutions the population of Bohemia is believed to have been reduced from about four millions to less than eight hundred thousand.

§ 16. The war in Bohemia was the beginning of terrible misfortunes for all Protestant Germany; but it did not for a long time awaken among evangelical believers the attention and sympathy it deserved. Indeed, the Lutherans of Saxony and Brandenburg were pleased that the Calvinists had been thus humbled. The Elector of Saxony acted with Ferdinand and Maximilian; and for a time he enjoyed the possession of the Lausitz, the reward he desired. The German electors were not ashamed to permit Spinola, with foreign troops, to desolate the Palatinate. But in 1621, the emperor declared Frederick, who had been expelled, to have forfeited his electorate of the Palatinate, and made his purpose evident to give it to Duke Maximilian, the head of the League. Then the princes clearly saw their own danger. No previous emperor, not even Charles V., had ventured to depose an elector without consulting the princes of the empire. Besides, the change would make the number of Catholic electors five, against two Protestants. The nobles of North Germany were alarmed for their own independence, and took counsel, under the lead of Christian IV. of Denmark, who, as Duke of Holstein, belonged to the circle of Lower Saxony, for the protection of Frederick V. in his electorate. But they all lacked spirit and a serious purpose; and King Christian himself was more eager to secure for his family such Protestant bishoprics as Bremen, Verden, and Osnabrück, than to defend freedom and religion. The two most influential of the Protestant powers in North Germany adhered to a lukewarm neutrality: John George of Saxony, the emperor's ally, and George William, the irresolute Elector of Brandenburg. Hei-

delberg, Frankenthal, and some other places in the Palatinate, still held out against Spinola; and Ernest of Mansfeld, though driven from the Upper Palatinate by Maximilian and Tilly, succeeded in returning thither.

§ 17. Now began those frightful devastations by generals and their troops which make the Thirty-Years' War so memorable. Several commanders, who might rather be called captains of banditti, distinguished themselves in this way. Ernest of Mansfeld was of a Catholic family, and fought first against the Protestants, and after his conversion on their side. His warfare in the service of Frederick V. was supported in part by subsidies from England and France, and in part by contributions levied on the lands in which he fought. This method of making war support itself was not new, but now for the first time became universal. Opposed to him was Maximilian's general, Tilly, who had done much service to the houses of Bavaria and Austria against the heretics. He was a little man, of an almost comic appearance, wearing a pointed beard, and a long red feather drooping from his hat. His principles were monkish; his character a singular one—formidable, resolute, and cunning in conducting his campaigns, and unequalled in military skill and in obedience to the prince he served. Of the princes of "the Union," the only one who fought faithfully on the Rhine for Frederick V. was George Frederick of Baden-Durlach. But in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, Christian of Brunswick, the adventurous Bishop of Halberstadt, a Protestant, upheld the standard of the proscribed elector. This wild and unbridled youth still retained the spirit of knighthood. He carried as a "favor," the glove of the Countess Palatine on his hat, and fought for her as his lady. Under the motto "God's friend, priests' foe," he devastated and plundered the lands of Catholics, and especially of the Church. Ernest of Mansfeld and George Frederick of Baden together obtained a success at Witloch against Tilly, April 29, 1622. But they soon disagreed and parted; and then Tilly defeated Mansfeld at Wimpfen, May 6. Christian of Brunswick was on the way with a considerable force from Westphalia, but suffered himself to be drawn into a battle before joining Mansfeld, and suffered a defeat at Höchst, June 19. Thus Frederick's cause was lost. The

Union was dissolved; Maximilian obtained the electorate as well as the Upper Palatinate, which adjoined his duchy (1623). The emperor himself seized the Rhine Palatinate, and hoped to keep it.

§ 18. Ernest of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick were the immediate occasion of the further extension of the war. Both of them, after their defeat, led their wild troops into the Netherlands to fight the Spaniards. But they proved a scourge to the country, and were soon sent back into Germany. Christian marched into the circle of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, where he levied contributions on the Catholic Church lands; and Ernest into East Frisia, where he harassed the rich peasants and cities, though of the reformed faith. The emperor now had a pretext for sending Tilly into North Germany, to protect the peace of the empire against these bandits. He came, and having overthrown Christian in Westphalia, August 6, 1623, remained in this circle with his army, gave back the churches to the few Catholics left there, and helped to suppress Protestantism wherever he could. The danger of the North German Lutherans steadily increased. The circle of Lower Saxony, which was immediately threatened, in 1624 took measures for defense: appointing Christian IV. of Denmark general of the army, and taking into service Christian of Brunswick, as much to be safe from his depredations as to secure his aid. But Christian allied himself again with Tilly, and led him directly across the frontier of the circle of Lower Saxony. Tilly laid siege to Höxter, and the circle declared war, on the ground that its neutrality had been violated.

§ 19. The house of Welf, the most influential in Lower Saxony, was now distracted by divisions; and Christian IV. of Denmark took the command—a foreign prince, whose first object was his own advantage. He had hitherto been the enemy of the freedom of the German cities, had driven the Hanse league out of the Northern Seas, and had often acted in a vain and presumptuous manner; yet he was now the only protector of the Protestant cause, for Saxony and Brandenburg (the circle of Upper Saxony) still remained neutral. Thus in 1625 began the second great period of the war. The emperor, for the time, carried it on with his own

army. He had long been embarrassed by his great obligations to Maximilian, to the League and its general, Tilly; for Maximilian had sold all his assistance dearly. A private man now offered to bring him an army of his own, which should cost the emperor nothing. This was Albert Wallenstein: born of a Protestant family in Bohemia, but whose dark, devouring ambition had driven him in early life to Italy, into the bosom of the Catholic Church and to the study of the black arts. By marriage he had acquired wealth; and by eminent military ability rapidly rose to high honors, until, at the time of the great Bohemian confiscations, he obtained, by purchase and by imperial grants, princely estates and power. Avarice, a love of display, and superior ability as an economist, were alike characteristic of him. Wallenstein undertook to imitate Mansfeld and Christian, and to raise an army which should support itself in the field by a magnificent system of plunder and contributions. He was the greatest and most terrible of all these bandit warriors. His personal appearance made a mysterious and awful impression on those around him. He was exceedingly tall and thin, and wore on his hat, like Tilly, a blood-red feather. His cape was of moose-skin. His glance was dark, his words few and stern. The soldiers thought him invulnerable, and in league with evil spirits. Ferdinand II. not only adopted this man's shameless plan, but in July, 1625, authorized him to collect and maintain his hordes in peaceful circles, in Suabia and Franconia; and before the end of the year he had brought together an army of 25,000 men, the offscourings of all Germany. Meanwhile Christian IV. entered the country of the river Weser. Tilly, with the soldiers of the League, marched through Hesse south of the Hartz, into the neighborhood of Grubenhagen and Göttingen; Wallenstein, with his newly formed imperial army, into that of Magdeburg. It was only now that the war began to show all its terrors. These armies carried the most frightful devastation with them. Yet the contest this year was indecisive. Christian IV., while riding around the walls of Hameln, fell heavily with his horse, and afterward retreated. The armies continued cruelly to lay waste the land.

§ 20. But Christian IV. again entered the scene, in the

spring of 1626, with new forces, and supplied with new subsidies by England and France. Joining him on his right, toward Westphalia, lay Christian of Brunswick; on his left, stretching toward the middle waters of the Elbe, Ernest of Mansfeld. Against Ernest, Wallenstein marched, and defeated him at the bridge of Dessau, April 25, 1626. Mansfeld retreated to Brandenburg, carrying the war with him, obtained reinforcements, and turned to march through Silesia to Hungary, in order to join Bethlen Gabor, who still kept the field against Ferdinand II. Wallenstein followed him through Lausitz, Silesia, Moravia, and far into Hungary. But Bethlen Gabor was already treating for peace with Austria, and Mansfeld's army dispersed, while he sought to reach Venice by sea, in order to go thence to England. But he died on the journey. Untamed and defiant, as he had been through life, he was clad in full armor, and awaited death standing, supported by his friends. Christian of Brunswick preceded him in the spring of the same year.

§ 21. While Wallenstein followed Mansfeld away from the seat of war, Tilly retreated to Eichsfeld before Christian IV. The king expected to reach Thuringia and Franconia; but Tilly, reinforced by troops which Wallenstein had left behind, marched against him. Christian IV. now attempted to retreat over the Hartz to his fortified camp at Wolfenbüttel, but at the northwestern brow of the range of hills, where the forest ways lead down to the plain, he was overtaken by Tilly, and utterly defeated at Lutter, on the Barenberg. August 27, 1626. After this victory, Tilly was able to press forward to the North Sea. The next year, 1627, Wallenstein came back to Hungary, with his army strengthened, marched through Silesia and Lausitz, violated the neutrality of Brandenburg, and invaded Mecklenburg. Then he joined Tilly, and they drove the Danes out of Holstein, Silesia, and Jutland to their islands. Wallenstein now supported his army at the expense of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and undertook the most daring schemes. He obtained from the emperor a promise of Mecklenburg, whose duke had been expelled without the pretense of right. The remnants of the old Hanse league were to join the Spanish fleet, subdue the free Netherlands, and extend the power of the Hapsburgs over

the Northern Seas. On the other hand, an alliance must be formed with Poland, to crush Sweden, the last Protestant power in the North. Wallenstein assumed the title of "Admiral of the Baltic Sea and the Ocean." But these vast plans were broken by Wallenstein's failure in an attempt to capture Stralsund. He would have the city, he said, "though it hung by chains from heaven;" but its manly people, with their valiant municipal authorities, made good their defense (June and July, 1628).

§ 22. The Emperor Ferdinand was still so strong in his triumphs and his armies that he believed himself able to give Protestantism its death-stroke. On March 6, 1629, he issued the famous Edict of Restitution. Appealing to the "ecclesiastical reservation," he ordered that all the property of the Catholic Church which had been acquired or secularized by the Protestants since the convention of Passau should be restored. This would have deprived the Protestants of a number of spiritual principalities, including, in North Germany, Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Havelberg, Brandenburg, and others, and established Catholic bishops in them. But the princes of these territories controlled the religion of the people, so that such a change would be a serious blow to Protestantism. For the edict was to apply also to Franconia and Suabia. The private possessions of all the princes were attacked by it, and the estates of six thousand noblemen declared forfeited. Moreover, no Protestants were to be tolerated in the empire but those who accepted the Augsburg Confession—and therefore no Calvinists. This Edict of Restitution was merely provisional, the ultimate purpose being to demand back for the Church all the lands which had been taken away since the Reformation. Soon afterward the Danes begged for peace, and obtained it by the treaty of Lübeck, May 12, 1629; and thus Christian IV. abandoned the cause of German Protestantism to the fate which now seemed inevitable. Having disposed of all his enemies, the emperor saw before him the prospect of supreme, unlimited power, such as Charles V. had striven in vain to reach after the Smalcaldic War. Wallenstein openly declared that the states were no longer wanted; the emperor must be master in Germany, just as the kings were in France and Spain.

§ 23. Even the Catholic princes in the empire were now alarmed for their independence. At their head was Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the emperor was indebted for his first victories. They especially hated Wallenstein, because he had raised the emperor's power to such a height, and enabled him to dispense with the League; and because of the enormous wealth he had accumulated by his marauding campaigns, which enabled him to purchase estates such as none but the greatest princely inheritances could rival. Europe began to be alarmed, and above all France, always jealous of the Austro-Spanish monarchy, and now under the guidance of Richelieu. That minister began to threaten the Hapsburg power in Italy, and to cultivate intimate relations with Maximilian of Bavaria. Meanwhile, in 1630, a Diet of princes was held at Regensburg, and on all sides the bitterest complaints were made. Ferdinand II. was desirous of obtaining the election of his son Ferdinand to be his successor as King of the Romans, and could only win the favor of the princes by the sacrifice of Wallenstein, who was dismissed. He received the notice of his dismissal coldly and proudly, having already read in the stars, he said, that the emperor's mind was governed by the Bavarian's. He was not offended so much by his removal from the command as that Mecklenburg, and with it the position of a prince of the empire, were lost to him. In September he withdrew in great splendor to the private life of a Duke of Friedland, in Bohemia, and awaited, at Gitschin, his capital, the time when he would be indispensable to the emperor.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### END OF THE THIRTY-YEARS' WAR; THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, A. D. 1629-1648.

- § 1. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. § 2. His Relations to other Powers. § 3. He Invades the Empire, and Reaches Berlin. § 4. The Sack of Magdeburg. § 5. Battle of Leipsic. § 6. Its Results. Battle of the Lech. § 7. Wallenstein Recalled. § 8. Lines of Nuremberg. Battle of Lützen; Death of Gustavus Adolphus. § 9. Sweden Continues the War. § 10. Wallenstein in Bohemia. His Removal and Death. § 11. Battle of Nördlingen and Campaign in Alsace. § 12. The Separate Peace of Prague. § 13. Bernard of Weimar; his Achievements and Death. § 14. Ferdinand III. Emperor. Second Battle of Leipsic. § 15. The Situation at the End of the War. § 16. Successful Negotiations for Peace. § 17. Cessions to France and Sweden. Switzerland and the Netherlands Abandoned. § 18. Disposition of Church Property. § 19. Toleration of Religion. § 20. Political Consequences of the Peace. § 21. Germany Humbled.

§ 1. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS succeeded his father, Charles IX., as King of Sweden, October 30, 1611, at the age of eighteen. His cousin, Sigismund, had been deposed in Sweden in 1602, but was still King of Poland; was a zealous Catholic, and a brother-in-law of the Emperor Ferdinand II. He for a long time contested the Swedish crown with Gustavus Adolphus, and obtained troops from Wallenstein's army, by the command of the emperor. But Gustavus Adolphus felt prompted to become the champion and saviour of Protestantism in Europe. He was a man of a great soul. To remarkable prudence and strength of will, he united deep, genuine piety, which he showed in practice by his justice, generosity, and kindness. He was the only general of the time who kept in check the fierce passions of the soldiers, preserved a rigid discipline, and required his enemies to be treated with humanity. His clear understanding took firm and intelligent views of both secular and spiritual things. His lofty character was written in his commanding blue eye and open face. Though very heavy in person, he shared all the fatigues of his soldiers, and his genius introduced great improvements in the art of war.



§ 2. Gustavus Adolphus was not merely a knightly champion of the faith. He was a king who cherished bold and far-reaching schemes for his own country. He was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, who first introduced the Reformation into Sweden. From that time the house of Vasa constantly increased in power. To Sweden, then, belonged Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, and Ingermanland; Courland, too, though still an independent duchy, was under the influence of Sweden, which thus controlled almost all the lands around the Baltic that had ever been open to German culture. The only exceptions were Prussia—the former country of the German order, but since 1618 a dependency of Brandenburg—and Pomerania. In Pomerania the ancient ducal family was on the decline. Bogislaw XIV. had no child; and in case of his death, this important country would fall, by a long-standing agreement, to Brandenburg. It seemed likely that Gustavus Adolphus would try to acquire it, so as to make the Baltic a Swedish sea. Richelieu aided the plans of the King of Sweden, both of them desiring to check the ascendancy of the Hapsburgs; and with the same object he mediated a peace between Sweden and Poland, that Gustavus Adolphus might be free to deal with Germany.

§ 3. On June 24, 1630, one hundred years, to a day, after the Augsburg Confession was promulgated, Gustavus Adolphus landed on the coast of Pomerania, near the mouth of the river Peene, with thirteen thousand men, veteran troops, whose rigid discipline was sustained by their piety, and who were simple-minded, noble and glowing with the spirit of the battle. He had reasons enough for declaring war against Ferdinand, even if ten thousand of Wallenstein's troops had not been sent to aid Sigismund against him. But the controlling motive, in his own mind, was to succor the imperiled cause of religious freedom in Germany. Coming as the protector of the evangelic Church, he expected to be joined by the Protestant princes. But he was disappointed. Only the trampled and tortured people of North Germany, who in their despair were ready for revolts and conspiracies of their own, welcomed him as their deliverer from the bandits of Wallenstein and the League. Gustavus Adolphus appeared before Stettin, and by threats compelled the old duke, Bogislaw

XIV., to open to him his capital city. He then took measures to secure possession of Pomerania. His army grew rapidly, while that of the emperor was widely dispersed, so that he now advanced into Brandenburg. George William, the elector, was a weak prince, though a Protestant, and a brother of the Queen of Sweden; he was guided by his Catholic chancellor, Schwarzenberg, and had painfully striven to keep neutral throughout the war, neither side, however, respecting his neutrality. In dread of the plans of Gustavus Adolphus concerning Pomerania and Prussia, he held aloof from him. Meanwhile Tilly, general-in-chief of the troops of the emperor and the League, drew near, but suddenly turned aside to New Brandenburg, in the Mecklenburg territory, now occupied by the Swedes, captured it after three assaults, and put the garrison to the sword (1631). He then laid siege to Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus took Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where there was an imperial garrison, and treated it, in retaliation, with the same severity. Thence, in the spring of 1631, he set out for Berlin. He demanded that meanwhile, until Magdeburg should be freed from the enemy, the elector should open Spandau to him. The negotiations on this subject delayed him. In Potsdam he heard of the fall of Magdeburg. He then marched with flying banners into Berlin, and compelled the elector to become his ally.

§ 4. Magdeburg was the strong refuge of Protestantism, and the most important trading centre in North Germany. It had resisted the Augsburg Interim of 1548, and now resisted the Edict of Restitution, rejected the newly appointed prince bishop, Leopold William, son of the emperor himself, and refused to receive the emperor's garrison. The city was therefore banned by the emperor, and was besieged for many weeks by Pappenheim, a general of the League, who was then reinforced by Tilly himself with his army. Gustavus Adolphus was unable to make an advance, in view of the equivocal attitude of the two great Protestant electors, without exposing his rear to garrisoned fortresses. From Brandenburg as well as Saxony he asked in vain for help to save the Protestant city. Thus Magdeburg fell, May 10, 1631. The citizens were deceived by a pretended withdrawal of the enemy. But suddenly, at early dawn, the badly guarded

fortifications were stormed. A bloody fight in the streets followed. The city was then fired; and the hordes of Tilly and Pappenheim, Croats and Walloons, the dregs of all nations, poured into Magdeburg, burning, pillaging, slaughtering in streets and houses, with horrors never seen before. So full of cruelty and barbarism was the scene that a number of Tilly's own officers besought him to put an end to the sack of the city. But the commander disgraced himself forever by his answer: "The men must have some compensation for their toils—come back in an hour." The city was in fact given up for three days to the unbridled passions of the soldiers. Except the cathedral and a few fishermen's huts, all the buildings were laid in ashes. Of thirty-five thousand inhabitants, scarce five thousand crept out of the cathedral and hiding-places, and obtained mercy from the conqueror at his entrance. He wrote to the emperor that no such victory had been achieved since the fall of Troy and of Jerusalem. This was his last boast. From the day of Magdeburg Tilly's fame and fortune declined.

§ 5. Gustavus Adolphus soon drew near, crossed the Elbe at Tangermünde, and established a fortified camp at Werben. Here he was joined by William, Landgrave of Hesse, a prince no less resolute than his noble ancestors.\* He now called his Protestant people to arms, to resist their oppressors. Bernard, Duke of Weimar, a great-grandson of the John Frederick who was exiled and despoiled of his land in 1547, had already joined him. Tilly marched directly into the territories of these princes, to punish the people for the revolt of their rulers. He laid siege to Werben, but failed in an attempt to storm the fortress, and was compelled to retreat; while Gustavus Adolphus restored the Dukes of Mecklenburg, though under his own supremacy. Tilly advanced into Saxony, pillaging the cities, in order to compel the elector to withdraw from the Leipsic Convention, and abandon the Protestant cause. But John George now saw his peril, and knew that if Protestantism were suppressed, his own house

\* After the death of Philip the Magnanimous, excellent princes ruled Hesse-Cassel: William I., the Wise, 1567-1592; Maximilian I., 1592-1627. They fostered schools and the Church, and gave especial attention to training the people in the use of arms—a labor which now produced useful results.

must fall; and in despair, he implored the King of Sweden to come to his rescue. Gustavus Adolphus had already gone back across the Elbe; but he marched at once to Saxony, and at Düben joined the troops of the elector. Tilly was at Breitenfeld, near Leipsic. Here Gustavus Adolphus attacked him, September 7, 1631, and Tilly, the victor in thirty-six battles, lost the field. The heavy squares of the Leaguists were scattered by the light and active lines of the Swedes and their easily moved guns. The king had mingled musketeers with his cavalry and with his pikemen. The veteran army of the League was destroyed.

§ 6. This victory was decisive, both in its military and in its moral results. It made Gustavus Adolphus master of Germany, and filled the evangelical party with the wildest enthusiasm for their new champion. Nearly all the Protestant princes at once took part with him. He marched rapidly and without opposition through Thuringia to the Main, and down that river through Franconia to Frankfort, reaching the Rhine at Mayence December 24. Here, at the height of his success, he went into winter-quarters. In all the ecclesiastical lands he required homage to himself as feudal lord, and he doubtless expected to secularize them. He also postponed restoring the Palatinate to Frederick V., who applied to him. He was perhaps entertaining the grand idea of a Protestant empire, closely uniting in one the kindred countries of Sweden and Germany, already one in faith. He planned a marriage between Christina, his only daughter, and the only son of Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, the son who was afterward "the Great Elector." But these plans were extremely difficult to execute, and would probably have benefited neither nation. The king now began to be seriously embarrassed by two causes: the equivocal course of the Elector of Saxony, who, while he advanced into Bohemia, still neglected to take decisive measures against the emperor, and the jealousy of France, to which, now that the emperor was helpless, Bavaria and the prelates turned for protection. As the spring of 1632 approached, he drove Tilly out of Franconia, and entered Nuremberg, where the Protestant population welcomed him with delight. He then marched to Bavaria. Tilly defended

the frontier, but fell, severely wounded, in the battle on the Lech, April 16, 1632, and died in Ingolstädt, April 30, aged seventy-three. Gustavus Adolphus then went to the free city of Augsburg, where he was welcomed with joy, and where the formal homage of the citizens was paid to him. While Maximilian of Bavaria occupied Regensburg, Gustavus Adolphus laid siege to Ingolstädt; but failing to take it, turned to Munich, which surrendered to him, and was kindly treated. Thence he marched into Suabia.

§ 7. In Vienna it had been mockingly predicted that "the evangelical Maccabæus" would speedily go down, like "the winter-king" at Prague, before the emperor's good-fortune; but now the city was alarmed for its own safety. The people cried out that none but Wallenstein could save the cause. Soon after the battle at Leipsic, he was summoned to resume the chief command. But he chose to enjoy his malicious triumph, and long refused to come. Yet in December, 1631, yielding to long and urgent entreaty, he promised to bring an army of 30,000 men into the field in three months, and then to take the command for as much longer. And in fact his name "went like the god of war through the world." An army came together at once, in Bohemia and Moravia, formed of those bands that knew no trade but arms, nor any cause to fight for but plunder. None but Wallenstein, of course, could command this host, and he was finally persuaded to accept the supreme command. But he took it under such conditions as subject never before or since imposed on his prince. He must have the sole appointment of all officers, the exclusive power to decide on all military operations in Germany, and a voice in concluding peace, as if he were an independent sovereign. Thus his prospect of obtaining Mecklenburg was renewed. Glogau was put in his hands meanwhile as a pledge. The emperor was suspicious, but was compelled by necessity to accept these hard terms.

§ 8. Wallenstein marched through the Bohemian forest to Franconia. At Eger, Maximilian joined him, and, concealing his hatred and mortification, accepted him as his commander. But Wallenstein did not concern himself at all for Bavaria, which was then occupied by the enemy; but threatened Nuremberg. Gustavus Adolphus could not permit the Protest-

ant city to be taken by his enemy, and therefore hastened to protect it. He had scarcely fixed his camp, when Wallenstein also approached, and occupied an impregnable position (June, 1632). The two armies lay thus for nine weeks, each expecting that the other would be first dislodged by hunger. Want of supplies at length compelled the king, most reluctantly, to make the attack (August 24, 1632). But he assaulted the camp in vain the whole day. Bernard of Weimar obtained a strong position on the heights to the left, but it was in vain; the imperial lines defied attack. Gustavus Adolphus saw the flower of his army dead on the field. Meanness of spirit, distrust, and division began to spread through the Protestant forces. Gustavus Adolphus sought to change the scene of the war by passing southward (September 8) to the Danube. But Wallenstein, instead of following him, marched, leaving a track of desolation, to Saxony, forcing the Swedish king to return to protect that country. Thus, late in the year, the decisive battle was brought on. Wallenstein was going into winter-quarters around Leipsic. The year's campaign seemed to have ended, and he sent his lieutenant, Pappenheim, with ten thousand horse, into Westphalia. But Gustavus Adolphus made forced marches to relieve Saxony, and was already at Naunberg without Wallenstein's knowledge. Hearing of Pappenheim's departure, he led his army swiftly to attack Wallenstein. The terrible struggle took place on the plain of Lützen, November 6, 1632. Gustavus Adolphus fell, shot in the back, while trying to strengthen his wavering left wing; and his body was so disfigured by the hoofs of the enemy's horses as to be scarcely recognized. On the other side, Pappenheim was slain, having been recalled from Halle just in time for the battle. Wallenstein himself escaped unhurt, though his hat and cloak were pierced with balls; but he lost the battle. He retreated to Bohemia, and there held a frightful court-martial, to punish those who had given way to the enemy. The Protestant losses were heavy also; but the chief was that of the king, who fell, like Epaminondas, in the moment of victory. He was the greatest, noblest, and most highly endowed man whose name appears in this ruinous war. Though a foreigner by birth, his work identified

him completely with Germany. His death deprived the Protestant party of its heart, and left the war without a great idea.

§ 9. After the death of the King of Sweden, Bernard of Weimar became the military leader of the Protestants, and assumed the immediate command of the forces in South Germany, in company with the Swedish general Horn. Duke George of Brunswick-Lüneburg, with another Swedish general, was to command the less important army in the north. Oxenstiern, the chancellor of Sweden, took charge of affairs of state and negotiations with foreign powers. Thus the authority which had been concentrated in Gustavus Adolphus was now divided. But a greater evil than this followed. The Protestant princes of Germany had often found it hard to bear the lordly language of Gustavus Adolphus himself, though a great man and a king; and they could not possibly submit to be controlled by haughty Swedish generals and ministers, especially by the aristocracy of the Oxenstiern family. Yet these were the rulers of Sweden, since Christina, the only child of Gustavus Adolphus, was but six years old. Thus the unity of the cause was lost. On the other hand, France, which had hitherto been kept in the background by Richelieu, now came forward actively. Oxenstiern and the French ambassador brought about an alliance, formed at Heilbronn, April 16, 1633, between Sweden and the circles of Franconia, Suabia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine, which, for the time, secured the ascendancy of the opposition to the imperial party in the southwestern part of the empire.

§ 10. That party had what the Protestants lacked—unity in the supreme command, held by Wallenstein. But it grew ever more evident that the enormous power given to this man was a real benefit to no one, least of all to himself. After a long period of inaction in Bohemia, he marched during the summer of 1633, with imperial pomp and splendor, into Silesia. There he found a mixed army of Swedes, Saxons, and Brandenburgers, with Matthias Thurn, who began the war, among them. Wallenstein finally shut in this army so that he might have captured it; but he let it go, and went back to Bohemia, where he began to negotiate with Saxony for peace. Meanwhile the alliance formed at Heilbronn had

brought Maximilian of Bavaria into great distress. Regensburg, hitherto occupied by him, and regarded as an outwork of Bavaria and Austria, had been taken by Bernard of Weimar. But Wallenstein, whom the emperor sent to the rescue, only went into the Upper Palatinate, and then returned to Bohemia. He seemed to look upon that country as a strong and commanding position from which he could dictate peace. He carried on secret negotiations with France, Sweden, and all the emperor's enemies. He had, indeed, the power to do this under his commission; but his attitude toward his master became constantly more equivocal. The emperor was anxious to be rid of him without making him an enemy, and wished to give to his own son, the young King of Hungary, the command in chief. But the danger of losing his place drove Wallenstein to bolder schemes. At his camp at Pilsen, all his principal officers were induced by him to unite in a written request that he should in no case desert them—a step which seemed much like a conspiracy. But some of the generals, as Gallas, Aldringer, and Piccolomini, soon abandoned Wallenstein, and gave warning to the emperor. He secretly signed a patent deposing Wallenstein, and placed it in the hands of Piccolomini and Gallas, January 24, 1634, but acted with the profoundest dissimulation until he had made sure of most of the commanders who served under him. Then, suddenly, on February 18, Wallenstein, his brother-in-law Tertzski, Ilow, Neumann, and Kinsky were put under the ban, and the general's possessions were confiscated. Now, at length, Wallenstein openly revolted, and began to treat with the Swedes for desertion to them; but they did not fully trust him. Attended only by five Slavonic regiments, who remained faithful to him, he went to Eger, where he was to meet troops of Bernard of Weimar; but before he could join them, he and the friends named above were assassinated, February 25, by traitors who had remained in his intimate companionship, and whom he trusted, under the command of Colonel Butler, an Irishman, employed by Piccolomini. The emperor escaped a great danger, but lost his best general.

§ 11. The divisions among the Protestants gave the Catholics further advantages. Regensburg was recaptured; and the armies of the emperor, again united under his son, march-



ed up the Danube and threatened Nördlingen. Horn and Bernard of Weimar united to relieve this city, and a bloody fight between them and the imperial forces under Gallas and the emperor's son took place around it, on the 6th and 7th of September, 1634. The emperor's troops were entirely victorious, and Horn was taken prisoner. Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, and Hesse were overrun by the imperial armies, which now came to the Rhine, and even beyond it, to meet the French. The battle of Nördlingen was of the greatest importance: it restored the emperor's ascendancy in Upper Germany. The Swedes retreated toward the ocean, and France was compelled to abandon its merely expectant attitude and to take an active part in the war. Bernard of Weimar obtained money from France to collect an army; and during the following years carried the war into Alsace and the region of the Upper Rhine, where he fought, with varying fortunes, against the Bavarian general John of Werth, as well as Gallas, Götz, and other imperial commanders. On the whole, the state of affairs was favorable to Bernard, and the French secretly promised to give him Alsace as an independent principality. The Swedes, by this time as wild and undisciplined as other troops, kept near the Baltic Sea. It became constantly more plain that the real object of the foreign allies was the conquest of the frontier lands of Germany for themselves.

§ 12. The defeat of Nördlingen detached from the Swedish cause its lukewarm friends. John George of Saxony had never taken a zealous part against the emperor, and he now tried to resume his original neutrality. In 1635 he concluded with the emperor "the separate peace of Prague." Some concessions were made to him; the Edict of Restitution was suspended for forty years in Saxony, and Lausitz was ceded to it. Under the threat of the imperial ban, all North Germany, including Brandenburg, reluctantly acceded to this peace; Hesse alone adhered to the alliance with Sweden and France. This separate peace was a shameful sacrifice of the Protestant cause, the more so that it was made under the pretense of German patriotism to rid Germany of the Swedes. It was also a victory for the house of Hapsburg. Of the German states, Saxony alone was benefited by it. The North German Protestants renounced the right of levying troops

of their own or of forming alliances; in short, they submitted entirely to the emperor, and even raised an army for him, under the guidance of Saxony. The emperor had the advantage for a long time, but was not able to end the war. For it was the wretched feature of this terrible war that neither of the powers engaged was so superior to the other as to overthrow it; and that, all money resources being exhausted, the armies supported themselves by limitless plunder. They obtained a pitiful and insufficient support from the territory in dispute, as long as a blade of grass grew upon it. Bavaria was wasted in 1635 by a frightful pestilence, which followed the marauding armies. In many places scarce a tenth of the people survived; and the whole land was full of misery and destitution. In 1636 came a change of fortune. A Saxon and imperial army marched against the Swedes under Bannér, in Mecklenburg and Pomerania; but was defeated and put to shameful flight at Wittstock, September 24. But, on the whole, the Swedes were unfortunate during the following years. William of Hesse, driven from one region to another, wandered about and died in an incursion into Eastern Friesland in 1637. Duke George of Brunswick-Lüneburg wavered between the two parties. Ferdinand II., being now feeble, obtained the election of his son, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans, December 23, 1636.

§ 13. Bernard of Weimar was by far the most considerable warrior of this period. During the time of Gustavus Adolphus he hoped to secure for himself a principality out of the Church possessions in Franconia. After the king's death and the defeat at Nördlingen, he found himself compelled to rely entirely on French assistance and to fight for French aims. But Bernard was a true Protestant and a German, and it was his plan to build up a kingdom or duchy of his own in Alsace and Franche Comté, and to let not an inch of German soil fall into French hands. He drew near his goal, by splendid feats of war and repeated victories, such as the battle of Rheinfeld, in 1638, and the capture of Breisach. He was on the very point of aiming a decisive blow at Austria, with the aid of the Swedes, who were again advancing under Bannér, and of pressing down the Danube. But the French regarded these victories as their own; and when Bernard

strove to escape from their influence, he died suddenly, July 18, 1639, at Neuberg, on the Rhine, believing himself to have been poisoned. He prescribed, by a formal testament, that the lands he possessed and his army should continue German; but in vain. The army, driven by want and betrayed by unfaithful generals, soon accepted French pay and French commanders, and thus laid open this part also of the German frontier.



Ferdinand III. (1637-1657).

§ 14. The Emperor Ferdinand II. died February 15, 1637, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. (1637-1657), who followed in his footsteps. But now in 1640, for the first time in the history of the war, there was held at Regensburg a regular Diet, and a general wish was expressed for peace. The Diet resolved to call a Peace Congress at Osnabrück and

Münster; but that body did not meet until five years later. The princes and deputies were still assembled at Regensburg, when the Swedish general Bannér, and the French general Guébriant, formed an adventurous scheme for falling suddenly on the Diet, and capturing it. This rash enterprise might have succeeded, had not a sudden thaw made the roads and rivers almost impassable. George William of Brandenburg died December 1, 1640, and was succeeded by his son Frederick William, "the Great Elector," now twenty years of age, whose first act was to sign a treaty of neutrality with the Swedes. In 1641 Bannér died, and was succeeded by Torstenson, the boldest and ablest of the great generals of the school of Gustavus Adolphus. He was gouty, so that he commonly had to be carried on a litter; yet he hurried his arms from one end of the empire to another with dazzling speed, and once more introduced a period of activity into this sluggish war. In 1642 he advanced through Bohemia into the heart of Austria, which no enemy had yet reached. On his return he defeated the imperial forces under Piccolomini and the archduke in a great battle at Leipsic, November 2, 1642, in which Piccolomini lost twenty thousand men. A war now broke out between Denmark and Sweden. Denmark had attempted, in connection with the emperor, to bring about a peace, perhaps expecting thereby to obtain Hamburg. Torstenson therefore, in 1643, hastened with his army through Holstein and Schleswig, to the northern part of Jutland; while the Swedish fleet, at the same time, harassed Denmark so that it was compelled to make peace, or at least to abandon all interference with the war in Germany. An imperial army was led by Gallas to the peninsula, but Torstenson in 1644 outgeneraled Gallas so skillfully that it returned to Bohemia ruined without a battle. The next year he utterly defeated an imperial army at Jankow, in Bohemia, and appeared, May 6, before Brunn, and then near Vienna. But sickness and want of food drove him back. He resigned his command, retired to the enjoyment of high honors in Sweden, and General Wrangel succeeded him.

§ 15. The French had meanwhile been fighting, with varying success, on the Rhine and in South Germany, under Tu-

renne and Condé, masters in a new art of war. Turenne was defeated in 1645 at Mergentheim, in Franconia, by the imperial general Mercy and the Bavarian John of Werth; but at Allerheim, on the Ries, the French, Swedes, and Hessians (Hesse being then a considerable military power), under Condé, defeated the imperial and Bavarian troops. Wrangel and Turenne now united, and pressed Maximilian so hard that he signed a truce with France and Sweden, March, 1647. But within the year he joined Austria again. In the summer of 1648, Turenne and Wrangel again poured their forces over his land as far as the Inn. The Swedes under Königsmark invaded Bohemia, and in July captured the smaller division of Prague and the royal castle. Vienna was the final goal of the expedition. But Austria now yielded, and the long-wished-for tidings came that peace had been decided on at Osnabrück and Münster.

§ 16. There had been negotiations for peace from the year 1640, first at Regensburg, then at Hamburg, through Danish mediation; but Ferdinand III. did not really desire peace, believing that he could soon strengthen his military position, so as to command better terms. It was the victories of Torstenson in 1644 that convinced him of his error; and at length, in April, 1645, ambassadors of the contending powers came together at Osnabrück and Münster. Two places of meeting were necessary, because the Swedish plenipotentiaries would not enter any congress in which the pope was represented, and because neither the crown of France nor that of Sweden would yield a point of etiquette as to their comparative rank. The emperor, therefore, conducted the negotiations with Sweden and the German Protestants at Osnabrück, and then with France and other foreign powers at Münster. But the rigid formalities which became essential in every part of the proceeding, the selfishness of all parties, each bent on obtaining as much land as possible, and the bitter feelings of the French, sadly postponed the conclusion of the peace. It was to the faithful labors of the Austrian ambassador Trautmannsdorf that the completion of the extremely difficult work was due: a work in which every member of the states of the empire, who claimed their "German liberty" and "*jus pacis et armorum*,"

or right of war and peace, might have his say. Finally, on October 24, 1648, an agreement was formally signed, but the conditions surrendered the fairest of the frontier lands of Germany, and not only completely broke up the empire itself, but exposed it to the continual admixture of foreign elements.

§ 17. France and Sweden, first of all, demanded indemnity for the assistance they had given. France, after the most arrogant demands, finally contented itself with Upper and Lower Alsace, hitherto Austrian. The free cities in this region, the chief of which was Strasburg, and some abbeys, were not ceded with it; but France already had, by imperial grant, the local government of ten German cities there. Metz, Verdun, and Toul, which had been occupied by the French since 1552, were now formally ceded to them. Thus France at one point had reached the long-desired frontier of the Rhine, and subjugated a German people.

Sweden demanded all Pomerania. But since Brandenburg certainly had the best claim to this country, now without a duke, and since Frederick William, "the Great Elector," who reigned there from 1640, was the man to assert his rights, Sweden gave up Pomerania east of the Oder, receiving the part west of that river, with the islands of Rügen, Usedom, and Wollin, and Stettin, important both as a fortress and a trading city. As a substitute for the part of Pomerania given up, it obtained Wismar, and the endowment lands of Bremen and Verden, but without the city of Bremen, which was declared a city of the empire. But, in distinction from France, Sweden in receiving these lands did not take them out of the empire, but as their representative entered the imperial union. Yet nothing was gained by this: Sweden had the control of the mouths of the great German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser. Besides, five millions of dollars were paid to the Swedish government as an indemnity.

Switzerland and the Netherlands, which had long been in fact separated from the empire, were now formally recognized as independent European countries. In giving up Switzerland, Germany lost its sure rock fortress against attacks by the Romance nations; in the Netherlands it lost its means of becoming great and controlling on the sea and in remote regions of the world.

§ 18. In the interior of Germany, the individual nobles were mostly indemnified out of secularized Church property—a principle which was applied on a far larger scale by Napoleon, five generations later. Brandenburg, ceding part of Pomerania to Sweden, received as a compensation the endowments of Magdeburg, Halberstädt, Minden, and Cammin. Hesse-Cassel, now under William V.'s wise widow, the Landgravine Amalie Elisabeth, for its steady support of the French and Swedes, obtained, by the good-will of both, Hersfeld and Rinteln, and the sum of 600,000 thalers. Mecklenburg gave up Wismar, and received Schwerin and Ratzeburg. The house of Brunswick also received some Church estates as an indemnity.

The house of Frederick V. had been restored in the Palatinate by Oxenstiern, and now an electorate was created for it; but it ceded to Bavaria the Upper Palatinate with Cham. An amnesty was proclaimed for all offenses against the empire committed during the war.

§ 19. In matters of religion, the religious peace of Augsburg was re-established, so that among the estates of the empire Catholics and Evangelicals should have equal rights. This did not, however, secure religious freedom to subjects: against the religious oppression of their lords they had no resource but emigration. But in this new religious peace Calvinists were included. The Edict of Restitution of 1629 was revoked, and the year 1618 was adopted as the standard year for the former "Union," and January 1, 1624, for the Lutherans. That is, all Church property "secularized" before that date should remain so. So much of religious freedom could not, of course, be granted without an earnest protest from the Papal See. The legate, Chigi, denounced the negotiations at Münster before they were finished, and on November 20 Pope Innocent X. issued his bull, "Zelo domus Dei," declaring the treaty void, and all rights claimed under it, however sanctioned by oaths or confirmed hereafter by time, invalid and worthless forever.\*

\* Some of the pope's language is so emphatic as to be interesting, in view of the fact that this treaty remained the fundamental public law of Catholic as well as of Protestant Europe throughout his reign and those of thirteen successors. He says: "*Ideoque pacta et conventa illa ipso jure nulla, irrita, invalida, iniqua, injusta, damnata, reprobata, inania, viribusque et effectu vana omnia in perpetuum fore.*" etc.

§ 20. These conditions were on the whole favorable to intelligent progress in religious matters; but the political principles laid down for the states of the empire were but the last seal of the complete disintegration of the nation. There was still an emperor and the external form of an empire. But every nobleman and city of the empire had its freedom confirmed anew, and the right was expressly assured to them of making alliances with foreign powers ("reserving the rights of the emperor" by an idle form), so that each prince was practically sovereign in his own land, and all possibility of holding the empire together was destroyed.

§ 21. For a century and a half the Peace of Westphalia was the foundation of the legal relations among the states of Europe, and especially of Germany. For the time, Germany was made helpless by it. Ever since the kings of Germany had acquired, at such a cost of blood, the proud title of Roman Emperor, the German empire and nation had ranked as the first in Christendom. Even after the disintegration of the empire had gone very far, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rising power of the house of Austria, from which exclusively the emperors soon came to be elected, maintained the semblance of a great sovereignty. Up to the time of the Reformation, the Germans were still conscious of their national dignity. But now substance and shadow were gone. During the Middle Ages it was Germany from which the decisions in momentous European questions proceeded; but now every agitation elsewhere in Europe affected Germany, was fought out on German soil and at German expense. The empire became the mockery of foreigners, and soon of the Germans themselves; it was fit neither for attack nor for defense, but, decrepit and sickly, it was on its way to its grave. But while the empire was a thing of the past, the renewed life the Reformation had brought to the German nation, sickly as it was for the moment, still survived. It was seeking new paths and forms, in order to reach again its mightiest expression.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### GERMAN CIVILIZATION FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

- § 1. Mercenary Troops. § 2. The Soldiers of the Great War. § 3. Their Ravages; Cruelty and Oppression toward the Peasants. § 4. Contemporary Accounts. § 5. Conduct of the Soldiers after the Peace. Destruction of Wealth by the War. § 6. Intelligence Promoted by the Reformation. § 7. Universities Founded. § 8. Effect of the War on Morals and Intelligence. § 9. On Manners and Language. § 10. Superstition; Witchcraft; Decline of Faith. § 11. The Peasants and the War. § 12. Suffering of the Cities. § 13. Their Intellectual Decline. § 14. Destruction of Commerce. § 15. Degeneracy of the Nobles. § 16. French Influence. § 17. Life at the Courts. § 18. Influence of the War upon them. § 19. Sources of Strength in Germany left by the War.

§ 1. THE Thirty-Years' War was, perhaps, the most destructive of which we have any record. It is estimated by sober historians that Germany, during the first half of the seventeenth century, lost more than two thirds of its population, by war, and by famine and pestilence, its attendants. The destruction of cattle, and of movable property of every kind, was much greater in proportion. The ruinous results of this war were largely due to the character of the soldiery engaged in it. In the fifteenth century there arose a class of German infantry who made a trade of war, and formed a sort of guild of journeymen soldiers. They were held in peculiar honor by the Emperor Maximilian, who might be regarded as their founder; and under Charles V., who employed them in his Italian wars. They were collected and disciplined by men like the strong giant Jürge of Fronsperg—who was so prodigious in his strength of limb that he could overturn a man or stop a running horse with the middle finger of his right hand, and could carry a heavy mortar—and like the Steward of Waldburg (p. 374), or Sebastian Schertlin (p. 388). The foot-soldier wore a steel casque on his head, with a feather at top, a breastplate on his body, on his legs usually only boots. He carried the lance or the long club in his hand, or

in later days the heavy musket. These men were trained in large numbers to go through skillful manœuvres at the word of command, without breaking rank and file, and to form in hollow square or in phalanx, bristling with spears. They had peculiar customs and laws of military honor; their own songs, and their own free, merry spirit. Roughness and the passion for plunder were inseparable from their wild, traveling life; but a fresh, knightly tone—such as characterized especially the citizens and peasantry in the sixteenth century—prevailed in these bands of soldiers; and they contributed largely to the renown of German valor in foreign lands.

§ 2. It was otherwise a hundred years later, when the Thirty-Years' War began. The princes still had no standing armies; and, since the original levy of the feudal vassals had fallen to be a mere mockery, they were compelled to rely entirely on mercenaries. But the pay was high—much higher than in our own times—and the maintenance of even a moderate army transcended the resources of any individual prince, or even of an emperor. This suggested the frightful notion of making the armies sustain themselves by levying contributions and collecting plunder; and thus arose such band captains as Christian of Brunswick, Ernest of Mansfeld, and, above all, Wallenstein. To raise an army now became a business enterprise, which often promised a royal profit. Generals and colonels of note offered themselves to the commander-in-chief; they recruited their regiments, captains their companies, inferior officers their squads, each at his own cost, and therefore under the necessity of obtaining repayment during the war. From the territories of all the princes now came the rabble, hungry for war and booty. Nearly every country in Europe sent its vilest people to seek their fortunes in the German campaigns. We find contending at different times on the Protestant side, English, Scotch, and Dutch soldiers, Danes, Swedes, Finns, and even Laplanders; while the imperial armies contained Walloons, Irishmen, Spaniards, Italians, Cossacks, Croats, Turks, and several different Slavonic tribes. In every army there was an indescribable mixture of dress, habits, and languages. Many of these adventurers hastened from one army to the other. A sincere zeal for the cause he served was rarely found in the professional soldier.

Wherever there was the most disorder and the best prospect of plunder, thither the crowd went. Gustavus Adolphus introduced into war the first standing army of citizens; but after his death this, too, degenerated into a band, not inferior to the others in barbarity. The arms used, like the age itself, bore the character of transition from mediæval to modern. Instead of the casque, the soldiers gradually adopted the hat, adorning it, when they could afford to do so, with feathers. Breastplates and high boots were retained. Fire-arms became more general; and even the horseman carried large pistols in his saddle. Among the soldiers there were cuirassiers, or cavalry in heavy armor; dragoons, who fought either on horse or on foot, with pikes and muskets; and arquebusiers, or sharpshooters.

§ 3. When the war was protracted or the pay irregular, these armies inclined more and more to deeds of rapine. The last vestige of knightly custom disappeared among them. The soldier took refuge in "partisan warfare" for plunder. In the midst of war he tried to establish a sort of home life. The camp swarmed with the wives, mistresses, and children of soldiers, with market-women and wanderers. This went so far that, in 1648, at the end of the war, General Gronsfeld records that the Austrian and Bavarian army contained forty thousand men bearing arms and drawing soldiers' rations; and besides a rabble of a hundred and forty thousand more, who had no rations, and could only be fed by plunder. Such an army was a wandering tribe; and it was worse than the hordes of the great migration, because the resources of a higher civilization were now devoted to the service of disorder and violence. The country through which it marched became a desert, and that in which it took up its quarters fared worse. Far and wide, not a living creature ventured near the fortifications of the camp, which were thronged with half-savage boys and with the camp dogs. Soon hunger drove the soldiers out to seek booty; their "parties" swept the remotest corners of the region, glad to find a village or hamlet which previous marches had spared. The soldier searched first for food and forage; then for buried or hidden hoards of money or ornaments. In order to extort from the inhabitants such secrets, he resorted to the extremest devices

of a really devilish cruelty. Want, that made men wild, was associated with avarice, insolence, dissoluteness, and a rage for destructive and even beastly lusts. Fortunate the man who was slain in trying to protect his household, or even taken and tortured to death; but far less fortunate the woman or young girl who, in those terrible days, had no strong protector against the cruel power of the soldiers. But the worst of all, in every respect, were the dismissed or deserted soldiers, turned marauders or partisans on their own account — “border-ruffians,” bushwhackers, and chicken-thieves — who followed the armies like the bands of gipsies, forming a throng of plunderers, belonging to nobody and obeying nobody, but seeking only for booty. Amid such outrages, the harassed peasants devised forms of revenge no less barbarous and cruel; so that soldier and peasant, like wolf and dog, hated one another as natural enemies; and when one fell into the other's power, no quarter was given.

§ 4. Many accounts of these horrors are before us in the writings of the times. Thus Moscherosch, who called himself Philander of Sittewald, in his “View of the Soldier's Life,” written during the Thirty-Years' War, says :

“Since none of the other prisoners would make any promise, it was a pity to see what cruel tortures were done to one and another of them. Both hands of one were tied fast behind him, and a horse-hair was drawn through his tongue by means of an eyed awl. Then, whenever he would move it only a little up and down, it gave the wretched man such tortures that he often cried out for death. But at every cry he had four lashes with the thong on his calves. I believe the fellow would gladly have killed himself to get rid of the pain, if he could have used his hands. Another's head was bound tightly with a cord containing many knots, and twisted behind, above the neck, with a wooden stick, drawing it tighter and tighter, till the bright blood streamed out of his forehead, mouth, and nose, and even his eyes, and the poor man looked like one possessed. I was frightened at these cruel plagues, and this pitiless tyranny, and begged Battrawitz to think of God and his own conscience, and spare the poor, harmless folk a little in his tortures. But he spoke to me in anger: ‘If you have much pity, you can't be my friend long. He that has pity belongs to the devil.’”

In the famous romance, “Simplicius Simplicissimus,” written in 1669, by Christopher of Grimmelshausen, himself a soldier in the Thirty-Years' War, a scene of plunder is thus described :

“The first thing these robbers did was to stall their horses, and to butcher the chickens and the sheep in quick succession. Then every one had his own special work to do, but all the work was destruction and ruin. Then, while some began to boil and roast, so that it looked as if a banquet were coming, others stormed through the house, below and above. Others made up great parcels of cloth, clothing, and all sorts of house goods, as if they would set up a peddler's market; but whatever they could not take along was torn up and destroyed. Some thrust their swords through the hay and straw; some emptied the beds of feathers, and filled them with pork, dried meats, and hardware, as if it were better to sleep on these. Others broke up stoves and windows, just as if they could predict a perpetual summer. They crushed the copper and tin ware, and put back the bent and broken articles; bed-frames, tables, chairs, and benches were burned; pots and dishes must all to pieces. They stretched the servant on the ground, gagged him with a stick of wood, and threw a pailful of dirty dung-yard water on him. This they called a Swedish drink. Thus they forced him to conduct a party to another place.”

The German people suffered beyond all description. But the extreme of suffering was perhaps found in the camps themselves. In 1640, in the Swedish camp near Gotha, a loaf of bread commanded a ducat. At such times as these the camps were filled with pale, hollow-eyed men, just able to move; the huts with the dying and with the dead, whom none had strength to bury. The rabble of camp followers melted away, the horses perished, the very dogs were eaten, and no genius in a commander could keep his army in existence. Many such scenes are on record of this war, but we must leave it to the imagination of the reader to picture the wide-spread horror and misery which are too shocking for description in detail.

§ 5. The Peace of Westphalia was signed in October, 1648; but it was not until two years later that the land was relieved from the worst burdens of the war. The armies on both sides remained quartered on the people, until contributions could be levied from an exhausted and desolate country to pay them off. These armies gradually divided into irregular bands of plunderers, who moved about, with reckless throngs of followers, seeking villages which were yet inhabited, or the remnants of flocks, herds, and crops not yet utterly destroyed. Many who were made homeless by their ravages turned freebooters themselves. The first symptom of a revival in political life was the activity of some reigning prince or free com-

munity in organizing guards against these banditti. Where an efficient police was established, families that had fled to the fortified cities returned to their homes; emigrants from regions still unsafe settled and reclaimed the waste lands; and even the discharged soldiers and the rabble of camp-followers, bringing the plunder of the war to buy land and goods, contributed numbers to new communities that grew up on the ruins of the old. Little remained of the accumulated wealth of former generations; in many regions the very soil had to be subdued anew, as in a wilderness; and meanwhile food was scarce and dear, money not to be found, and the exactions of the military commanders were crushing. It was not until 1650 that the people of Central Germany began to comprehend that the long time of trouble, dread, and despair—the only life which most of those then surviving had ever known—was past, and to rejoice in peace. But such plundering bands of warriors as took their origin from this war did not entirely disappear from Germany for more than a century afterward. The more familiar the student becomes with the facts, the less surprise will he feel at the opinion of German writers that the Thirty-Years' War put back the material progress of Germany two hundred years.

§ 6. The moral effects of the war were no less deplorable; and might have been finally ruinous to German civilization, but for the great impulse given to the intellectual and spiritual growth of the nation during the century which preceded it. To the Reformation Germany owes its first system of schools. Luther urged, above all things, that the forfeited estates of the Church should be devoted to founding schools and endowing pastorates. Now for the first time the art of reading and writing became more common among the people; for the reformed doctrine made the Bible, as understood by the reader's own conscience, the source of religious truth. Thus in Saxony first, and in North Germany generally, schools for the people were founded, in town and country, in which a generation of believers in the Bible was educated. The teachers were commonly theologians; but in many places women undertook the instruction of girls. The language was enriched by the fine hymns of the Church, and renewed its youth, in word as well as in thought, from the fountain of the

Scriptures. Luther may be called the creator of a new period in the development of the German tongue, "the new High-German," that in which all the great works of later days have been written.

§ 7. But it was not only for the common people that schools were opened. A number of convents were turned into Latin schools, and the cities made haste to appropriate the endowments taken from the Roman Church to the foundation of institutions for higher education. Many of the most celebrated German gymnasia, such as Schulpforte in Thuringia, and the Joachimsthal and the gray convent in Berlin, date from the time of the Reformation. Thus learning became common, and its first rapid growth gave support to the reformed cause. The universities rose into new importance; such as Wittenberg, where Melanchthon ("preceptor Germaniæ," Germany's teacher) taught, Jena, Helmstedt, Marburg, and Königsberg. By these means the intellectual life of the nation obtained a firmer basis than ever before. Besides, the sixteenth century was but little agitated by war, and was fruitful in the progress of comfort and prosperity among the people. The Reformation in Germany was far from aiming to destroy the merriment of life. Luther himself set an example in music, jest, and cheerful humor. Thus this century is richer than any other in wit and fun. Fischart's satirical poems and Hans Sachs's jests and comedies worked side by side with the serious spirit of the times, toward the same great goal of religious faith and culture. City and country were still full of merry festivals, and of ancient and peculiar customs. Add to the picture the handsome, dignified, becoming dress of the sixteenth century, and that in architecture and furnishing the ancient German taste was still prevalent, and we may conclude that this was the most characteristic and poetical century in German history.

§ 8. A hundred years later, all this wealth of a peculiar national life is gone. The sad time approaching is heralded by the gathering conflict in the churches over the different confessions, which is carried on without love and without knowledge, and only opens the way for learned barbarism. It is further seen in the prevalence of the Roman law. It was in itself a good thing that this sharply defined system should

influence and improve the looser German law. But it now degenerated into pedantry and interminable scribblings, which made it impossible for the layman to understand and obtain his rights. The same learned clumsiness spread into every thing: it took charge of the meagre knowledge there was of the healing art, of the study of philology, of the sermons; and poets of genius arose who could compose only in Latin. Toward the end of the sixteenth century we find in multitudes of books an apprehension of sad times at hand, or even of the end of the world. The great German war then tore up all by the roots—learning, prosperity, merriment, jest, laughter, and music. After the war men said, “Laughing is too serious a matter in these times;” and, indeed, all the laughter of that day seems to come through tears. The German people were like a shipwrecked man who has saved but his bare life, and feels no immediate want but that of the most urgent necessaries. Every higher disposition was extinguished. Then appeared a stolid indifference to misery; a false humility before power, which had hitherto been foreign to the German character. The scholar became a crawling pedant, who threw about crumbs of Greek and Latin, and eulogized the noble patron in bad German, or oftener in Latin verses, at weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Rigid form and shifting fashion took the place of custom. During the war, foreign and especially French attire was introduced: the ludicrously beribboned clothes of the men, the hoop-skirts of the women, periwigs, corsets, and other artificial contrivances. Fashion was the guide of this characterless time.

§ 9. Besides, there now arose, mainly through the influence of the foreign soldiery, a mixture of languages like that at Babel. New and strange words crept into general use. Thus in a few lines of the letter of Wallenstein, announcing to the emperor his victory over Gustavus Adolphus at Nuremberg, he sprinkles his native German with words from the Italian, French, Spanish, and Latin languages. Some of the German writers of the day complained bitterly of this practice. But it was the unavoidable result of a conflict which, for nearly a generation of men, made Germany the hunting-ground for the rabble of all nations. From the very beginning of the war the emperor’s troops were a strange mixture,



nearly all foreigners, including Irishmen and Croats, Italians and Turks, Walloons and Cossacks; and for the Protestant cause, Scottish and Dutch adventurers, Danes, Swedes, and Finns, fought side by side with Germans. In the winter of 1630, three companies of Laplanders appeared on the German coasts, bringing sleds loaded with skins for the Swedish army. The ravages of these invasions were naturally felt in the destruction or change, not of wealth only, but of manners and of language.

§ 10. The German people were always much given to superstitious beliefs and practices, which lay concealed at times, as if venerated over with culture and knowledge, but ever ready to break out violently in periods of agitation. The great war gave them wide sway and a frightful impulse. Leagues with the powers of hell, to get gain, or often for much baser purposes, were generally believed in. Magical arts, in part the remnants of heathen worship preserved by tradition, were the common talk around the camp-fires. The soldier of the Thirty-Years' War knew a number of means to make himself invulnerable, to cast bullets that would hit the mark, to find buried treasures, to read his own eventful future, and to ascertain the day and hour of his death, and the person who should injure or avenge him. He wore talismans and amulets, particular coins, plants, or written passages of Scripture, and had blessings or charms pronounced over his arms. Nor were the enlightened men of the time free from the influence of such superstitions. Luther himself believed, not only in apparitions of a personal devil, but in the efficiency of charms; and the progress of magical practices and terrors was very rapid for generations after his death. In the quiet life of the cities and villages, the black art had to deal with other things. By their alliance with the Evil One, wizards, but especially witches, wrought all sorts of arbitrary and hurtful results. They bewitched the cattle, ruined the health of people, or produced vermin. Yet, as was believed, they were themselves commonly deceived deceivers, whose art did them no good. But the means by which they were met were horrible. After the end of the fifteenth century, the trials of witches began; and Protestants and Catholics alike carried on their judicial barbarities, which desolated whole tracts of

country. Neither age nor sex nor rank was a protection against this persecution. Councilors and scholars were sent to the stake, though women were the especial objects of vengeance. The number of victims who were put to the most painful of deaths by fire can never be known; it amounted to hundreds of thousands. These barbarous outrages continued through the sixteenth and the entire seventeenth centuries; the witch trials in Germany did not end until the reign of Frederick the Great. The rack had been common in Germany since Charles V. held his tribunals of judgment there. Its tortures were increased, with barbarous ingenuity, to the utmost degree of refinement and cruelty, in extorting confessions from the accused. Life still moved on in the forms of the Church, and the pious hymns of Paul Gerhard and John Herrmann still comforted the people in their heavy sorrow. But among the highest classes there arose a lukewarm feeling toward the religion which had been used as a cloak for so much crime, and conversions from Lutheranism to Catholicism were frequent. In all classes appeared, by the side of orthodox belief, an incredible coarseness, dullness, and savagery of disposition, and the effect of the barbarous war on character was noticed every where. The poets of the time lament the loss of faith, love, and truth, of reverence for the divine, and of manly steadfastness. All that the past had possessed of glory, of greatness in life and in literature, seemed to have passed even from memory. The Reformation alone remained as the event which could not be forgotten. In all else a breach was made in the life of the German people which could not be filled up. In nine parts out of ten, its life must begin anew.

§ 11. At the beginning of the Reformation, the peasantry in Southern and Central Germany had risen against their oppressors with spirit and energy. Though crushed in the "Peasants' War" (1525), yet in the course of the sixteenth century they again became strong, prosperous, and energetic. Since it was the productive class, and the source of the revenues of the princes and barons, they spared it; and in these fruitful lands the long peace which followed rapidly healed the wounds left by the war. The peasant was indeed reduced to a position of more entire dependence and slavery than

ever before, but he was on the whole comfortable, moderately intelligent, and obtained, in Protestant districts, at least, a fairly good training in school and church. He had his house neatly furnished, he had a little hoard of savings in coin, and valuable cattle in the pasture or stall. But the Thirty-Years' War annihilated all this prosperity, and it took two centuries afterward to bring back the village population to the state of civilization they had already reached at its beginning. It was the peasants on whom the curse of the war fell. The villages were laid in ashes, the cattle destroyed, the tilled land went to waste; corpses lay unburied; the village dogs ran wild like packs of wolves; and to the ruin directly caused by the war were added the miseries of famine and pestilence. During the second half of the war a Swedish general refused to take his army from Pomerania to South Germany, because the desert country between them would cause him greater loss than the most bloody defeat. The effects of the war were perhaps felt most deeply in Silesia, Thuringia, and Mecklenburg. When peace was made, there were but four villages left in the county of Ruppin, half as large as the State of Rhode Island; and in Priegnitz, which is larger than the District of Columbia, only one preacher remained. In the county of Henneburg, three fourths of the families and two thirds of the houses were gone. Up to this day the names of landmarks or a solitary farm, or here and there the ruins of a church, mark the sites of a once prosperous village, and there are large tracts of country in which the villages are fewer and poorer to-day than they were in 1618. After the war there was generally nothing left but the church, and that often in ruins. The persevering labors of the country clergy gathered the germs of communities again around these churches, and the feudal lords of the land, now unlimited in authority, supported the clergy in this work, because they could not afford to lose the labors of the people. But it was a long time before the barbarism which had spread from the army through the whole peasantry gave way again to serious, steady labor and settled morals.

§ 12. The cities were like islands amid the general desolation. But their condition was no longer what it had been at the time of the Reformation. Their life had been character-

ized at first by its defiant energy, and then by its cheerful comfort, orderly freedom, and love of art; and so they continued to flourish throughout the sixteenth century. Numberless sumptuary laws were thought necessary by the magistrates or landlords, prescribing how many guests should be invited to baptisms, weddings, and funeral-feasts, how many dishes served, how many yards of cloth cut for the dress of men and women, or how much gold and silver ornament might be worn by ladies. But the great war changed all to misery. The smaller cities fared much like the villages. Larger ones, being better fortified, commonly survived. But they were so harassed by sieges, and by levies and contributions, and so depopulated by famine and pestilence, that multitudes of houses, and even whole streets fell to utter ruin. The city taxes were levied almost exclusively on the land, and the proprietors rarely wished to rebuild. In those days the mere occupancy of a city for a week by an invading army would often work wider ruin than a modern bombardment. License and plunder were universal; the mere privilege of not having the houses wantonly burned, or the libraries used for fuel, or the church-bells taken for gun-metal, was often purchased by heavy contributions. When a city was besieged, the neighboring country was first ravaged, and fugitives innumerable fled within the walls, so that famine almost invariably came with them, and pestilence soon after. The horrors of the siege of Jerusalem, so often thought incredible by readers of Josephus, were re-enacted in many a city of Central Europe among the contemporaries of Milton. The besiegers of Nördlingen captured a tower on the wall; the besieged fired it; and when it fell into the city, famished women seized the half-burned corpses of the enemy, and carried away pieces to save their children from starvation. The woes of a stormed city, under the wild passions of the soldiery, must be left to the imagination. The statistics which tell of the material ruin caused by the war are frightful enough to the thoughtful. Berlin had but six thousand inhabitants after the war, about one fourth as many as before it. The sites of two hundred houses lay deserted, many houses were covered with straw, and the streets were unpaved. In Prenzlau there were but one hundred and seven

inhabited houses left of nearly eight hundred; and most of the cities throughout Germany were no better off.

§ 13. But it was in the intellectual and moral results of this destructive period that the cities, like the whole country, suffered most severely and lastingly. When peace came, the old spirit of independence was gone; and the princes and nobles of the land and their officers now gave their commands in matters which had formerly been controlled by the people themselves. The exclusiveness of the guilds, and the selfish interests of the eminent city families, which were all akin to one another, gave to city life a sort of mouldy narrowness which often made a pitiful exhibition of itself. The revival of a city's prosperity usually depended upon a prince's court; and it soon came to be only the "residences," or cities in which such a court was held, that retained the splendor and dignity of real cities. Thus the court took the lead in every thing. The passion for titles extended from it to the independent cities; and its officers and attendants became an influential class of men, who were approached with reverence. The French or Italian theatre was carried on in great pomp, and this and the court festivals were the fashionable amusements; while the popular festivals were neglected. The stiff monotony which seemed to prevail in such cities was not much enlivened by the garrisons they held, standing armies being now universal. Architecture entirely lost its national character. Few public buildings, such as churches and council-houses, were now built; and such as were absolutely necessary were poorly designed. Pleasure houses, and palaces of the princes, indeed, were built in great numbers, and at lavish expense; but in the grotesque style which had grown up in Italy and France, and displayed the tastelessness of the times. The city houses were poor in appearance and barren in art; and the glory of the cities fell. Some of them escaped the great war with the freedom of the empire, or at least with a degree of independence, only to fall soon after. Thus Brunswick was conquered in 1671 by the dukes of the house of Welf; Magdeburg and Königsberg by the Great Elector; Münster by its own bishop; and Erfurt by the Archbishop of Mayence. Bremen had a narrow escape from Swedish conquest, and Hamburg from the Danes.

§ 14. German trade was also destroyed by the war. At the time of the Reformation there were still German merchants, like Fugger in Augsburg, who controlled the markets of the world with their money, and supplied Charles V. with the means of carrying on war. In Luther's time, "Fuggerei" was the popular word for usury. But the trade of Europe had already begun to find other paths. When the Mediterranean ceased to be the field of the world's commerce, Italy and Germany lost much of their importance as trading countries. The changed relations of things, especially the discovery of America (1492), and of the ocean passage to India (1498), gave the place of that sea to the Atlantic. Lisbon and Antwerp became the most important centres of trade. Germany was no longer so important even in the distributing trade, since the seafaring nations could carry their wares from the west to all the northern coasts, which were formerly visited only by the Hanse league of the German cities. After Lisbon came under Spanish rule, it declined. The Netherlands, after they became free from Spain, were a separate country, and their trade was not that of Germany, but a rival and a hinderance to it. At the same time, England, under Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), rose to a commercial equality with the Netherlands. Elizabeth deprived the German merchants of their privileges in the London market, and then the German cities of Emden, Bremen, and Hamburg were soon surpassed. The Hanse league, so long the pride of the Northern Seas, sank into insignificance. At the time of the Reformation, the head of the league, Lübeck, was strong enough to set a new king, Gustavus Vasa, on the Swedish throne; and under the Burgmeister Jürgen Wullenwever, who had broken down the aristocracy in the city by the power of the guilds, entertained the hope of conquering the Danes, abolishing the Sound dues, and excluding the Netherlands from the Baltic. But Wullenwever was overthrown by his fellow-citizens, and was beheaded at Brunswick as a "revolutionary scamp" by Henry the Younger. Gustavus Vasa himself threw off the mercantile influence of Lübeck, and the Hanse lost its ascendancy in Scandinavia. The more Sweden extended her dominions around the Baltic Sea, the less influence Germany could exert there. Wallenstein form-

ed a magnificent plan—that of reviving the Hanse, with new military strength, the emperor as its head. But neither the times nor the people were equal to its execution. Even the interior trade of the country was almost destroyed during the war. The cities on the North Sea after the war recovered sufficiently to resume a position among commercial nations; but they had no great power to protect them. The cities on the Baltic, too, as Stettin, Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar, again rose rapidly in trade and wealth, but mainly under Swedish protection. Thus the peasant, for the time, lost his comfort and good-cheer, and the citizen his freedom and enterprise.

§ 15. The change was not confined to the lower classes of the German people. Knighthood was extinct, and military affairs were no longer exclusively in the hands of the nobles. They spent their lives during the sixteenth century in their castles, whose useless fortifications went to decay, and on their estates, varying them occasionally at the summons of the prince by attending a Diet or a court festival, at which they must appear in the style and attire of knights of their own rank. A nobleman's estate brought him but a small revenue in money, though money had already become an indispensable means to power. In time of war he fitted out for his feudal lord his war-horse and a few armed foot-soldiers; but this old-fashioned service had now fallen far behind the age, and brought no honor to him who rendered, and no benefit to him who received it. It was hired veterans that every commander wanted. In a great degree the warlike spirit of the German nobles died out. It was still common for younger sons to go into the emperor's service, or to the war against the Turks, or to take command of companies and regiments. Others of them devoted themselves to the study of Roman law and political science, and sought for honor and profit in the judicial employments of the empire, or in foreign embassies. But the nobles, as a class, were ignorant, and wasted their time in coarse amusements, and too often in debauchery. The lowest of them still made the roads dangerous to travelers, or lived from hand to mouth on the hospitality of their equals by birth.

§ 16. In short, the "nobility" of the order disappeared dur-

ing the great war. Their estates were desolated, their peasants lost all power to pay rent or tribute. The nobles themselves grew barbarous in the wild work of war, in which they were no whit behind the common soldiers; or else were tamed and humbled, their spirits broken by continued misfortunes and privations. The defiant spirit of their ancestors was gone. Men of noble birth thronged the courts even of the pettiest princes, grasping at offices, honors, and titles, and trying to cover the meanness and narrowness of their characters by great airs about trifles. Paris and Versailles, as the high-school of depravity for the French nobility, became now a college for training the German youth of the same class. They went thither in throngs, to learn fashionable folly, presumption, and vice. Thus the innate coarseness and roughness, which still clung to all the higher classes, was soon associated with absurd formality and pompous manners.

§ 17. The courts of the princes, indeed, were not invaded by foreign manners during the sixteenth century. In many, as in the electoral court of Saxony, and in those of Hesse, Wirtemberg, and others, the Reformation awakened a serious and pious disposition, and a degree of intelligence in religious matters which almost made theologians of the princes. In other courts, even the great agitations of the times were not enough to change the merry life which was general in all classes in the sixteenth century. For example, in such courts as that of Joachim II. of Brandenburg, there was a succession of hunts on a colossal scale, of banquets which commonly ended in utter drunkenness, of festivals, sleighing-parties, and the like. The revenues of such princes were rarely large enough for their expenses; since the principles of economy, by which their resources could be developed and husbanded, were not yet understood. Thus the princes came into the hands of the money-lenders, and all their splendor had its reverse side, that of debt and embarrassment. At many of the less conspicuous courts, the old patriarchal relation of prince and people was preserved. Thus the Countess of Rudolstädt was so earnest and resolute in her guardianship over her few subjects that she terrified even Alva by her threats to shed "princely blood for oxen's blood."

§ 18. The great war brought unspeakable misery to the



princes themselves. They were often compelled as fugitives to abandon their people, without knowing whether a Tilly or a Wallenstein would ever permit them to return to their inheritance; and sometimes they could scarce preserve themselves and their families from want. Thus the pride of the princes was broken, though it survived in such resolute spirits as Bernard of Weimar, who, at an audience of Louis XIII., shocked the Parisian court by covering his own head as soon as the king, after his greeting, replaced his own hat. Need or the passion for land often led to unprincely conduct. During the negotiations before the Peace of Westphalia, all kinds of fawning and cringing before foreigners, of bribery and intrigue, were practiced to secure advantages or avoid ruin. After the peace, Versailles became more and more the pattern for all German courts, great and small. Great and showy festivals were held, in spite of the poverty of the country. Costly buildings and artificial gardens, in the French style, were constructed; titles, offices, and honors were lavished on the throngs of attendant nobles. Titles of nobility were often sold, the desire for them being universal. All this display was the more absurd and oppressive, inasmuch as it did not rest, as in France, upon a great monarchy, but was supported by the limited resources of small states. There were, of course, exceptions. Several princes of Anhalt, Hesse, and other places, gave their aid to the neglected cause of learning; some, like Ernest the Pious of Gotha, took a paternal interest in improving the condition of the people and land; while others actively supported the associations which were formed for the cultivation of the German language, after Martin Opitz (1597 to 1639), the Silesian poet, introduced the Renaissance style into German literature. But all the scientific and political efforts of this kind, even the best of them, have something petty, vain, and absurd in them.

§ 19. In short, the German life of this period, in every aspect, looks like death. The imperial unity of the nation was gone; and German history itself might have ended here, but that two great elements of new life were in it: the spirit of the Reformation, and the inborn constructive vigor always shown in communities which share the old Saxon blood. The former power had swayed all minds and hearts during

the sixteenth century, and almost suppressed other political forces. In the melancholy days of the seventeenth century, it still taught citizens and peasants to be patient and to trust in God, and by the honesty and morality it inspired greatly mitigated the evils of the times. In the eighteenth century, it stimulated the wonderful impulse to research and investigation which characterized that period, and inspired its passion for mental freedom, elevating the whole nation in morals and intelligence. The characteristics of the Saxon race were preserved among the people east of the Elbe, in the marches of Brandenburg. This region had suffered no less than others, but it was fortunate in a series of princes who knew how to build up a true state, which became the centre and political support for the great intellectual revival of Germany.

## BOOK V.

### FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1648-1815.

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#### CHAPTER XX.

##### DECLINE OF THE HAPSBURG MONARCHY.

§ 1. France Strengthened by the Thirty-Years' War. § 2. Rank and Influence of Sweden. § 3. The Condition of Austria after 1648. § 4. The German Empire in Europe. § 5. Aggressive Wars of Louis XIV. § 6. His Encroachments on Germany; he Seizes Strasburg. § 7. The Palatinate made a Desert. § 8. The Peace of Ryswick. § 9. Successes of Austria against the Turks. § 10. Conspiracy in Hungary Suppressed. The Turks Defeated at Vienna. § 11. Leopold's Vengeance upon the Magyars. Prince Eugene of Savoy. § 12. Causes of the War of the Spanish Succession. § 13. Generals of this War. Achievements of Eugene and Marlborough. § 14. Accession of Charles VI. Peace of Utrecht. § 15. The War for the Polish Crown. Treaty of Vienna. Lorraine Lost to Germany. § 16. The House of Hapsburg and the Empire. Last Wars of Eugene. § 17. The Pragmatic Sanction. Death of Charles VI. § 18. The Empire becomes a mere Pageant. § 19. Absolute Power of the Princes. Their Extravagance and Oppression. § 20. Intellectual Progress in Germany.

§ 1. DURING the Thirty-Years' War, which grew from a civil war in Germany to be a general European struggle, the Austro-Spanish monarchy lost its ascendancy, and Europe was no longer threatened with a universal Catholic empire. Its place at the head of European monarchies was taken by France, which rose to prominence under Cardinal Richelieu, was still further strengthened by Cardinal Mazarin, and fully assumed its new position under Louis XIV. (1643-1715). These men mark the time when absolute monarchy began in Europe—that is, the supremacy of the uncontrolled will and pleasure of the king; and this soon became the prevailing form of government in Europe. French took the place of

Latin as the common language of diplomacy, and French manners and customs became prevalent in all cultivated society. France was rich in money, and possessed a strong, well-disciplined army. Its rulers gave their splendid though arbitrary patronage to art and learning; and its eminent generals and statesmen upheld the influence of the country on the field and at the courts of princes. Thus France kept the foremost place in Europe through the second half of the seventeenth century, commonly called the age of Louis XIV.

§ 2. Gustavus Adolphus made Sweden the second power in Europe, and it maintained this position until after the year 1700. Its possessions almost inclosed the Baltic Sea. By the Peace of Westphalia it acquired Lower Pomerania (with Stettin, Stralsund, and Rügen), Wismar, and the principalities of Bremen and Verden. Sweden became by these acquisitions a member of the empire, and afterward exercised a decisive and oppressive influence in all its affairs. Its influence also extended over Denmark, Russia, and Poland, powerless or undeveloped countries which tried in vain to throw off its control. Gustavus Adolphus was succeeded by his daughter Christina (1632-1654), not yet seven years of age. The government was conducted at first by a regency, and then by herself, until she grew weary of it, abdicated the throne, and set out in an adventurous spirit for France and Rome, to become a Catholic. But her cousin and successor, Charles X. (1654-1660), of the German house of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, fully restored Sweden to its previous importance. Though a Protestant power, Sweden was usually allied with France, and its influence was depressing to all German vigor and independence. The Protestant maritime powers, Holland and England, were busy at home, and had at best no affection for Germany, which was now helpless and of no use to them. They slowly came into alliance with the German states against the threatening ascendancy of France; but it was not until the next century that France was humbled in the war of the Spanish succession.

§ 3. At the time of the Peace of Westphalia, Austria was much weakened, but not crushed. In Germany it still held a controlling influence, both by its territorial extent, and by the established custom of electing its ruler emperor. The

Austrian monarchy itself was as absolute at home as the French, since the independence of the nobility in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary had been struck down as effectually as Protestantism itself. The principles of government adopted by Ferdinand II. were not changed by his successors, Ferdinand III. (1637-1657) and Leopold I. (1657-1705). Leopold was slow, destitute of enthusiasm, and jesuitical in his education and character. His long reign did no service to



Leopold I. (1657-1705).

the empire, though his generals won for it much military glory. Austria was still usually in alliance with Spain in all its foreign undertakings. But this alliance was no longer an offensive power. The ambition of France and of Louis XIV. made its energies necessary for defense. France constantly threatened the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium)

and Lorraine, whose ducal house was closely allied with the Hapsburgs. It also endangered the whole frontier of the empire along the Upper Rhine, which the King of Austria as emperor was bound to defend, and where lay his own ancestral lands, among them Breisgau, with the fortress of Freiburg. But traces of decay were visible in both of these allied monarchies; the ruler in each being insignificant, and the people increasingly dull and ignorant.

§ 4. After the Peace of Westphalia, the German Empire was not only exposed to every attack from without, but it offered to a stealthy foe the means of subduing it from within. When Leopold was elected, Louis XIV. exhausted his arts of intrigue and bribery in order to secure the choice of the Elector of Bavaria, whom he expected to make a dependent of his own. A number of German princes joined him in forming "the Rhenish league," and thus became his tools at that time, though his plan failed. But French influence increased steadily. Some of the electors received regular annual subsidies from Louis XIV. Austria gave the empire only such protection as secured its own advantage. It was not now a German, but rather a European power, and German affairs concerned it little. Thus Germany might have fallen into a state of disintegration as complete as Poland experienced a century afterward, had not a wise and strong ruler arisen in the north. This was Frederick William of Brandenburg, known as the Great Elector, who built up there a new Germany, or at least a German state which was to be the source of a gradual regeneration and revival of the German nation.

§ 5. Louis XIV. found on his frontiers, in every direction, easy ways of acquiring territory and glory. His first war was, like the rest, a war for plunder, without a pretext of justice. In 1667 he vigorously attacked the Spanish Netherlands, and took possession of a large part of the country. Being met by "the triple alliance" of Holland, Sweden, and England, he accepted the peace of Aix in 1668, by which only the southern fortresses of the Netherlands were ceded to him; but he was as indignant at the limits thus placed upon his ambition as Spain was at the loss of territory. In 1672 Louis suddenly attacked the Republic of Holland, having

won over its former allies, England and Sweden, to his side, and anticipating a quick and easy victory. Several German princes were with him, and the rest were prevented by his threats from aiding Holland. The Emperor Leopold had secretly promised not to interfere. Only one German prince took the field to prevent this important little state, on the frontier of the empire, from falling into the hands of France, the great Elector of Brandenburg. But the Stadtholder of Holland, William III. of Orange, was an excellent soldier, and he succeeded in checking the swift progress of Louis and his generals—Condé, Turenne, Luxemburg, and Vauban. Afterward the German Empire, and then Spain, joined in the war against France; and the scene of the war was transferred to the Rhine country, where the wounds of the Thirty-Years' War were still hardly healed. Louis XIV. subjugated the ten cities of Alsace, which he had hitherto ruled only as the deputy of the emperor. Turenne, the greatest general of his age, laid waste the Palatinate, and defeated one German army after another. Yet it was the diplomatic cunning of France, in dividing its adversaries, that obtained the Peace of Nymwegen in 1678, when Louis XIV. negotiated with each hostile power separately, obtaining from Spain the Franche Comté and a series of places on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and from the German Empire, besides the ten cities in Alsace, the strong fortress of Freiburg in the Breisgau, while Lorraine remained for the time in his hands.

§ 6. Louis XIV. then established judicial tribunals, called Chambers of Reunion, to sit at Metz, Besançon, Tournay, and Breisach, and inquire what lands had ever been dependent upon the bishoprics or territories now ceded to him; and to reunite them all under France, on the pretext that the treaties of cession granted to him all the dependencies of the places ceded. In these processes, his courts summoned neighboring princes, and even the King of Spain, to appear before them. Louis retained a standing army of 140,000 men, although other states had dismissed their soldiers; and thus he was able, under the decrees of these chambers, to take possession for France of a large number of districts (such as Vaudemont, Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, Mömpelgard, and Luxemburg), and of cities, villages, castles, and other places.

The German Empire had neither the coherence nor the will to do more than make an empty protest against all this. While the frontiers were thus impudently encroached upon, the Diet at Regensburg was disputing whether the electors should sit on purple and the princely deputies on green velvet, and who should eat with gold knives and forks, and who with silver only. At length Louis XIV.'s robberies culminated in his seizure during peace of the fine old imperial city of Strasburg, betrayed to him, September 30, 1681, by the Prince Bishop Egon of Fürstenberg. The king himself immediately afterward entered the city in triumph, and was welcomed by the perfidious bishop in the words of Simeon before Christ: "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." For sixty years the imperial city had been dreading the avarice of France, and had exhausted its resources in keeping up its defenses. But it was alone and helpless. The most shameful means were now actively employed to win over the people to France and to the religion of Rome. But even this blow did not arouse the dead empire. A peace was made, which had been preceded by no war, which confirmed to France all that it had stolen, and obtained a few years of quiet. Denmark, which had been in full possession of Oldenburg since 1667, now threatened Holstein and Hamburg, relying on Louis. But the Great Elector at once formed an alliance with Sweden and the Duke of Brunswick, and put a stop to the attack.

§ 7. Another great crime of Louis XIV. had an important influence in arousing against him the public opinion of Europe. In 1598, King Henry IV., by the Edict of Nantes, granted to Protestants in France the same civil and religious rights with Catholics. On October 22, 1685, Louis XIV. revoked this edict, closed all Protestant places of worship, and undertook, against the wish of Pope Innocent XI. himself, to exterminate the Reformed faith. The French Huguenots were at that time the most enterprising and successful manufacturers in the kingdom; and the political folly of the persecution was as apparent to enlightened statesmen of that day as it is now; but jealousy of the prosperity of these industrious people was intensified by religious bigotry; and



half a million of the best citizens of France were driven into exile. They found homes in England and Holland; they were earnestly invited to Brandenburg by the Great Elector; and a large part of the industrial prosperity of these countries in later times is due to them. In 1688 Louis XIV. renewed the war in the hope of securing the Palatinate, when the electoral line should become extinct, for his brother, the Duke of Orleans, who had married the childless elector's sister, Elizabeth Charlotte. He also desired to make William of Fürstenberg, the brother of Egon, Archbishop of Cologne. But in the same year William III. of Orange became King of England, driving out his father-in-law, James II., with German troops. In 1686 he had succeeded in forming the great Augsburg league, including the emperor and most of the German princes, which now undertook to defend the frontiers of the empire. The most Christian king then adopted the policy advocated by Louvois, of making the Palatinate and the region upon the middle waters of the Rhine a desert, which might protect his frontiers against the Germans. In February, 1689, his general, Melac, blew up the walls of Heidelberg and its castle towers, and laid half the city in ashes. The cities and villages on the Bergstrasse shared the same fate. Such of the inhabitants as tried to rescue their goods were slain. Every where were found the corpses of wretched men frozen to death. The citizens of Mannheim were compelled to assist in destroying their fortifications, and were then driven out, hungry and naked, into the winter cold, and their city was burned. Baden, Frankenthal, Ladenburg, Kreuznach, and many other places, were similarly treated. The old imperial cities Worms and Spires, with their cathedrals, were laid in ashes, and at Spires French soldiers stole the ornaments of the coffins and mockingly scattered to the winds the dust of the German emperors. In the neighborhoods of Trèves, Cologne, and Jülich the peasants were compelled to plow down their own standing crops.

§ 8. These outrages awakened the empire. The emperor formed with England, Spain, Savoy, Denmark, and most of the German princes, what was called "the Great Alliance;" but William III. of England was again its soul. Louis XIV., however, with his able generals, maintained his ascendancy.

The German troops were disunited and inactive, though Louis of Bavaria, their commander-in-chief, was a good general. At the Peace of Ryswick, October 30, 1697, the German empire could only accept the conditions prescribed by the other powers. France retained "the Reunions" in Alsace, including Saarlouis, and even Strasburg, but gave up all else, as Freiburg, Breisach, and Mömpelgard. But as the terms were understood by the emperor as well as by France, the famous Ryswick clause was included, by which the churches were to stand as they had been during the hostile occupation of the restored districts, in violation of the right to their own religion guaranteed them by the Peace of Westphalia. Indeed, it was believed by the Protestants that Leopold I. was actually the author of this clause, so humiliating to Germany, and so oppressive to his own subjects. He was at best a weak prince, and was easily led by the Jesuits. The Protestants, who had been every where suppressed by the French, lost their churches, and the Catholic service was restored in entirely reformed communities. It was the exhausted condition of the French exchequer that drove Louis XIV. to accept terms on the whole so favorable to Germany; but he was already looking forward to the further acquisition of the Spanish monarchy. In all three of his wars of conquest, Germany had been powerless in foreign affairs, and an example showing how open a country is to aggression when patriotism and the sense of national honor are extinct.

§ 9. The German arms were much more successful in the East against the Turks than on the Rhine. After taking Constantinople, in 1453, the Turks overran Hungary, and from that time occupied the capital city, Pesth (including Buda). They pressed forward their frontier to Raab and Comorn, so that Ferdinand, Charles V.'s brother, had little more than the title of King of Hungary, and was soon reduced to the payment of a regular tribute to the Turks. The danger from this source was felt throughout the period of the Reformation, and the wars upon this southeastern frontier of the empire continued almost without interruption into the seventeenth century. Hungary and Transylvania felt deeply the political and religious oppression of Austria, and were insecure possessions of the empire. Rebels frequently

arose, aided by the Turks, and defying the emperor, as did Bethlen Gabor at the beginning of the Thirty-Years' War, and Ragozy of Transylvania at its end. The Emperor Leopold (1657-1705) hated the Protestants of Hungary, who had obtained religious freedom anew from Ferdinand III., and was also provoked by the high privileges claimed by the Magyar nobles, so that he undertook in earnest to subdue Hungary. At the same time the Turks renewed their attacks. In 1663, when a great army of Turks was marching against Hungary and Austria, Leopold William, Margrave of Baden, led an imperial army, though slowly, to the emperor's relief; and even Louis XIV. sent a corps to assist. Sweden, too, and the princes of Italy, with the pope at their head, joined to resist the hereditary foe of Christendom. At Montecucoli, near St. Gotthard on the Raab, on August 1, 1664, these troops utterly defeated the Turks, and stopped their advance. It was the first splendid victory for three centuries, and one in which almost all Christian nations had a share.

§ 10. Yet the Emperor Leopold neglected to improve this great advantage, and on August 1st concluded an armistice for twenty years, during which Transylvania was to remain in Turkish hands. He seemed, indeed, to be more in dread of his French and Hungarian allies than of the Turks. The Hungarians were not protected by the armistice; but an Austrian garrison was left to put down their liberties. In 1670 Leopold detected a conspiracy of the nobles, including the highest names in Hungary. He at once declared the ancient constitution of the kingdom forfeited, and treated it as Ferdinand II. had treated Bohemia. The heads of the nobles fell on the scaffold, and hundreds of Protestant clergymen went to serve as galley-slaves at Naples or in the swamps of the Lower Danube. In 1682 a new and bold leader, Emmerich of Töckely, began an insurrection, which soon spread throughout Hungary. He relied on the Turks for protection, and the sultan, Mohammed IV., recognized Töckely as King of Hungary, on condition of his paying to the Porte a tribute of forty thousand sequins yearly. The grand vizier, Cara-Mustapha, led an army of two hundred and thirty thousand men through Hungary to Vienna, Töckely marching before and guiding them. Vienna was poorly prepared; but

John George III., the patriotic Elector of Saxony, and Max Emanuel of Bavaria came in person with their troops, and the Great Elector sent eight thousand men. Leopold, in his extremity, left his capital city, and went to Passau, followed by the hatred and scorn of his Austrian subjects. The Turks appeared before Vienna July 7, and invested it—their last military effort on German soil. The city was defended with obstinate valor; citizens and students rivaled the soldiers in their deeds, under Rüdiger of Stahremberg, the persistent and enduring governor. The Turks were not skilled in sieges. They had plans of the fortifications sent them from Paris; but their artillery was handled by ignorant renegades, and proved unequal to the reduction of even these imperfect defenses. The siege lasted eight weeks, and then at last Charles of Lorraine brought up the imperial army, in which, after a long interval, the flower of the German youth was once more united. John Sobieski, the pious and heroic King of Poland, came with Charles. The two armies met on September 13, at Kahlenberg, whence rockets, answered from the spire of St. Stephen's, had already announced the coming relief to the city of Vienna. A glorious victory was obtained; the Turkish camp, with its rich booty, was taken, the city was delivered, and the grand vizier received the bow-string from the sultan. Yet Leopold debated how far it became his rank and position to thank his deliverers. The victors disagreed and parted, and the Elector of Saxony went home with the feeling that he had been deeply slighted.

§ 11. Austria at once went on with the work of conquering Hungary. In 1686, Charles of Lorraine, with an army containing, besides volunteers from every Christian nation, the eight thousand Brandenburgers sent by the Great Elector, retook Ofen (Buda). The next year the emperor took a terrible vengeance on the Magyars. General Caraffa held in his name a court, to try all those suspected of dealing with Töckely. It was called the butcher's bench of Eperies. Here multitudes, upon mere suspicion, were imprisoned and horribly tortured, and large numbers of them put to death. Finally, at the Diet of Presburg, August 12, 1687, the Hungarians yielded up their right to elect their king, and declared the crown of Hungary hereditary in the Hapsburg (male)

line, on condition that every king at his coronation should confirm the ancient liberties of the nation. But the pride of the Magyar nobles was broken; every vestige of religious freedom was taken away, and Hungary was closely reunited to the Austrian monarchy, which thus grew stronger in the East, while the empire was steadily losing ground in the West. Among Leopold's generals, Eugene of Savoy was already eminent. He was a Frenchman, grand-nephew of Cardinal Mazarin. He was very small in stature, and when he applied to Louis XIV. for a regiment, was mocked by the king, who called him "the little abbot." He then came to Leopold to fight against the Turks. He distinguished himself greatly, was made a general, and in the battle of Zenta on the Theiss, September 11, 1697, displayed for the first time his matured genius. The sultan in person commanded his great army of Turks, but it was almost entirely cut to pieces or driven into the river by the Austrians and their German allies. This victory secured for Austria the glorious treaty of Carlowitz, January 26, 1699, by which the Sublime Porte yielded back all Hungary to Leopold, and agreed to an armistice for twenty-five years.

§ 12. The house of Hapsburg in Spain became extinct at the death of Charles II. Louis XIV. had formed a plan for securing the succession to his own family of Bourbon. But his claims were opposed by the Austrian Hapsburgs, the kindred and heirs of the extinct dynasty. Louis XIV., indeed, was the son of a Spanish princess, and had married a sister of Charles II. Leopold was connected with Spain in the same way; but the right of inheritance had been expressly reserved to the princesses married into the house of Austria, and renounced in behalf of those who married the kings of France. Moreover, Leopold was a descendant of Charles V.'s brother Ferdinand, and could thus claim to represent the male line of the house of Hapsburg. William III. of England proposed a division. But Charles II., unwilling to see the great Spanish monarchy dismembered, made a will, constituting Joseph Ferdinand, son of Max Emanuel of Bavaria, and grandson of Leopold and of his (Charles II.'s) sister, his sole heir. Joseph Ferdinand died in 1699, before Charles II. himself, leaving the whole ques-

tion still open. Austria and France again bestirred themselves. Leopold endeavored to secure the selection of his second son, Charles, Louis that of his second grandson, Philip of Anjou, as heir; each avoiding the appearance of desiring to unite Spain with his own crown. Austria seemed to have succeeded; but at last the desire of Charles II. to keep Spain undivided prevailed, and at his death, November 1, 1700, Philip of Anjou was made heir to the whole monarchy, including Spain, Belgium, Milan, Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily, nearly all of America, and extensive tracts in Asia. Louis XIV. accepted the will, but Austria, though at first without allies, protested against it. In Germany, however, the emperor persuaded Prussia, now a kingdom, to join him, and Hanover and Saxony; and nearly the whole empire soon followed their example. But Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, and his brother Joseph Clemens, Archbishop of Cologne, were induced by Louis XIV.'s promises to take the side of France. In Italy the dukes of Savoy and Mantua supported France. In the autumn, England and Holland, the two leading maritime powers, uneasy at the growing strength of France, formed an alliance with the emperor. The war which followed is called the War of the Spanish Succession, and lasted from 1701 till 1713.

§ 13. At the beginning of this war, two great names appear—Prince Eugene of Savoy and the ambitious English general, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough: two men of the very highest rank of military genius. Owing to the modesty of Eugene, they acted in complete harmony, and won victory after victory over France, already exhausted by previous conflicts. The commander of the imperial forces, Lewis, Margrave of Baden, was also a man of ability, but was much hampered by the condition of the empire. The war began in 1701 with a brilliant march by Eugene across the Alps, and a victory over the French in Northern Italy. Marlborough, who exercised a great influence over the government of Queen Anne in England (1702–1714), landed in the Netherlands, and drove the French before him. The French were more successful against the army of the empire, and took Breisach, Augsburg, and Landau. In 1703, under Vendôme, they pressed forward from Italy to the Ty-

rol, in order to join Max Emanuel, who invaded the Tyrol from the north. But the Tyrolese resisted both armies valiantly, and inflicted immense losses on them in their narrow passes and valleys. The elector had a narrow escape with his life. On the other hand, there arose, a few years later, a popular revolt in the Tyrol against the Austrians, led by some priests and a student of Ingolstädt, which was suppressed with great difficulty. Such events proved that neither the ancient vigor of the Germans nor the mutual hatred of the several sections of the race had entirely perished. In 1704, Eugene and Marlborough joined their forces in Southern Germany; Marlborough, with an army chiefly of Germans, and Lewis of Baden, defeated the French and Bavarians at Schellenberg, near Donauwerth, on July 2; and then Marlborough and Eugene defeated the French general Tallard at Höchstädt (or Blenheim), August 13. This was a frightful battle, in which all the troops fought obstinately. It gave Bavaria entirely to the allies. The next year, 1705, Eugene went to Italy, to protect the Duke of Savoy, who had come over to the allies; and on September 7, 1706, he gained a victory at Turin over the French, who had invested the city. The enemy's intrenchments were first stormed by Prussian troops under Leopold of Dessau. From this time the allies retained possession of Italy, and Eugene in one easy campaign conquered the entire kingdom of Naples for the emperor. England captured Gibraltar in 1704. In 1706 Marlborough defeated the French at Ramillies, in the Netherlands (May 23), and in 1708 the two great generals again joined their forces in the Netherlands to prosecute the war together. They defeated Vendôme and the Duke of Burgundy at Oudenarde, and in 1709 at Malplaquet defeated Villars. The Netherlands were now in their power, and the road to Paris was open to them. Louis XIV. found France utterly exhausted, famine and misery having succeeded to luxury and splendor. From the year 1708 he had been offering to make peace, giving up all the Spanish inheritance except Naples and Sicily; which he would reserve for his grandson. In 1709 he was ready to give up these also, and even to restore all his conquests in Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. But the allies were presumptuous in their demands,

requiring Louis XIV. himself to drive his grandson from the Spanish throne. It seemed that France would be subjected to the deepest humiliation, but a sudden change took place in the situation.

§ 14. In England, Marlborough's party lost its influence over the queen and the government. A new ministry was formed, which first embarrassed the general and then recalled him; and the war was prosecuted without energy or zeal. The old Emperor Leopold died of dropsy in Austria, May 5, 1705, and was succeeded by his son, Joseph I. (1705-1711), now in his twenty-seventh year: a man of broad and tolerant views, who sustained Prince Eugene in his campaigns. But he died of the small-pox, or, as many said, of poison, April 17, 1711, leaving no son; and his brother, Charles VI., who



Joseph I. (1705-1711).



now came to the throne (1711-1740), was the Austrian candidate for the Spanish crown. As he was already possessee of all Austria, he seemed likely now to acquire a greater empire than that of Charles V.; and the allies could not wish to build up such a power. Accordingly England opened negotiations which led to the Peace of Utrecht, April 11, 1713, between England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy on one side, and France and Spain on the other. It recognized Louis XIV.'s grandson Philip as king of Spain, on condition of forever renouncing all claims to the crown of France for himself and his descendants. From that time the Bourbon dynasty was established in Spain, and remained in close alliance with France almost throughout the eighteenth century. Each of the nations concerned took care to secure what they could for themselves. Thus England obtained important commercial concessions, besides Gibraltar and Minorca, and in America, Hudson's Bay and Strait, the island of Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. Prussia obtained the Spanish province of Guelders, and was recognized by France as a kingdom. Savoy also was acknowledged as a kingdom, and received the addition of Sicily. Austria now attempted to carry on the war alone, but without success. On March 7, 1714, the treaty of Rastatt was made with Austria, and was followed September 7 by that of Baden with the German Empire. Austria obtained important accessions of territory: the Netherlands, the Duchy of Milan, Sardinia, and the kingdom of Naples were promised it by the treaty. In 1720 Austria ceded Sardinia to Savoy in exchange for Sicily, and Savoy was thenceforth called the kingdom of Sardinia.

§ 15. In 1733 Charles VI. entered upon another unfortunate war with France, in defense of the claim of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, to the crown of Poland. Augustus was supported also by Russia, and secured his throne; but Germany suffered much by the treaty of peace concluded at Vienna, October 3, 1735. Austria gave back the united kingdom of the two Sicilies to Spain. Not even the fortress of Landau was restored to the German Empire; although it recovered Freiburg, Kehl, and Alt-Breisach, on the right bank of the Rhine, which had been lost again in the course of the war. The emperor was more eager for acquisitions in



Charles VI. (1711-1740).

Italy than for the recovery by the empire of Alsace and Strasburg. By the War of the Spanish Succession France lost the ascendancy in Europe, as the Austro-Spanish Empire had lost it by the Thirty-Years' War. It was now that the arrangement called "the balance of power" in Europe was established, and its preservation has ever since been a controlling object in diplomacy. But it was the loss of German soil, not that of foreign conquests by the empire, that made this treaty of Vienna a lasting sorrow and shame to Germany. Stanislaus Lescinsky, the candidate of France for the Polish crown, renounced his claims in favor of Augustus III.; and was compensated by this treaty, by consent of the Emperor Charles VI., with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, on condition that they should fall to France at his death. Lescinsky,

however, ceded them to France at once. Lorraine had been occupied by French troops during the campaign of 1734, and the emperor was not able to dislodge them; but the treaty gave the sanction of law to this seizure of a large German district by a foreign military power, and Lorraine was utterly lost to Germany until the revival of the empire in 1871.

§ 16. Charles VI. was now monarch over vast regions, only a small proportion of which lay within the German Empire. His subjects were of manifold nationalities and customs, with varied forms of government and degrees of civilization. His monarchy was magnificent in its outward appearance, but since the suppression of Protestantism the intellectual life of his dominions was crushed. His German subjects, in Austria, Tyrol, and Styria, were brought into close union with foreign tribes, on a lower grade of life; and from the time of the Thirty-Years' War and the ascendancy of Jesuitism, under Ferdinand II. and Leopold, they were diligently kept apart from the life of Germany at large. The empire was regarded as a foreign land. Yet the house of Hapsburg still retained the imperial crown, and was thus indissolubly connected with Germany; and Vienna was still the magnificent imperial city, where the German, Italian, Slavonic, and Hungarian nobility found a central and common court. The sons of the German nobles still aspired to enter the emperor's service, which still, in spite of the financial weakness of the empire, offered the young nobleman honor, fame, and pleasure. But the resources of these fair and naturally rich countries remained undeveloped and unused; and there was no effort made by the government to arouse to something of their former intellectual activity the almost slumbering people. Charles VI. was from his youth serious, reserved, and melancholy, and entirely under the influence of favorites who had followed him from Spain. Great deeds were rare. In 1714 the Turks made war on Venice, and Prince Eugene, now the first statesman as well as the first warrior of Austria, thought it time to recover from them the last of their conquests in Hungary. He fully accomplished this, by the battle of Peterwardein, August 5, 1716, and the taking of Belgrade, August 16, 1717; and in July of the next year the Peace of Passarowitz was concluded, on terms the most advantageous

for Austria. The famous capture of the city and fortress of Belgrade was the last grand deed of arms of Prince Eugene, and was celebrated then and long after by the whole German people in festival and song. Eugene died at Vienna, April 21, 1736; and the emperor, then in alliance with Russia, again took up arms against the Turks. But after a war of three years, by the shameful Peace of Belgrade in 1739, he gave back to the Turks not only Belgrade, but the whole southern frontier which Eugene had conquered.

§ 17. Charles VI. died October 20, 1740, after a reign of twenty-nine years. With him expired the male line of the house of Hapsburg, which had been foremost in Germany for nearly five hundred years, and had given sixteen sovereigns to the empire. The political effort of his reign was to secure the possessions of his family to his only daughter, Maria Theresa, in spite of the traditional Salic law excluding females from the throne. By large concessions to each of the great powers, Charles succeeded, during his life, in obtaining successively the adhesion of Spain, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, Holland, the Empire, Denmark, Sardinia, and France to his "Pragmatic Sanction," which designated Maria Theresa as the heir to the Austrian dominions. The Austrian estates, and those of Bohemia and Hungary, also accepted this disposition of their kingdoms; and upon Charles's death, Maria Theresa ascended the throne, with no resistance save a Bavarian protest, and associated her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, with herself in the government.

§ 18. The German Empire no longer exercised an important influence among nations; but most of the German people still regarded it as an element in their own political life. The Peace of Westphalia had practically secured the local sovereignty of the states of the empire against the emperor. His crown was scarcely more than an honorary decoration, and brought him, from the entire empire, a revenue of about 13,000 florins (\$5000). The general arrangements by which it had been designed to form a sort of constitution for the empire, at the end of the fifteenth century, were utterly neglected. The Imperial Chamber of Justice was removed from Spire, when that city was destroyed, to Wetzlar. It still assumed to be a supreme court for all the states and mem-

bers of the empire ; but its processes were wrapped in tedious and endless folds of form and ceremony, so that decisions were obtained but rarely, and were then not respected. The emperor had established at Vienna a court, whose members were appointed by themselves. It was designed to sustain the emperor's influence in judicial matters ; but it had fallen into worse repute than the imperial chamber for slowness and corruption. The general Diets of the empire, which had been magnificent assemblies, at which the emperor and the great princes appeared in person, were soon after the Peace of Westphalia changed into a permanent Diet, held at Regensburg. Its session began January 20, 1663. The emperor and the princes merely sent their ambassadors, who had to refer constantly to their chiefs for instructions, so that there could be no prompt decision in any case. The Diet spent its time mainly in discussing the vainest formalities. The circles were still preserved in name, but had little significance left. Austria, which formed a distinct circle, kept itself entirely apart. Out of the circle of Upper Saxony arose the new power of Brandenburg and Prussia, which also had extensive possessions in the circles of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and exercised a commanding influence there. Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, in 1697 ascended the throne of Poland as Augustus II. (the Strong), and regarded himself as one of the monarchs of Europe. In 1692, Ernest Augustus of Hanover, having united in himself most of the long-scattered possessions of the house of Welf, obtained from Leopold I., in spite of the jealousy and opposition of other German princes, the dignity of Elector, and became the ninth member of the college. His son, George I., was called to the throne of England in 1714. Thus the powers which obtained an important position in the European system, and maintained armies of their own, outgrew the old limits of the circles. In the southwestern part of the empire, where there were no princes of commanding power, the "border circles" of the Rhine—Suabia, Bavaria, and Franconia—were still of some importance. They formed, above all, the army of the empire, whose poverty, however, which almost amounted to "looped and windowed raggedness," became a mockery. The importance of Germany in

international affairs, therefore, now rested entirely with the large countries, which cared nothing for the empire.

§ 19. But in all the territories, small and great alike, the power of the princes was now unlimited. The Diet of 1654 took almost entirely away the power which the estates had enjoyed under each territorial lord of levying supplies. In many of the territories the estates then disappeared, while in others they sank to be mere tools of the princes. Most of the German princes had a French education, and imitated Louis XIV., not only in his resolve to be absolute, but in the splendor of his court, and in its tone and tastes. They often even excelled that court in its immorality. Augustus II. of Saxony is an example at once of monstrous extravagance and oppression. Dresden, his capital, was adorned with churches, palaces, theatres, and art collections, in the most splendid style of Versailles. Festivals were prolonged for months; tournaments, comedies, operas, races, and masquerades were planned with all imaginable accompaniments; and the king attended them wearing jewels, or a coat with diamond buttons valued at millions of dollars. The same tendencies prevailed elsewhere. When George I. of Hanover married his daughter, Sophia Dorothea, to the son of King Frederick I. of Prussia, her journey to Berlin required at each post in Hanover a relay of five hundred and twenty horses. She was met at the Prussian frontier by a deputation with three hundred and fifty horses. After the electors of Hanover became kings of England, they did much for their favorite German state, building fine palaces there, and founding the University of Göttingen. The extravagance of the princes was a heavy burden to the large countries, but it was a cruel and crushing weight upon smaller ones, like Hesse and Wirtemberg, where the rulers sometimes went to still more absurd lengths. The people groaned under the arbitrary oppression of officers, most of whom had bought their offices, and under taxes which were beyond their resources; while the wild beasts, which were recklessly preserved as game, laid waste the poor man's fields. The spiritual lords were commonly no less extravagant and reckless than the rest.

§ 20. Thus the internal condition of Germany was deplorable. The prosperity of the citizens and the peasantry re-

vived very slowly, and in these hard times they had nothing to do but to endure and pay. They, too, almost wholly lost their patriotism, their interest in the welfare of the empire as a whole, and had left them only a severe and formal though generally honorable family life, a rigid creed, and a very narrow culture. Yet, just as German valor renewed its fame in the victories of Eugene, of the Great Elector, and "the Old Dessauer," so the nation had scholars and thinkers who stood foremost in European reputation. Such were Leibnitz (1646-1716), the faithful friend and servant of the Welfs of Hanover; Thomasius (1655-1728), the founder of the University of Halle, and the first to introduce the German language into university instruction; and Wolf (1679-1754), who carried forward the work of Thomasius, and interpreted Leibnitz's thoughts to wider circles of men. During this time the Protestants were still oppressed in Catholic districts, as in Augsburg, and the blind zeal of the Lutherans against the Reformed faith continued to characterize certain universities, as that of Wittenberg. But a kinder, gentler Christianity began to show itself. Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) was foremost in this movement, which inspired Francke (died 1727), the great founder of the orphan asylum at Halle. The pietistic principles, as they were called, were extended among the higher classes, even among the nobles and princes of Germany, by Count Zinzendorf (died 1760), the founder of the Herrnhut communities. Such facts as these show that the intellectual character of the nation was now beginning to find a broader and freer development than before.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE RISE AND RAPID GROWTH OF PRUSSIA.

§ 1. Brandenburg and Prussia. § 2. Elector George William. § 3. Accession of Frederick William, the Great Elector. § 4. He Raises an Army. § 5. His Administration in New Territories. § 6. His Wars against Charles X., and Alliance with Him. § 7. He makes himself Absolute in Prussia. § 8. War against France and Sweden. § 9. He Defeats the Swedes at Fehrbellin. § 10. Drives them out of Pomerania. § 11. Loses his Conquests by Treaty. § 12. Fails to Obtain Liegnitz; Naval Expeditions and Colonies. § 13. He Welcomes the French Protestants to Prussia. His Death. § 14. His Character and Achievements. § 15. Frederick III. of Brandenburg Extends his Dominion. § 16. Becomes "King in Prussia," as Frederick I. § 17. His Policy at Home. § 18. Frederick William I., his Character and Policy. § 19. His Absolutism; his Army. § 20. War against Charles XII. of Sweden. The Empress Catharine. § 21. End of the War and Death of Charles XII. § 22. War of the Polish Succession. Death of Frederick William I. § 23. Political Condition of the Empire.

§ 1. FROM the time of the Thirty-Years' War, it was in the northeastern part of the old empire that German life showed most vigor. Brandenburg had here grown up into a state of importance, out of the marches of Saxony and the colonies of the various North German states. The house of Hohenzollern obtained possession of this district in 1415, when it was nearly ruined, and patiently built it up and strengthened it. For a time, indeed, no progress was made. After the bold achievements of Frederick I., Frederick II., and Albert Achilles, none of their successors distinguished himself like them, though there was not among them a worthless or inferior prince. From the time of the Reformation, the Hohenzollerns also held the duchy of Prussia, formerly the land of the German order of knights, and laid claim, on this ground, to districts on the Rhine and to the territories of Cleves. In 1614 Cleves, and in 1618 Prussia, fell to the house of Brandenburg; so that they were united in the hands of the Elector Sigismund (1608-1619), who embraced the Calvinistic faith, and thus connected himself closely with



the powers which opposed the Hapsburg supremacy. Thus, while his ancestors had for a century been controlled and embarrassed by their relations to the emperor, he was now able to pursue an independent course.

§ 2. When George William (1619–1640) succeeded his father, Brandenburg was too large and powerful to remain neutral in the great war. But the elector was hampered by the division of his lands, and their distance from one another, by the distrust his Lutheran subjects felt toward him and his Reformed faith, and by the want of interest taken in his plans by his states, which, even in extreme danger, were hardly ready to grant the supplies necessary for the most meagre preparations. He was thus driven to act on a petty scale, and this tendency was sustained by his Catholic counselor, Adam of Schwarzenburg. Thus, after the battle at the White Mountain, the duchy of Jägerndorf was taken by the emperor from George the Pious, uncle of George William, who could only look on and see his house despoiled. This halting policy injured his lands more than a decided course on either side. Mansfeld, Wallenstein, and the Swedes successively wasted them. After George William acceded to the separate Peace of Prague, the Swedes were his enemies, while he was compelled to receive into his fortresses garrisons which had taken the oath of service to the emperor, and his territories were constantly traversed by the contending armies. Finally, half in despair, he left the marches, which had almost been made a desert, and repaired to Prussia, where the ravages of war had been less terrible. Here he died, December 1, 1640.

§ 3. His son, Frederick William, "the Great Elector," was but twenty years of age when his father died. He was the founder of the new great power in Germany. The condition of his country was bad enough when he came to the throne; if that can be called a country which consisted of three detached territories—Cleves, Brandenburg, and Prussia. The terrible pressure of the war was for the time the worst feature of the case. But Frederick William, though so young, was the man for the emergency. His early youth had been spent amid the dangers of war, to escape which the elector's family had been often hurried from one castle to another.

His father had sent him, when a lad, to the court of Holland, under the protection of Frederick Henry, the great warrior and statesman, son of William of Orange. He was strong enough to shun the temptations and pleasures of the Hague with the same firmness with which he met the dangers of war, as at the siege of Breda; and his character was greatly fortified here. Besides, he became familiar with the workings of the little state of Holland, which religious and civil freedom, law and order at home, trade, and the wise cultivation especially of ocean commerce, had made unquestionably one of the foremost nations of the world. This lesson was one which the wise young man never forgot. He was soon to become heir to Prussia, with its sea-coast; to Pomerania, with the mouths of the Oder; to the sandy and marshy lands of the marches, which, however inferior in fertility to the rich tracts of Austria, might still be made rich by persistent diligence. The prince brought home large views and projects, and attended his father on his journey to Prussia, and until his death.

§ 4. The young elector found his first work, amid the miseries of the war, in forming a standing army: the means by which Sweden and Austria had grown great. Indeed, every important power at that time aimed to maintain such an army. Frederick William began with a very small force. He was first served by Colonel von Burgsdorf, and then by General von Spaer; but as his army grew, Marshal von Derffling became its hero and leader. This soldier was originally a journeyman tailor, but gave up his yard-stick for a sword, and was schooled in the Swedish army. In order to carry on his work, Frederick William wished to be free from annoyance by the Swedes, so that he made a truce with them in 1642, without regard to the emperor's displeasure; and remained neutral to the end of the great war.

§ 5. By the Peace of Westphalia the Swedes obtained Lower Pomerania with the islands, and Frederick William only Upper Pomerania, though the inheritance of both had been assured to him at the death of Bogislaw XIV. in 1637. As a compensation, he received the duchy of Magdeburg, with Halberstadt, and the bishoprics of Minden and Camin. These were fine territories; but he still longed for Stettin,

the mouths of the Oder, and the coasts of the Baltic, desiring to possess a navy. His next work was to restore the desolated land to prosperity. The elector promoted this by improving the system of taxation. He substituted for the former taxes an excise upon all commodities, foreign or domestic, consumed in the country. This tax was easier to collect, and all classes contributed to pay it. It increased the income of the state gradually, from \$280,000 of our money to more than a million, and yet the country rapidly rose to prosperity again. The elector, by a wise economy in using his resources, soon had money to increase his army, which at the close of his reign contained 27,000 men. Nor was it long before its usefulness to him became evident.

§ 6. Queen Christina of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, abdicated in 1654. Her cousin, Charles X., succeeded her; but John Casimir, King of Poland, the son of Sigismund, refused to acknowledge him. War was declared between the two powers, one on each side of Frederick William. He endeavored at first to mediate for peace. But the Swedes, with the presumption of habitual conquerors, marched through his territories—Pomerania and Neumark; and Charles X. soon occupied all Poland, and then pressed hard upon the elector, who had tried to defend his duchy of Prussia, in his second capital city of Königsberg. But John Casimir soon reconquered his land, with the help of the emperor, and Charles X. then offered Frederick William peace and an alliance. The elector saw his opportunity to throw off the feudal supremacy of Poland, and he earnestly embraced the Swedish cause. In the three-days' battle at Warsaw, July 28, 29, and 30, 1656, the raw troops of Brandenburg fought with equal credit beside the veterans of Sweden, and with them won a great victory. Charles X., by the convention of Labiau in 1656, promised to Frederick William Prussia, including the bishopric of Ermeland, as an independent and sovereign duchy. The King of Poland, who had threatened to send the elector to a place where neither sun nor moon could shine on him, was now forced to negotiate, and to offer the same terms as Sweden. The elector was too crafty a statesman not to make good use of his position between the two powers. He formed an alliance

with the emperor, and his vote in 1657 secured to Leopold the election, against the wiles of France. He also joined Poland again, and obtained by the treaty of Wechlau the same guarantee for Prussia which Sweden had offered. Charles X. was now attacked also by Holland and Denmark, the latter country wishing to secure Bremen and Verden. He exhibited the most splendid military genius in the war: expelled the Danes from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, and in 1658 even crossed the frozen strait of Fünen into Zealand, and imposed on Denmark the Peace of Roeskilde. But very soon after he broke this treaty himself, and endeavored to subjugate Denmark and to capture Copenhagen. Then Frederick William, with his imperial auxiliary troops, marched into Holstein, and even to Jutland and Fünen, where the battle of Nyberg, in 1659, was decided in part by Brandenburg troops. Charles X. was still strong in reliance on France, when he suddenly died, February 23, 1660. The regency which governed in his infant son's name made haste to accept the peace for which negotiations were already begun. It was concluded at Oliva, a monastery near Dantzic, May 3, 1660; and by its terms Poland surrendered all feudal rights in Prussia, where Frederick William thenceforth reigned as sovereign prince.

§ 7. Frederick William now had leisure to think of uniting in one state his scattered territories. The councils or "estates" in Cleves and in Brandenburg were slow and antiquated bodies; the elector, whose new system of taxation needed little aid from them, rarely called them together, and they finally requested that they might be summoned no more. The Prussian estates, however, were accustomed to take part in the government, and had little fancy for the rigid discipline and order of Brandenburg. They were fascinated by the unbridled liberty, or license, of their Polish neighbors. They insisted, too, that Poland could not transfer their allegiance to Frederick William without their consent, and refused to recognize his authority, while the extreme party among them entered into traitorous negotiations with Poland. At the head of this party were Jeromo Rhode, the chief officer of Königsberg, and Colonel von Kalkstein. But the elector, finding that neither mildness nor

threatening was effectual, appealed to force. He imprisoned Rhode, who refused to ask forgiveness, and died, defiant, in prison. Kalkstein, who had threatened the elector's life, was once seized and then pardoned, when he broke his pledge, and fled to the Poles. In Warsaw he presented himself as a representative of the Prussian states, and in their name made charges against the elector, and demanded that Poland should vindicate its ancient rights. Frederick William, by his ambassador, had him secretly seized, wrapped in carpets, and brought to Prussia, and he was decapitated at Memel in 1671. The opposition was now crushed, and the elector was the unquestioned sovereign of Prussia. In such acts as this, Frederick William resembled Louis XIV.; but his absolutism was of a very different kind—it served the state, instead of sacrificing the state to his own vanity or pleasure.

§ 8. Brandenburg now enjoyed twelve years of peace. In 1672 the elector took part in the war against Louis XIV., and was the first of the German princes to go to the help of Holland, quietly disregarding the French king's offers and promises. He well knew the value of Holland to the freedom of Europe. But he was treated most ungenerously by Austria, and was so vigorously attacked by Louis XIV. in Cleves and Westphalia that he was compelled to accept the Peace of Vossem in 1673. The next year, however, the German Empire went into the war, and Frederick William again came to the Rhine; this time with twenty thousand men, far more than his proportion. Louis XIV. stirred up a new enemy against him in Sweden. The Swedes advanced into his territory from Lower Pomerania, plundering and burning their way through Upper Pomerania, Neumark, and Priegnitz to the region of the Havel, and were making ready in 1675 to cross the Elbe into Altmark.

§ 9. The news of these events reached the elector at the river Main. He at once set out with his cavalry and a select body of infantry of twelve hundred men, and reached Magdeburg June 11, 1675. Here he closed the city gates, that the news of his approach might not go before him, and rested two days. He then placed his twelve hundred musketeers in wagons, and again moved on by forced marches. On June

15 he occupied Rathenow, crossed the Havel, and thus reached the middle of the long line of the Swedes, which stretched from Havelberg to Brandenburg. The left wing of this line now made haste to extricate itself from the morasses which inclose the region of the Havel, and to cross the river Rhin, the former boundary between the Havel land and the county of Ruppín, which is fordable in but few places. At one of these fords, Fehrbellín, and on a sandy plain full of pines, the elector forced them to a fight, June 18, 1675. He had been able, in his extreme haste, to keep with him but five thousand six hundred mounted men, and with these he attacked eleven thousand Swedes (four thousand cavalry, seven thousand infantry, and thirty-eight guns). At the opening of the fight, he made haste to place his artillery on a hill which commanded the field; and here followed the fiercest of the battle. The elector was only rescued by his faithful horsemen, who cut a way out for him from the midst of surrounding foes. Emanuel of Froben fell, as tradition relates, a voluntary sacrifice for his master. This exploit decided the day in favor of Brandenburg. The young and rising power had defeated Sweden, whose military fame had stood unshaken ever since the days of Gustavus Adolphus, and the elector had the honor of delivering his country from the power of foreigners. In seven days more there was not an enemy in the marches. The empire now declared war against Sweden; and Denmark, eager to obtain Bremen and Verden, German possessions of Sweden, formed an alliance with the Great Elector.

§ 10. Thus supported, Frederick William marched to attack Sweden's German districts. Before the end of 1676 he had conquered almost all of Lower Pomerania. In 1677 he took Stettín, and then Greifswalde and even Stralsund. To reduce this city, it was necessary to cross to Rügen, with the help of the Danes, and of the little fleet which the elector had already collected on the Baltic. Not a foot of German soil was now possessed by Sweden. Frederick William went to Westphalia to defend Cleves against the French. There, in December, 1678, he received the news that the Swedes had invaded Prussia. Though the cold was severe, and he was sick, yet he withdrew his army from Pomerania, and joined

them in person at Marienwerder in January, 1679, where he mustered nine thousand men. The Swedes had already begun a retreat. The elector collected sleds from the whole country to transport his infantry; and, boldly taking the direct way across the frozen Haff, cut off the enemy's retreat. But he came upon the mere remnants of an army disorganized and in flight. The winter's cold and the vigorous pursuit of the Brandenburgers, who followed them almost to Riga, left scarcely a tenth of the fifteen thousand Swedes.

§ 11. Thus the war was ended. But the elector's allies had already concluded a peace with Louis XIV. apart from him, that of Nymwegen, in 1678. It was the envy of Austria that induced them thus to desert their ally. Louis XIV. now had him alone to deal with, and occupied Cleves, and then Mark, Ravensberg, and Minden. Frederick William could not resist his power, and Louis demanded the restoration of all that he had taken from Sweden. The elector finally submitted, wishing for an avenger of his own blood to punish his faithless allies. The conduct of Louis XIV. at this time was marked by unparalleled insolence toward Germany. He caused a colossal statue of himself to be made, standing on the necks of four slaves, representing the Emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg, Spain, and Holland. But though the German rulers bitterly resented his treatment of them, none of them could resist him. By the Peace of St. Germain, in 1679, the elector restored to Sweden all the conquered lands.

§ 12. Nor was this the last of the elector's mortifications. In 1675 the ducal house of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau became extinct. By the old convention of 1537, Brandenburg was to succeed to their lands. But Austria claimed them as a fief of Bohemia, and took possession of them without regard to the rights of Brandenburg. It was said in Vienna in so many words, "His imperial majesty is not pleased to permit a new Vandal kingdom to arise on the Baltic." Austria repeatedly refused to accept aid from the elector against the Turks when in sore need of it, lest he should take military possession of these provinces. After the peace of St. Germain, Frederick William's distrust and anger toward his late allies drove him to seek better relations with France; but

this was an unnatural friendship, which could not last. Spain owed him money for subsidies advanced during the late war. But repayment was refused, and the elector sent his little fleet to attack Spain by sea. This fleet consisted of ten frigates, which he had caused to be built for him in Holland before the war, and which had done good service against the Swedes. These vessels captured several Spanish trading ships of value, but failed to intercept the annual "silver fleet," which brought the produce of the American mines to Spain; and it was finally driven by the superior navy of Spain, and by stormy weather, to seek shelter in a Portuguese harbor. The emperor now had need of the elector's help against the Turks, in order to recover Hungary; and he assigned him the circle of Schwiebus in satisfaction of his claims in Silesia, and in addition a money claim of his own on East Friesland, by which Frederick William obtained possession of Emden and Gretsyl, as security for the money. From these points his vessels sailed to his colonies. For he had already taken possession of a strip of land on the African gold-coast, building there the fortress of "Great-Fredericksburg;" and he had purchased from the Danes part of St. Thomas in the West Indies. These colonies, however, were not successful. They were in unfortunate locations, and were entirely abandoned by his successors within forty years. But they serve to illustrate the restless and far-sighted activity of the Great Elector.

§ 13. Frederick William soon quarreled with Louis XIV. again. In 1685, Louis began to persecute his Protestant subjects with severity (Chap. XX., § 7). He was as resolute that but one faith should be acknowledged in France as that the king's will should be supreme there. The Great Elector, the protector of all Protestants in Germany, opened his lands to all French refugees; and they came thither, bringing their manufacturing arts and skill. This provoked Louis. The elector then gave aid to William III. of Orange, his wife's nephew, who, sustained by the great nobles of England, deposed James II., his Catholic father-in-law, and ascended the English throne. James II. was in the pay of Louis XIV., and dependent on him; so that these events increased his indignation against the elector. Frederick William, however, did



not live to see his plans consummated. He died in 1688, leaving them as a momentous trust to his son Frederick III.

§ 14. The Great Elector was the only ruler of true greatness of whom Germany could boast during the seventeenth century. It was the melancholy Peace of Westphalia which opened his way; for by disintegrating the German Empire, and constituting the princes sovereigns in their own domains, that treaty enabled Frederick William to act as an independent monarch. He built up a new power out of the wreck of the empire. With comparatively small resources at first, he succeeded by treaties within and without Germany in preventing any one monarchy from overshadowing Europe, and was especially efficient in checking Louis XIV.'s ambition. He was the first to attack Louis's overgrown power in 1672, and the last to abandon the field against him in 1679. William III of Orange afterward pursued the same policy with still greater power and success. Frederick William was an astute diplomatist, versed in the cunning and unprincipled statesmanship of his times; but he was also an able warrior, and out of small beginnings he built up a great state. But this man, in international affairs a hero, becomes, in the internal administration of his own country, a careful and prudent economist. He was wise and sparing in his expenses, and cultivated the resources of his territories with such success that, in spite of heavy taxation, the people were prosperous. The French refugees, to whom the elector's son granted space for a colony of their own at Berlin, greatly stimulated the growth of productive industry, then in its infancy. Frederick William also facilitated and extended trade by making roads and canals. His principal work of this class was the canal which bears his name, and which unites the Oder with both the Spree and the Elbe. While his mind was busied with the vastest projects, and his ambassadors and his court displayed all the magnificence and stately ceremonial of the age, he was at home simple, childlike, and companionable. He would fish in the carp-pond in Potsdam, water his own dahlias in the pleasure-garden of Berlin, buy singing-birds in the public market, and carry them home for himself. Though not free from reproach in his political conduct, in private life he was a man

of deep and genuine piety. His first wife, Louise Henriette of Orange, was a worthy companion for him. At his death he left to his son a state, not as yet continuous, indeed, in territory, but larger than Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden together now are, and so important that it was a kingdom in all but name.

§ 15. Frederick III. of Brandenburg (1688–1713) succeeded his father, the Great Elector. His abilities had been undervalued by his father, and during his life they were not on good terms together, while his step-mother, Dorothea of Holstein, hated him bitterly, and tried to wrest the inheritance from him for the benefit of her own children. She was popularly known as the “Brandenburg Agrippina,” because it was believed that she had attempted to poison Frederick, and even that she had actually poisoned his young wife. Frederick, as crown prince, obtained support from Austria, and signed agreements in return which he did not fully understand until, as reigning duke, he was required to fulfill them. He then (in 1695) gave back the circle of Schwiebus to Austria, but refused to give the required renunciation of all claims on Silesia. He was a prince of fair diplomatic ability. Following out his father’s plans, he aided William III. in his expedition to England in 1688, and his Brandenburg troops actually escorted the new constitutional king to Whitehall. When Louis XIV. began his third war of conquest—that in the Palatinate—and the Emperor Leopold, who was busied with the Turks, delayed the defense of the western frontier, Frederick acted with a spirit and wisdom worthy of his father. He formed an alliance with Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel, marched in person to the Rhine, and commanded at the capture of Bonn, which the French had occupied. He also followed up the policy of his ancestors in extending his domains. He purchased Quedlinburg from Augustus II., the lavish elector of Saxony. At the death of William III. he obtained from the Orange inheritance the counties of Linden and Mörs, and, in Switzerland, the principality of Neufchatel and Valengin.

§ 16. But this prince is best remembered for the fact that under him Brandenburg became the Kingdom of Prussia. No ruler was more susceptible to the influence of Louis XIV.’s

court and the prevailing taste for display than Frederick. Two houses in North Germany—those of Hanover and Saxony—had attained high honors in Europe with Frederick's consent and help. He now desired equal honor for his own family, whose possessions were already quite equal to some of the minor European kingdoms. His territories included about 45,000 square miles. Circumstances were favorable at this time to his assumption of the royal title. About the year 1700 Europe was agitated by two great wars. In the North, Russia, under Peter the Great, Poland, under Augustus II., and Denmark, under Frederick IV., formed a league against Charles XII., the young and heroic king of Sweden, who, however, rapidly humbled one after another of his enemies. In the South, meanwhile, the War of the Spanish Succession was preparing. The elector was in an advantageous position; he was courted on all sides. Austria, in particular, was zealous for an alliance with him; so that the time seemed ripe to obtain the consent of the emperor and his allies to assume the title of king in his own land of Prussia, which did not belong to the empire. To pretend to royalty in his German possessions was of course impossible as long as the form of the empire continued to exist. The shrewd and far-seeing Prince Eugene, indeed, thought that "the minister who should advise the emperor to recognize the Prussian throne ought to be hanged." But in Vienna the apparent advantage for the moment was the prevailing consideration; and on January 18, 1701, Frederick had himself and his wife crowned with great pomp at Königsberg, and assumed the style of "Frederick I., King in Prussia;" and the Emperor Leopold was the first sovereign to acknowledge the title. The full importance of this step was not obvious at the time. Frederick the Great remarks that his grandfather, by this act, said to his successors, "I have attained a title for you, show yourselves worthy of it. I have laid the foundation of your greatness—you must finish the work."

§ 17/It was the king's disposition to surround the new royal title with royal splendor. He laid out as a residence and capital the new part of the city of Berlin on a scale beyond the wants and resources of the time. The royal palace, the arsenal, and Charlottenburg were built after Schlüter's

designs, and the long bridge was adorned with the equestrian statue of the Great Elector, by the same artist. A new section was added to the city; the "Frederick's City" (Friedrichstadt), with the beautiful street "Under the Lindens," came into being. The new king's wife was the highly intelligent Sophie Charlotte of Hanover, the friend of Leibnitz, upon whose plans the Academy of the Sciences was founded in Berlin in 1711. Nor was the work of education or of charity neglected. The University of Halle was founded in 1694, side by side with the famous orphan-house, the wonderful creation of Hermann August Francke. Frederick I. continued to carry out his father's policy of protecting religious freedom, and defending the Protestants every where. In his love of display, he forgot the principles of prudent economy which nearly all the Hohenzollerns had practiced. His people were heavily burdened with taxes, and the Brandenburg finances, under the influence of Kolb of Wartenburg, a dexterous but shallow-minded minister, went to ruin. The king's last years were saddened by sickness and disappointments. He died February 25, 1713.

§ 18. Frederick William I. (1713-1740) fortunately proved to be a master of those very arts of financial and economical administration which the father had neglected. He was simple, military, and economical in his tastes, and bent on practical ends, so that he dispensed with the splendor of appearance then expected from a prince, and, indeed, despised it on principle. Rejecting the immoral tendencies which French example had made common in all courts, he strove to be the serious and strict father of his family and his country. He resolved to surround himself with piety and home-made manners. Frederick William exhibited great force of character in resisting the current of the times, and especially in his administration of the government. Every branch of it was made to centre in the General Directory, so that he, like a great landlord, had immediate supervision of the whole. In every department he insisted on a rigid economy. He impressed his own character upon the officers of his government, men famous as simple, abrupt, but conscientious ministers, who made his administration a machine. In the civil order, as established by him, his great son found little

to change. He had no fondness for science, except as it served immediate practical ends; but he laid the foundations of a regular system of popular education throughout Prussia. He followed the narrow theories of his age, in endeavoring to protect and cultivate the industry and resources of his own country by rigid isolation, and by levying heavy duties on the products of foreign labor. Thus he forbade the wearing of cloth not woven in the land, and, with his own family, set the example of wearing "homespun." He encouraged agriculture, and welcomed into the country refugees from religious persecution elsewhere. Many such came to him from Bohemia; but the settlement in East Prussia, which had been depopulated by a frightful pestilence, of seventeen thousand exiles from Salzburg, was his most important acquisition of this kind.

§ 19. Frederick William I. had an indomitable will, and was resolved that it should be supreme when he was king. The Great Elector had made the power of the sovereign paramount over that of the petty nobles; but Frederick William now brought this doctrine of absolute monarchy to its highest form. His amusements were the chase—his chief passion—painting, working a lathe, and the easy and informal evening gatherings which have become famous under the name of the "Tobacco Parliament." He was very zealous in his patriotism, and sometimes furious in his sudden wrath, so that he would lay about him vigorously with his Spanish cane. But though eccentric in many ways, he had a keen eye for justice and utility. His foreign policy was not fortunate. He attached himself with excessive zeal to Austria. His field-marshal, Grumkow, and the cunning Austrian ambassador Seckendorf, knew how to control him, and his simplicity was often abused by diplomatic arts. He was wholly, and often too exclusively, devoted to his army. His father had steadily enlarged, improved, and disciplined this army throughout his reign. Prince Leopold of Dessau, long remembered by the people as "the Old Dessauer," was the great instructor of the army in tactics and discipline. He was the general under whom the Prussians assisted to decide the battles of Höchstädt and Turin, and thus made their king's title respected. Frederick William I. lived his whole life in his sol-

diers. There was something surprising in his fondness for his "blue children," and especially for "long fellows"—a passion which led him to forget even his habits of economy. But he was firmly convinced that the future greatness of his state depended on building up a powerful army. He increased his forces to eighty-four thousand men; a great host for so small a kingdom, but his son made it the instrument of great accomplishments. The Prussian soldiers were regarded as models in Europe. Leopold of Dessau, a military genius, introduced the bayonet in his army, taught the men to form columns or lines on the field with great rapidity, and, by the use of metallic ramrods, to load and fire with a speed which often decided the battle. His discipline was cruel and barbarous. The men, who were more than half foreigners, recruited from various lands, were kicked and beaten into the art of war; but this roughness found a counterpart in the soldiers themselves. The Old Dessauer was a popular favorite, and a march named for him led the Brandenburgers to battle long after his death.

§ 20. Frederick William I. had but few occasions for actual warfare. The War of the Spanish Succession ended when he came to the throne, so that he joined in the Peace of Utrecht, and obtained by it part of the duchy of Guelders, previously a possession of the house of Orange. After this his army was twice called into service—the first time against Sweden. Charles XII. had visited his wrath against Augustus II. upon his unfortunate subjects of Saxony. In 1706 he invaded Saxony, laid waste the country, and in 1707 forced Augustus II. to the Peace of Altranstedt. Meanwhile he followed the example of Gustavus Adolphus, and extorted from Austria toleration for the persecuted Protestants in Silesia. He then invaded Russia; but the Russians retreated before him, leaving the country a desert; and when he reached Pultowa, his forces were reduced in numbers, so that they were utterly routed (June 27, 1709), and Charles, who was wounded, narrowly escaped capture. He fled to Turkey with a few followers, and the next year instigated the Grand Turk to war against Russia. During this war he surrounded the Czar, Peter the Great, in the Crimea, and would have taken him but for the address of a German girl from

Rinteln in Esthonia. This Martha had been the servant of a clergyman in Marienburg, where she married a Swedish dragoon. He was killed immediately afterward; but she remained with the army, was captured by the Russians, and became the slave and mistress of successive officers, until she attracted the attention of Menschikoff himself, and was taken into his household. She it was who bribed the grand vizier by the offering of all her jewels to let the Czar escape, and thus secured for Peter the Great the Peace of Falrin, July 23, 1711. His gratitude in after-years was such that, from his slave and companion, she became his wife, and on his death ascended the throne as Catharine, Czarina of all the Russias.

§ 21. Charles XII. afterward spent five years in Turkey, where he exercised a great influence over the government, but was finally driven away. Meanwhile his foes on every side attacked his kingdom. Lower Pomerania being threatened by Russia and Denmark, the Swedish regency in 1713 invited Frederick William I., as a neutral monarch, to occupy it. But the military governor of Stettin refused to give up the city save at the king's direct command; and Saxony and Russia captured it, but afterward delivered it to Frederick William I. on payment by him of four hundred thousand thalers to pay the costs of the war. But when Charles XII. returned from Turkey in 1714, he repudiated the treaty, and refused to repay the money. Frederick William I. then joined the enemies of Sweden, though he highly esteemed the king. He and the Danes besieged Charles XII. in Stralsund, and captured the city, Charles himself escaping with difficulty. Before he was assassinated in 1718, at Friedrichshall, the power of Sweden had fallen low in his hands. The Prussians again occupied Lower Pomerania, and took Rügen and Stralsund. George I., who had become king of England in 1714, but was still a zealous Hanoverian in policy, bought of Sweden for Hanover the Swedish districts of Bremen and Verden, then occupied by the Danes; and by the Peace of Stockholm, in 1720, obtained permanent possession of them. Denmark acquired that part of Schleswig which belonged to the house of Holstein-Gottorp. This peace also gave Prussia Lower Pomerania as far as the Peene, leaving to the

Swedes only the extreme point of the land, with Greifswalde, Stralsund, and the island of Rügen—all of which it retained until 1815. Frederick William took especial satisfaction in the recovery of Stettin, because of its value as a sea-port. Thus Sweden, mainly by the arms of Prussia, was driven out of Germany. But Russia, on the other hand, was rising in power under Peter the Great, and obtained from Sweden by the Peace of Nystadt nearly all of the German colonies in the Baltic, as Esthonia, Carelia, and Nyermanland. It also was already extending its control over Courland. It was now Russia, instead of Sweden, that held a threatening ascendancy in Northern Europe. Its armies were led mainly by Germans, often desperate adventurers, and many of its statesmen were of the same class.

§ 22. The other war in which Frederick William's troops were engaged was that of the Polish succession (1733-1735; Chap. XX., § 14). Lescinsky was supported by France, by the Elector of Bavaria, and the three Rhine electors. But Frederick William loyally supported the Emperor Charles VI., who, with Russia, upheld Augustus III. of Saxony: Charles on condition that Saxony should acknowledge the Pragmatic Sanction, Russia on condition that Courland, hitherto a fief of Poland, should fall to Russia on the extinction of the German ducal house of Kettler. A Russian army advanced to Dantzic, then a Polish city, and afterward even marched through Germany to the Rhine—the first appearance of the czars on German soil. Once more the veteran Prince Eugene of Savoy led an army to the Rhine. But no decisive battle was fought. France withdrew its demands, and Stanislaus Lescinsky obtained the duchy of Lorraine as a compensation; but by the agreement then made, it fell to France at his death in 1766. Francis Stephen, the young Duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, the emperor's daughter, received Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza in satisfaction of his loss. France acknowledged the Pragmatic Sanction. King Frederick William I., who was now, as always, faithful to the emperor, and had distinguished himself by his patriotism above the other princes, had been assured of the succession to the duchy of Berg at the extinction of the house of Pfalz-Neuburg. But at the end of the war he found himself



disappointed, and even industriously neglected by the emperor. He too, like the Great Elector, wished for an avenger, and hoped to find him in his son, the Crown-Prince Frederick. He was at last broken down in mind and body, and died May 31, 1740. He left an army ready for the field, 83,000 strong; a treasure of 9,000,000 thalers, besides silver bullion; a territory of 64,400 square miles, and with a population of nearly 2,500,000. He had increased the revenue of the state from two and a half to seven and a half millions of thalers; and Berlin had a population of nearly 100,000.

§ 23. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Germany reached the extreme point of disintegration, beyond which it could in no sense be regarded as a nation. It is said that at this time "the states of the empire" numbered no less than 314; and there were besides 1475 small territories, belonging to knights who had "the freedom of the empire." Each of these districts was practically a distinct sovereignty. Even the petty lords of the land aped the manners and style of the great courts, levied oppressive aids and taxes upon the people, sustained their own military and judicial establishments, and exercised absolute authority within their own territories. The spirit of freedom was almost every where extinct; rarely, indeed, was a bold voice heard, like that of Bishop Osiander in Wirtemberg, who, when ordered by the duke's mistress to insert in the service a prayer for her, answered that the right petition concerning her was already there, in the words of the Lord, "Deliver us from evil." Nor was the sentiment of German patriotism a power in political life. It was almost exclusively in the use of a common language, and in the production and enjoyment of a common literature, that the Germans preserved any sense of unity as a race or a nation. Nor was it until a generation later, when the very name of the empire had lost its charm and was ready to be thrown away, that the national literature of the Germans became the cherished treasure of the whole people, and began anew the work, in which the old imperial constitution had utterly failed, of binding them together in the consciousness of one great and progressive nation.

## CHAPTER XXII

### FREDERICK THE GREAT AND HIS REIGN, UNTIL THE SEVEN-YEARS' WAR.

§ 1. Accession of Frederick II. § 2. His Birth and Early Life. § 3. Quarrels with his Father. § 4. Peaceful Beginning of his Reign. § 5. Sudden Invasion of Silesia. § 6. Description and Early History of Silesia. § 7. The War of the Austrian Succession begins. § 8. Frederick Occupies Silesia. § 9. Hungary Sustains Maria Theresa. Charles Albert Elected Emperor. § 10. Frederick II. Victorious in Moravia; Peace of Breslau. § 11. The Second Silesian War; Francis of Lorraine Elected Emperor. § 12. Prussia Acquires East Friesland. § 13. The Peace of Aix; Change in Austrian Policy. § 14. The Change of Government in Silesia. § 15. Frederick II.'s Administration during Peace. § 16. His Literary Tastes; his French Culture and Friends. § 17. He Improves Berlin and Potsdam. § 18. Causes of the "Seven-Years' War."

§ 1. **FREDERICK II.** of Prussia ascended the throne just one hundred years after his great-grandfather, "the Great Elector." Almost a century had passed since the Peace of Westphalia; and during this time the German people had begun to renew their prosperity and their activity in industry, science, and art. While the empire had lost much in the west by France, it had gained nearly as much in the east; and the new kingdom of Prussia in particular had of late increased very rapidly in power and vigor.

§ 2. Frederick the Great was born at the palace in Berlin, January 24, 1712. His mother, Sophie Dorothea of Hanover, was a sister of George II. of England. His early years were spent under the care of women, but his father was too much of a soldier not to delight in the boy's military sports. But the father's sternness, and his frequent fits of angry passion, under which the queen herself often suffered, deeply wounded the sensitiveness of Frederick and of his eldest sister Wilhelmina. As Frederick grew up, his disgust for the heartless and arbitrary religious instruction he received, his preference for French literature and for music over the chase and the Tobacco Parliament, led the king to regard him as

“effeminate,” unsoldierly, and unworthy of the throne. He maltreated the prince, who defied him openly and ridiculed him in private. In 1728 the father and son together visited the Saxon court, a home of debauchery, from which young Frederick brought back inclinations of a dangerous character. He fell among reckless companions, pursued wild courses, and contracted many debts. A double alliance by marriage with the royal family of England had been proposed. Frederick was to marry the Princess Amelia of England, and the Prince of Wales was to marry the Princess Wilhelmina. Queen Sophie Dorothea had set her heart on this project, but George II. postponed signing the treaty; and finally Frederick William permitted himself to be influenced by Grumkow and Seckendorf to abandon the project. This was a heavy blow to young Frederick; and the Princess Amelia never married, cherishing to the last a romantic passion for her Prussian hero.

§ 3. The contemptuous and violent treatment to which the king subjected Frederick made him desperate, and in 1730, having been actually struck before others by his father, the prince determined to escape to France. The attempt was made during a journey to the Rhine, but failed. Frederick was detected, arrested, carried to Berlin as a prisoner, and tried by a court-martial, from which it seemed to be the king's wish to extort a sentence of death. Lieutenant Katte, the prince's friend and assistant, was actually executed before the window of Frederick's prison at Küstrin. These trials seem in some respects to have strengthened his character, but also to have embittered it. He yielded all he could to his father, and even consented to the marriage the king arranged for him with Elizabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern (married June 12, 1733), and in many respects shaped his life against his own inclinations to please the king. Upon receiving his assurance of submission and repentance, the king released Frederick from confinement, and gave him employment as member of a government board at Küstrin, whose work was to administer the crown-lands. Wilhelmina was soon after this married to the Margrave of Baireuth, and Frederick was restored to favor, and received for his residence the castle of Rheinsberg, in New-Ruppin, where

he set up his own little court in 1736, and spent the happiest part of his life among intellectual friends, and in the indulgence of his tastes for literature, music, and art. In 1734, the War of the Polish Succession drew him for a short time to the field on the Rhine, under the aged Prince Eugene. But he learned little here of war, save that the Austrian military organization was in a declining state. He was during these years an earnest student of politics and statesmanship as well as of the fine arts. None but his intimate friends knew that he was also fired with military ambition, and was still more eager to be a great king than to be a poet and a philosopher.

§ 4. Frederick William died May 31, 1740, having been for some time on very friendly terms with his son. At the accession of Frederick II., his subjects generally expected a golden time of unbroken peace, and of science and art. The young king seemed about to pursue this course. He recalled the philosopher Wolf, whom his father had expelled from Halle. He dismissed the royal guard of giants, and gave up the wild hunting sports which his father had practiced. He invited Frenchmen of genius to bring new life to the Academy. His earliest laws were for the abolition of such barbarisms as the torture. He then made the tour of the principal cities, including the courts of the Hohenzollerns in South Germany, and went down the Rhine from Strasburg to Cleves. Hither he invited Voltaire, who, in Brussels, had been hoping for a private visit from the king. He then returned to Potsdam, where his father had established the royal residence.

§ 5. In the matter of the bishopric of Lüttich, Frederick showed his purpose to uphold every right of his house; and he was now resolved to make good his father's claims to Berg, or to obtain from Austria an equivalent. The Emperor Charles VI. died October 20, 1740, the last male of the house of Hapsburg; and by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, which had now been guaranteed by all the European powers except Bavaria, his daughter, Maria Theresa, succeeded him in his Austrian possessions. Frederick thought this the time to urge his claims upon the Silesian duchies. But he was moved to this course much less by the right he claimed under old treaties than by his desire for action and

for gain, and his wish to revenge upon Austria the wrongs of the past. He quietly increased his army to 100,000 men, and then suddenly invaded Silesia, December, 1740, in order to occupy it at once as a security for his claims. These claims were founded on a treaty between Joachim II. of Brandenburg and the ducal house of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau in 1537, making each family the heir to the other's lands on failure of issue. The Silesian ducal succession failed in 1675; but Austria seized the lands as a fief of Bohemia, and took back from Frederick I., in 1695, the circle of Schwiebus, which Prussia had accepted as a substitute (see the preceding chapter). Frederick II. also brought forward the ancient claims of his family to the Silesian duchy of Jägerndorf.

§ 6. Silesia lies in the valley of the Oder, divided from Bohemia on the southwest by the lofty range of the Riesen-Gebirge, with few passes, while on the east and northeast it lies open to the vast plains of Poland. It is thus connected by its natural features with the Prussian territories into which the Oder flows, and cut off from Austria. The population is a mixture of colonists from all parts of Germany, and is of an intelligent, industrious, and good-natured character. The southern part, called Upper Silesia, is mountainous, but rich in mineral treasures, especially in coal and iron. In this region the Slavonic population remains in large numbers beside the Germans. But in Central and Lower Silesia, in the hilly and beautiful country north of the Riesen-Gebirge, and in the rich plain of the Oder from Breslau down to Glogau, the German settlers had been in the ascendancy ever since the fourteenth century. The princely house of the Piasts was now divided into many petty branches. Silesia contained some flourishing cities, of which the chief was Breslau, the centre of commerce with the East, a rich episcopal see, and a sort of capital for the entire country. Thus Silesia, with its German population, was like a wedge thrust between the Slavonic countries Bohemia and Poland, and reaching on the southeast to Hungary. This dangerous situation brought much trouble and sorrow. In the thirteenth century it was ravaged by the Mongols, and in the fifteenth by the Hussites. From the time of King John and the Em-

peror Charles IV., it was an adjunct of the Bohemian crown, and fell with it to the house of Hapsburg. Like Prussia, the land of the German order of knighthood, it was not regarded as in the empire, nor was it included in the division into circles. But the people were German in language and feelings. They embraced the Reformation at an early period, with their princes and noblemen, and with scarcely a struggle. But the battle at Mülberg began a new epoch. Rudolph and Ferdinand II., with their Jesuits, continued the persecutions, and especially after the battle on the White Mountain in 1620, and the fall of Frederick V., the oppression had been terrible. The political and religious liberties of the people were crushed. Under Leopold I. they were treated with such severity that Charles XII.'s attention was called to the subject during his march through the country, and he interceded with the emperor for them. But in spite of the persecutions, to which Charles VI. did not put an end, the Protestants continued to be numerous and powerful; and they were ready to look upon the Prussian invaders as liberators rather than enemies.

§ 7. Frederick's invasion of Silesia kindled a general war. For Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, chose the same time, under Prussia's example, to bring forward his claims to the whole of the hereditary possessions of Austria in Germany. Charles Albert was descended from a daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I.; and he claimed that that emperor had, by his will, made the house of Bavaria heir to his lands on failure of his own male descendants. Ferdinand's will, however, had in reality provided only for the case of the failure of all legitimate issue of his line, one which had not occurred. Charles Albert was also the husband of a daughter of the Emperor Joseph I. He was a man of no efficiency, and no resources in money or troops. He brought forward his claims in reliance on France. The revengeful and corrupt government of Louis XV. promised him aid, in exchange for shameful humiliation and dependence on his part, and for the promise of further concessions on the Rhine. Thus the War of the Austrian Succession broke out almost immediately after the first Silesian War. A secret alliance was made at Nymphenburg, near Munich, May 18, 1741, between

France and Bavaria, and was joined by Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, and Saxony. Augustus III. of Saxony was wholly influenced by Brühl, his vain and unscrupulous minister, and hoped to obtain cheap accessions of territory. Indeed, the plan of this alliance was to divide the Austrian possessions; giving Austrian Italy to Spain, Moravia and Upper Silesia to Saxony, the Netherlands to France, Tyrol, Bohemia, and Upper Austria to Bavaria, and Frederick's conquests in Silesia to Prussia. Maria Theresa was to retain only Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Hungary, and Lower Austria. England, Holland, and Russia declared in favor of Maria Theresa, but the last-named power was at once involved in a war with Sweden through the machinations of the French court, and England was slow to take an active part in the war.

§ 8. Frederick II had been long watching for the death of Charles VI., and now made the best use, upon this occasion, of the efficient army and the well-filled treasury his father had left. In December, 1740, he suddenly invaded Silesia, and occupied it almost without opposition; for Maria Theresa had no apprehension of an attack in that quarter, and had not prepared for it. The young king commanded his army in person. Breslau, a city which claimed the freedom of the empire, was declared neutral; Glogau was taken, and Neisse and Brieg were temporarily invested. After occupying Silesia, and proclaiming there his rights to the land, he offered in Vienna to protect Maria Theresa under the Pragmatic Sanction, if she would recognize his claims to Silesia. The offer was refused, and the war went on. In the spring of 1741, Neipperg led an Austrian army into Silesia, and marched by way of Neisse to Brieg. Frederick met it at Mollwitz, April 10, 1741. Both armies were small, and they preserved the same old cumbrous order of battle adopted in the Thirty-Years' War. The Austrian cavalry was much more numerous than the Prussian, broke through it, seized the artillery in the centre, and seemed to have won the day. Frederick allowed Marshal Schwerin to persuade him to leave the field of battle, in order to cover the retreat with the reserve troops. But Schwerin then, through the firmness and superiority of the Prussian infantry, won a com-

plete victory. Brieg, too, was then taken; and on August 10 Frederick received homage in Breslau.

§ 9. In September of the same year, the Bavarians, reinforced by the French, moved down the Danube to Linz. French troops under Belleisle, with Saxon aid, invaded Bohemia. In this extremity, Maria Theresa showed herself great. Her youth and misfortunes, and her character, aroused in her own territories such an enthusiasm that the people were ready for any sacrifice; and she really presents a grander figure on the stage of history than any of her male ancestors for two hundred years before. The people of Hungary especially distinguished themselves by their devotion to her. At Presburg, September 11, 1741, she went through the traditional ceremony of receiving the crown of St. Stephen, and, dressed in the Hungarian style, stood in the assembly of the nobles, demanding their support; when, with one impulse and one voice, they cried out, drawing their sabres, "*Mori-amur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresia*"—"Let us die for Maria Theresa, our king." She opened the campaign at the end of the year 1741, with few regular Austrian troops, her army consisting chiefly of Hungarians and Croats. She reoccupied Austria; while Charles Albert went to Prague, which had been taken by the united French, Bavarians, and Saxons, instead of going to Vienna. At Prague, December 19, he was crowned king of Bohemia, and then proceeded to Frankfort, to receive his coronation as emperor. For Frederick had instigated the plot to deprive the house of Hapsburg of the imperial dignity, and Charles Albert actually received the election, January 24, 1742. He entered Frankfort in state, holding his grand festival January 31, and was crowned as Charles VII. February 12th; but while he was with Belleisle, who managed every thing for him, in the old imperial city, the Austrian army with its barbarous allies invaded Bavaria, and even entered Munich (February 13).

§ 10. Frederick II., when his first negotiations with Austria failed, entered into a closer alliance with France and Bavaria, and in 1742 invaded Moravia, took Olmütz, and besieged Brunn, while his light cavalry scoured the country toward Vienna and Presburg. But the vigorous movement of the Austrians to Bavaria forced him to return. He marched to





Charles VII. (1742-1745).

Bohemia, to join his allies there. He was followed by an Austrian army larger than his own under Charles of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's brother-in-law, and was unexpectedly attacked by them at Chotusitz, near Czaslau, May 17, 1742. The French forces then in Bohemia failed to co-operate with the Prussians, who were left to fight the battle alone. But the wonderful discipline of the Prussians, and the superiority of their cavalry, obtained for Frederick a decisive victory. Immediately after the battle he obtained conclusive proof of the insincerity of his French allies, who had long been endeavoring to make a separate peace with Austria, and he became more eager than ever to terminate the war. The British government exercised its great influence with Maria Theresa, in favor of peace, and on July 11, 1742, a treaty was signed at Breslau, by which Silesia and the county of Glatz

were ceded and forever confirmed to Frederick and his heirs. The Austrian Queen was from the first dissatisfied with these terms, and murmured against her allies, and especially George II. of England, for requiring of her so great a sacrifice, but she was without the means of prolonging the war alone. Frederick returned to his capital in triumph, and was welcomed with enthusiasm by his people, who now for the first time began to call him Frederick the Great.

§ 11. Maria Theresa then carried on the war successfully against France and Bavaria. Austrian troops reached the Main and the Rhine, then joined the English under George II., and defeated the French and Bavarians at Dettingen, near Hanau, June 27, 1743. Charles Albert was driven from his own country, and his cause was desperate. A new alliance was formed at Worms between Austria, England, Holland, and Sardinia, by which all the Austrian lands were guaranteed to Maria Theresa. She now hoped to obtain Bavaria as a compensation for Silesia. Saxony found its hopes of securing Upper Silesia destroyed by the Peace of Breslau, and joined the league. Frederick II. saw that these proceedings were a preparation for attacking him and recovering Silesia for Austria, and that it would not be wise to permit France and Bavaria to be crushed. He therefore embraced the cause of Charles Albert, and led eighty thousand men into Bohemia, in August, 1744, while the French advanced from the Rhine. Thus began the Second Silesian War of 1744-45. Frederick found Bohemia almost without a garrison; captured Prague, September 17, and advanced far southward into the country. But the want of supplies, owing to the hostility of the Catholic population and the destruction of some of his stores, compelled him to withdraw into Silesia in the autumn. The French, too, failed to send him efficient aid, so that the Austrians were able during the winter to enter Silesia itself, and take possession of a great part of it. Thus the campaign ended unfortunately for the king. On January 8, 1745, the "quadruple alliance" was formed at Warsaw, between England, Austria, Holland, and Saxony, to wrest Silesia from Prussia, and reduce the rank of that monarchy. Thus Frederick found himself face to face with an enemy of far superior force, and that when his treasury

was exhausted. But the brilliant battle of Hohenfriedberg, fought June 4, 1745, saved him. The Prussian cavalry and infantry vied with each other in heroism. The Baireuth regiment alone, under General Gessler, captured sixty-seven standards, and was ever afterward permitted to carry the number "67" on its cartridge-boxes. This victory enabled Frederick to drive the enemy entirely out of Silesia, and to invade Bohemia. But here he met with other difficulties, and the enemy with superior numbers fell upon him at Sor. September 30, 1745; but Prussian disciplined valor again converted surprise into victory. Frederick however continued his retreat to Silesia. The Austrians and Saxons, supposing him much weakened, undertook to attack the Marches. But he defeated the Saxons at Hennersdorf, near Görlitz, and then marched to Dresden, while Leopold of Dessau advanced up the Elbe from Magdeburg. England had already opened negotiations for peace when Leopold, spurred by a sharp letter from the king, attacked the Saxons and Austrians at Kesselsdorf, near Dresden, December 15, 1745, and after a severe struggle gained a complete victory. This was the last achievement of "the Old Dessauer," who died of apoplexy April 7, 1747. The Peace of Dresden was made immediately after the battle, on Christmas-day, 1745, confirming the Peace of Breslau, with conditions very unfavorable to Saxony, which was made to pay Prussia the expenses of the war.

§ 12. This war brought Frederick an additional gain, in that he obtained, through his ally Charles Albert, the confirmation of the reversion of East Friesland, which had been long ago granted to the house of Brandenburg, and which, when in 1744 the house of Cirksena became extinct, Frederick, with the emperor's consent, annexed to Prussia. This territory, advantageously situated on the sea, was afterward an object of Frederick's peculiar care. But his resources were all needed for the army, and he was never able to carry out the Great Elector's plan of building a navy, so that this coast, with its fine harbor, remained unimproved. Frederick, however, was now sincerely resolved to be at peace, and for the next ten years devoted his energies, with singular ability and success, to the improvement of his government and the welfare of his people. Prussia grew rapidly in wealth and

prosperity, and perhaps gained as much in the respect of foreign powers by the quiet and unrecorded progress of this peaceful interval as by the conquests which preceded it.

§ 13. Charles Albert (Charles VII.) died at Munich, January 22, 1745. His son and heir, Maximilian of Bavaria, not only refused to claim the imperial crown, but made peace with Maria Theresa at Füssen, April 22. Frederick II., with all the German powers, then consented to accept Francis of Lorraine as emperor, and he was formally elected at Frankfort, September 13, as Francis I. (1745-1765). But his wife, Maria Theresa, "the Empress," as she was called, continued to hold whatever real power was associated with the dignity; and after the treaty of Dresden, she was at peace with all Germany. The war with France, however, went on in the Austrian Netherlands, where the genius of Marshal Saxe, an illegitimate son of Augustus II. of Poland, turned the scale to



Francis I. (1745-1765).

the French side. The Austrians were defeated at Fontenay, March 11, 1745, and nearly the whole country was occupied by the French. But France was out of money, and the shameful rule of Louis XV. now showed all its weakness, so that Maria Theresa obtained favorable terms of peace at Aix in 1748. France restored all its conquests in the Netherlands. But in Italy, Austria lost the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, ceding them to a son of King Philip V. of Spain. Maria Theresa had ended this perilous war with great honor. But she could never overcome her grief at the loss of Silesia, nor was this sorrow confined to her alone: it was deeply felt by her people and her successors, and had a great influence on the foreign policy of Austria. For centuries, France had been the great rival and competitor of Austria for the foremost place in Europe, and the alliances and diplomacy of the house of Hapsburg had been steadily directed to the restraint of French ambition. But from this time, the first principle of Austrian policy was jealousy of the growth of Prussia; and the Hapsburgs often courted the friendship of France, even when it was only to be purchased at the sacrifice of the interests of Germany.

§ 14. Silesia, when conquered by Frederick, contained 14,600 square miles of land, with about 1,100,000 inhabitants (now 3,600,000). A fair and fruitful land, it had been impoverished by misgovernment, and Frederick now gave earnest attention to its wants. Its agriculture speedily began to prosper, and the foundation was laid for its manufacturing industry, now a main source of its prosperity. The population, though reduced by the war, afterward increased rapidly, and within ten years was greater than before. Religious toleration was practiced, the Protestant government nowhere oppressing Catholics. Even when the Jesuits were elsewhere suppressed and expelled (after 1773), Frederick tolerated them in Silesia. The Prussian administration has been wise and just, and Silesia is now eminent for its patriotism and its loyalty, as well as its prosperity. But neither Frederick's ancient shadow of right to Silesia, nor his apparent success, must blind us to his crime in seizing it. The land was Austrian by long prescription, with its people's consent, and to what country has king or nation a better claim? To violate

this right was to unsettle all boundaries—to open the way for endless wars. The chief troubles of Frederick II.'s public life resulted from this act, and the student may profitably consider whether Prussia might not be almost as much greater and happier to-day as its hero-king's fame would be purer if he had never entered Silesia.

§ 15. All the provinces of the monarchy were attended to with the same thoughtful care. Frederick, like his father, administered his government as the proprietor of a great estate, who must watch every thing, and let his personal authority be felt every where. A better system of administering justice was established, and the dignity and independence of the judges were made secure. In 1746 the king abolished judicial torture throughout his dominions. The organization of the state, as left him by his father, was excellent; in many respects it was enough to maintain it. He carefully examined both the army and the civil administration in person, in all the provinces, every year. In these tours, the sharp eye of the king detected every defect. Praise and blame were distributed with severe justice, and he always attended to written petitions or complaints from any one, while he was very liberal in granting personal interviews. He knew every village church and every estate on his road. When at home, his labors were untiring. Regarding incessant activity as a king's duty, he could hardly satisfy himself with his work. His maxim was to be the first servant of the state. The fault of his reign was that he was bent on doing or directing every thing himself, not trusting his subordinates to be more than his instruments. He wanted secretaries in his cabinet, to register his orders, rather than ministers to counsel with him. From every part of his domains immediate communications, addressed "to the king," poured in upon him. He read them himself, and commonly wrote some short marginal comment or order upon each, often a cutting and witty phrase. His work compelled him to a careful and systematic division of his time; and he was at work in summer at four, in winter at five o'clock in the morning. Each hour had its allotted task. Yet he found time to walk about the various apartments, playing his favorite flute or reading aloud; in the afternoon to ride with his greyhounds in the

public squares, and in the evening to enjoy intellectual conversation, in seeming leisure, often until a late hour of the night.

§ 16. Amid the exacting duties of royalty, Frederick retained his love of science, poetry, and intellectual society. But his favorite circle of friends was soon broken. Several of them died, and their places were never entirely filled. Frederick's bitter, uncontrollable satire often wounded his friends; but he was deeply attached to them, and after their death felt keenly how he had both loved and grieved them. In this society, the conversation and the tone were French. The literary glories of Louis XIV.'s age had not yet disappeared in France. The French language had reached a much higher degree of culture than the German. Frederick was not a scholar in the German language. He knew nothing of its literary resources, and could neither write nor speak it correctly. He had no knowledge of German poetry, save of that which appeared during his early years—such as the verses of Gottsched and Gellert. But he spoke French with purity and fluency, and was ambitious for fame as an author, and even a poet, in the French tongue. This fondness for French culture brought him into mental sympathy and intercourse with the men of genius then prominent in the French literary world, and above all with Voltaire, who was the most complete embodiment of that skeptical, mocking spirit which in its hatred for all superstition was then destroying so much that was sacred and venerable. The end sought by these men was "illumination;" and Frederick was in earnest in wishing to prepare the way for its supremacy. Germany had been influenced by severe thinkers like Leibnitz, or like Wolf, the Halle philosopher, whom Frederick in his youth had heard and admired. But the king turned from the slow and heavy scholarship of the Germans to the bright and lively thoughts of the French. He was delighted when Voltaire, in 1750, agreed to come to live at Potsdam. But a closer intercourse showed the famous poet and so-called philosopher in such an unfavorable light that the king let him go, not without very bitter language on both sides. Their intercourse was afterward renewed, but was less cordial than before. Other Frenchmen of this "illuminated" school, such

as La Mettrie, did it no more honor than Voltaire. The Marquis d'Argens was the only one of them who continued to be the king's faithful friend, and his death, in 1771, after thirty years of sincere friendship, was a severe blow to Frederick. His generals and statesmen, however trusted in their own work, had no share in this intimate intercourse; and but a few Germans, chiefly those who had been members of his court as crown-prince at Rheinsberg, were admitted to it.

§ 17. Frederick, while close in his economy like his father, had his grandfather's taste for display, and spent much money on great buildings in Berlin and Potsdam. The "new opera-house," the Catholic church, and the cathedral were built in Berlin during the early years of his reign, and the library afterward. At Potsdam he built Sans-Souci on its charming terrace, with its commanding and beautiful view, for his own residence in hours both of work and of recreation.

§ 18. The condition of Europe, meanwhile, grew more threatening for Frederick. Maria Theresa could not give up the thought of Silesia. From the year 1746 there had been a growing friendship between her and Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, Peter the Great's daughter—a woman whose abandoned life had been often and openly scoffed at by Frederick, so that he had forfeited her good-will. Austria had also striven, under the guidance of Prince Kaunitz, the empress's prime-minister, to obtain a reconciliation with France; and although the French alliance with Prussia was renewed in 1751, the Austrian interest was earnestly supported in Paris by the Marquise de Pompadour, the powerful mistress of Louis XV., and her party. Kaunitz himself visited Paris, and Maria Theresa reluctantly stooped to send a present to Pompadour. At length the enmity which had subsisted between these nations for nearly three centuries was forgotten. England, under George II., had hitherto been the ally of Maria Theresa, and no friend of Prussia. George did not like his nephew Frederick—he was afraid of losing Hanover; and he had therefore made a treaty with Elizabeth of Russia, by which she was to threaten Prussia on the east, if Prussia should make any attempt on George's favorite country. These strange alliances left Frederick alone. Then, in 1756,



the long-smouldering hostility between the English and the French broke out in their American colonies into open war. France might perhaps transfer the scene of war to Europe, and occupy the Austrian Netherlands, which Austria would eagerly give up in exchange for Silesia, if France would help to wrest the latter from Frederick; and then Hanover would be in danger. These considerations drove George II. to the side of Prussia, but not as an honorable and sincere ally; while France and Austria only made a secret alliance. Augustus III. of Saxony and Poland, and his minister Brühl, knew and fostered all the plans hostile to Frederick, but did not formally join in the alliance. These plans looked to nothing less than the dismemberment of Prussia, and the reduction of Frederick to the grade of power possessed by the electors, his predecessors. Frederick learned from his admirer Peter, the heir to the Russian throne, that he was to be attacked in 1757, but that meanwhile the preparations of Russia and Austria were incomplete. He therefore resolved to anticipate his enemies, to make Saxony the basis of his campaign, and to take possession of Bohemia. He hoped to end this war, like the first two Silesian wars, with a few vigorous blows. Once more, however, he yielded to England, and in July, 1756, demanded of Maria Theresa an explanation of her military preparations, or at least an assurance that he should not be attacked that year or the next. The answer was at first evasive; a second demand met with a repulse, and Frederick resolved immediately to take up arms.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE "SEVEN-YEARS' WAR," 1756-1763.

§ 1. Frederick II. Invades Saxony and Captures the Saxon Army. § 2. Alliance to Partition Prussia. § 3. Frederick Invades Bohemia; Battle and Siege of Prague. § 4. The Campaign in Prussia and in Brunswick. § 5. Battle of Rossbach. § 6. Battle of Leuthen. § 7. The French Driven from Hanover. § 8. The Russians again in Prussia. § 9. Frederick Defeated at Hochkirch. § 10. And again at Kunersdorf. § 11. His Campaign Ends Unfavorably. § 12. Prussian Exhaustion in 1760. § 13. Frederick's Losses in Silesia and Saxony. § 14. His Victory at Liegnitz. § 15. Battle of Torgau. § 16. Frederick's Extreme Danger. § 17. Death of the Czarina Elizabeth, and its Consequences. Peace between England and France. § 18. Peace of Hubertsburg. § 19. Frederick's Achievements in this War.

§ 1. ON August 29, 1756, Frederick led 70,000 men, in three columns, into Saxony. This invasion of another country in time of peace was plausibly denounced by his enemies as a gross breach of public law. The Saxon army of 18,000 took up a strong position at Pirna, which Frederick invested closely, while Augustus III. of Saxony and Poland, with his minister Brühl, sought refuge in the impregnable fortress of Königstein. The obstinate resistance of the Saxon army overthrew Frederick's plan of occupying Saxony and conquering Bohemia at a blow. The Austrian General Brown led an Austrian army of 33,000 men from Bohemia to rescue Saxony. It fell in with a corps of observation which Frederick led forth in person, consisting of all the men he could spare from the investment of Pirna. A fierce battle was fought October 1, 1756, at Lowositz, on the left bank of the Elbe. The Austrians, among whom a better system of training had been introduced since the Silesian wars, fought well, and kept off the Prussian cavalry, until the infantry came up, who charged them at the point of the bayonet, burned Lowositz, and drove them off. Frederick wrote to Schwerin: "Since I have had the honor to command troops, I never saw such prodigies of valor." But the Austrians retreated

unmolested. Brown even advanced down the right bank of the Elbe, over the mountains of Schandau, into "Saxon Switzerland," in order to rescue the Saxons. But they were so badly fed and led that they could do nothing. They crossed the Elbe, but stood under the Lilienstein helpless and starving, exposed for three days to a continuous rain, and within reach of the Prussian batteries. Brown could wait no longer in his dangerous position, but retreated, and the Saxons, still 16,000 strong, surrendered at discretion, October 16, 1756. Frederick released the officers on parole, but forced the soldiers to enlist in his own regiments, whence they deserted by companies upon every opportunity. The Elector Augustus was permitted, with Brühl, to leave Saxony. He went to his kingdom of Poland, and never returned; nor was he able to unite that distracted country sufficiently to undertake a new campaign against Frederick. The Prussians went into winter-quarters in Saxony; and Frederick collected recruits, gathered the resources of that rich country for a new campaign, and published the complete proofs, found in the Dresden archives, of the hostile course of the Saxon government.

§ 2. France now openly joined the alliance of the two empresses, subsidized princes of the Rhine and of South Germany, Cologne, the Palatinate, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, and influenced Sweden to declare war against Frederick. The plan of dismembering Prussia was now ready. Russia was to have East Prussia, Austria should have Silesia and parts of Lausitz; Lower Pomerania should go to Sweden, Magdeburg and Halberstadt to Saxony, and France should find satisfaction in Belgium and Luxemburg. With Austria, of course, came also the German Empire: a power held, however, in such contempt that when, in after-years, the notary of the empire once attempted to "hint" to the Prussian ambassador, Von Plotho, the danger of the ban of the empire, that dignitary simply showed him the door. Frederick stood against half Europe, supported by England alone, which took into its pay the troops of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Gotha, and Lippe, and made of them an army for the protection of Hanover. England also granted Frederick a subsidy of £150,000, on condition that he should contribute

20,000 men to this army. But he had to rely mainly on his own genius, his admirable army of 200,000 men, his fine corps of officers, mostly noblemen of his country, and such tried generals as the veteran Schwerin, his personal friend Winterfeld, the bold Keith, the cunning Ziethen, and the German princes Maurice of Anhalt and Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern. He visited Berlin once more, and instructed his minister Finck what should be done if he should fall or be taken prisoner. In the latter event, he insisted, no account should be made of him, no province given as ransom, but the war should be carried on as if he were dead. Austria had gained strength since the peace at Aix, and Frederick found himself opposed to an army formed on his own model, and led by able generals. But the Austrian preparations were still incomplete, and the Russian and French armies were still far away. Frederick could still renew the plan of the previous year. If he could first defeat Austria, he and Winterfeld thought, the rest of "the proud waves" would soon subside.

§ 3. On April 18, 1757, Frederick entered Bohemia with 117,000 men in four columns. There were 133,000 Austrians before them, under Charles of Lorraine and Brown, scattered from Moravia to the Eger. Frederick directed his march to Pragne, when Brown hastily concentrated the Austrian troops. On May 6, about 64,000 Prussians and 60,000 Austrians met before the city. The Austrians held a strong position on the heights east of the Moldau, which the Prussians could only reach through marshy meadows. Here the storming columns of the famous Prussian infantry, as they advanced, were mowed down by the Austrian fire. The soldiers were wavering, when old Marshal Schwerin, now seventy-three years of age, snatched a standard from a fleeing ensign, and shouted, "On, my children!" At the instant he fell, struck by four grape-shot. New battalions advanced and were cut down. Nearly all of Frederick's generals leaped from their horses, and led their troops in person, sword in hand. Finally Frederick himself seized the decisive moment, broke through the enemy's line, just after their cavalry had been driven back in confusion; and now the heights, after a bloody conflict, were taken, and the Austrians driven into the city of

Prague. Brown, who commanded them, under Charles of Lorraine, was mortally wounded. The king undertook the siege of Prague, where the enemy still had about 50,000 men. The city was reduced to extremities by want and sickness, and by the Prussian fire; when Frederick learned that an Austrian army of relief under General Daun was advancing from the Upper Elbe against him. He hoped to repeat his operation of the previous year: to defeat Daun by leading forward detachments to strengthen his advance guard under Brunswick-Bevern, and then to make sure of Prague. But the Austrian general had 54,000 men, in a very strong position at Kolin, where Frederick, with but 31,000 men, attacked him, June 18, 1757; and here his career of victory was broken. A mistake was made in directing the attack, which led to disorder in the right wing of the Prussian army; and, though Daun himself had given up the battle, and ordered a retreat, the Prussian forces were exhausted and compelled to abandon their attempt.

§ 4. During the siege of Prague, Sweden, under promise of receiving Pomerania in the division of the spoils, joined the allies (May 21), so that Prussia was now assailed by Russia, France, Sweden, and Austria, with the German Empire. This defeat in Bohemia entirely shattered Frederick's plans. He had hoped to humble Austria swiftly, and to dictate peace at Vienna; but now his work was to defend himself. His light troops scoured the country as far as Bavaria, and he had ventured to imagine that Bavaria and other countries of the empire might join him. But now he was compelled to raise the siege of Prague; and, after waiting a while in Bohemia, to no purpose, for the enemy to give him an opportunity for a blow, to return to Saxony. The Russians now invaded the province of Prussia, and defeated his old general, Lehwald, at Gross-Jägersdorf, August 30, 1757. The Russians had committed frightful atrocities, and Frederick indignantly ordered Lehwald to fight them immediately, though he had but 25,000 men against 80,000. He did so, and was sadly beaten, and all the province of Prussia lay at the mercy of the Russians. But their general, Apraxin, instead of following up his victory, retreated rapidly, upon a rumor that the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and the accession of Fred-

erick's friend Peter III. to the throne, was hourly expected. Lehwald then turned against the Swedes, who had invaded Pomerania and the Ucker district, and easily expelled them. But an army of Austrians under Daun entered Silesia, and it seemed that they had permanently recovered that region. The French, too, advanced threateningly, in two armies crossing the Rhine. The first, under D'Estrées, defeated the Duke of Cumberland, George II.'s son, and his English and Hanoverian troops, at Hastenbek, near Hameln, July 28, 1757; and then succeeded in leading and driving him into the angle between the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe. Here Riche-lieu, who succeeded D'Estrées, induced Cumberland to conclude the convention of Closter-Zeven, September 7, and thus expose Hanover, Brunswick, and all Frederick's western frontier to the French, whose troops actually ravaged the country as far eastward as the Elbe.

§ 5. The second French army, under the Prince of Soubise, formed a junction with the imperial army in Thuringia, and went on, 50,000 strong, toward Saxony and the Saale. Frederick had been eager to go to Silesia; but he now turned against this French force, which his general, Seidlitz, first surprised and frightened by a lively cavalry dash at Gotta. At Rossbach, west of the Saale, near Merseburg, the armies met, November 5, 1757. At noon the Prussians were still in their tents, and Frederick sat quietly at dinner; while the French undertook a wide detour, in order to cut off the retreat of the Prussians, hoping to capture the whole body, and having no apprehension but of their escape. The Prussians suddenly formed in line, marched, and their cavalry fell upon the flank of the enemy like a storm. The French were panic-struck, and the day was for the Prussians more like a hunt than a battle. Frederick had in all 22,000 men, not half of whom were actually engaged; the French and imperial troops numbered more than 50,000. Frederick lost 165 killed and 376 wounded; the enemy lost nearly 3000 killed and wounded, and 5000 prisoners, with their artillery and baggage; and their army was utterly destroyed, so that it could not be rallied again. This astonishing victory at once made Frederick the hero of Europe, and especially of

Germany, where the people of all countries and classes were glad to see French pride humbled.

§ 6. But serious work was yet to be done. General Winterfeld, a favorite and friend of the king, fell at Moys, in Silesia, in an unsuccessful battle with the Austrians. The Duke of Brunswick-Bevern conducted a skillful retreat to Breslau, before an Austrian army of 80,000, commanded by Daun and Charles of Lorraine. The Austrians besieged the fortress of Schweidnitz; and Brunswick-Bevern neglected his opportunity, when the enemy were divided and the inspiring news of the victory of Rossbach arrived, to strike a decisive blow. After the fall of Schweidnitz, the reunited Austrian army was hopelessly superior to him; he was taken prisoner (November 25) in a reconnoissance, which he was himself suspected of planning to escape Frederick's indignation, and Breslau fell into the hands of the Austrians. But the little Prussian army of 28,000 remained near, till Frederick came in person with 14,000 men, and took the command. Charles of Lorraine imprudently left his strong lines, and advanced to Leuthen to meet the Prussians. The decisive day was come, when Frederick must conquer or be lost. He addressed his generals, contrary to his custom, saying, "I am about to violate all the rules of war, by attacking a threefold superior force where I find it. We must beat the enemy, or we must all perish before his batteries. Such will be my course; do you, too, remember that you are Prussians. But if any one of you is afraid to share with me the extreme of danger, he may take his departure to-day, without a word of reproof from me." The king's large eye gazed around inquiringly, and read on every glowing face the answer of his veterans. He then went on, in the voice of a king: "Any regiment of cavalry which does not, at the word of command, throw itself unhesitatingly upon the foe, shall be dismounted immediately after the battle, and sent to garrison duty. Any battalion of infantry which once falters, in any straits, shall lose its standards and side-arms, and the border shall be cut from its uniform. Farewell, gentlemen. We shall soon have beaten the enemy, or we shall meet no more." The day of battle, December 5, 1757, found the soldiers eager and confident. "The fifth has come again," they cried; "Rossbach

again." Frederick called for Ziethen, and said: "I must expose myself to-day more than usual. If I fall, cover the body with your cloak and tell no man. The battle must go on, and the enemy will be beaten." Frederick was familiar with the ground, and made good use of its natural features. Under cover of a range of low hills, he collected most of his infantry, and threw them, in what was called "the oblique order" of battle, on the surprised left wing of the Austrians. These attempted once more to turn the day against him by a grand cavalry charge; but it was repulsed by Frederick's own cavalry, and he then attacked and crushed the enemy's right wing. The victory was won, and the whole Prussian army sung their thanksgiving hymn at night on the battlefield. Frederick narrowly, and by great presence of mind, escaped capture at Lissa that evening. Before the end of the year he had driven the enemy from Silesia, and he ended the campaign of 1757 without loss of territory and with great honor to himself.

§ 7. Before the end of 1757, England began to take a more active part on the Continent. Lord Chatham brought about the rejection of the convention of Closter-Zeven by Parliament, and the recall of Cumberland by the king. The efficient Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was proposed by Frederick, and made commander of the English and Hanoverian forces. He opened the campaign of 1758 in the winter. The French, under Clermont, being without discipline or control, he drove them in headlong flight out of their winter-quarters in Hanover and Westphalia, to the Rhine and across it; and on June 23 defeated them at the battle of Crefeld. A French army under Soubise afterward crossed the Rhine higher up, and Ferdinand retreated, but succeeded in protecting the west as far as the Weser against General Contades.

§ 8. Frederick first retook Schweidnitz, April 16. He then, in order to prevent the junction of the Russians and Austrians, ventured to attack Austria, and invaded Moravia. His brother, Prince Henry, had but a small force in Saxony, and Frederick thought that he could best cover that country by an attack on Austria. But the siege of Olmütz detained him from May until July, and his prospects grew more doubt-



ful. The Austrians captured a convoy of three hundred wagons of military stores, which Ziethen was to have escorted to him. Frederick raised the siege, and, by an admirable retreat, brought his army through Bohemia by way of Königgrätz to Landshut. Here he received bad news. The Russians, under Fermor, were again in Prussia, occupying the eastern province, but treating it mildly as a conquered country, where the empress already received the homage of the people. They then advanced, with frightful ravages, through Pomerania and Neumark to the Oder, and were now near Küstrin, which they laid in ashes. Frederick made haste to meet them. He was so indignant at the desolation of the country and the suffering of his people that he forbade quarter to be given. The report of this fact also embittered the Russians. At Zorndorf, Frederick met the enemy, fifty thousand strong, August 25, 1758. They were drawn up in a great square or phalanx, in the ancient, half-barbarous manner. A frightfully bloody fight followed, since the Russians would not yield, and were cut down in heaps. Seidlitz, the victor of Rossbach, by a timely charge of his cavalry, captured the Russian artillery, and crushed their right wing. On the second day the Russians were driven back, but not without inflicting heavy loss on the Prussians, who, though they suffered much less than their enemies, left more than one third of their force on the field. The Russians were compelled to withdraw from Prussia.

§ 9. Frederick then hastened to Saxony, where his brother Henry was sorely pressed by Daun and the imperial army. He could not even wait to relieve Silesia, where Neisse, his principal fortress, was threatened. Daun, hearing of his approach, took up a position in his way, between Bautzen and Görlitz. But Frederick, whose contempt for this prudent and slow general was excessive, occupied a camp in a weak and exposed position, at Hochkirch, under Daun's very eyes, against the protest of his own generals. He remained there three days unmolested; but on October 14, the day fixed for advancing, the Austrians attacked him with twice his numbers. A desperate fight took place in the burning village; the Prussians were driven out, and lost many guns. Frederick himself was in imminent danger, and his friends Keith and Duke

Francis of Brunswick fell at his side. Yet the army did not lose its spirit or its discipline. Within eleven days Frederick, who had been joined by his brother Henry, was in Silesia, and relieved Neisse and Kosel. Thus the campaign of 1758 ended favorably to Frederick. The pope sent Daun a consecrated hat and sword, as a testimonial for his victory at Hochkirch.

§ 10. The resources of the king were now exhausted, and the British subsidy of £150,000 was far from enough to meet his wants. He attempted to negotiate for peace, but failed, and could only prepare for yet another campaign. The Russians and Austrians (1759) threatened to form a junction in Silesia, and so to deprive him entirely of this province. Frederick therefore went thither, to watch Daun, sending against the Russians, first Dohna, and then Wedell, with dictatorial powers. But the small forces of the Prussians were defeated by overwhelming numbers of Russians at Kai, near Züllichau, July 23, and Frederick could not prevent the union of Laudon and Soltykof, forming a body of more than 70,000 men. Frederick, by his utmost efforts, and leaving but a small army under Prince Henry to observe Daun, could muster but 48,000 men. Yet he attacked the enemy in their extremely strong position at Kunersdorf, on the right bank of the Oder, opposite Frankfort, August 12, 1759, and seemed for a time to have won the battle; but an attempt with the weary troops to throw back the right wing of the Russians broke down, and Laudon then assumed the offensive, inflicting on Frederick the most complete defeat he ever experienced. His army seemed to be ruined—he was able to keep together barely five thousand men—and there was no apparent way of saving his capital and his kingdom. The result would probably have been his utter overthrow, had Laudon's advice been followed, and had the allies hastened forward to Berlin. But they soon disagreed and parted. The Russians, not willing to help Austria to become supreme in Germany, returned to Pomerania, where they besieged Colberg, a little town with a small garrison, which resisted heroically. Laudon marched into Silesia.

§ 11. Frederick was deeply humiliated by his misfortunes; but he determined not to survive a disgraceful end of this

war. He sought his personal comfort in the society and sympathy of friends or in poetry. Nor had his trials yet reached an end. Dresden was taken by the imperial army, September 4; and General Finck with eleven thousand men was compelled at Maxen, near Dresden, to capitulate to a force three times as large (November 21). There was but one gleam of success this year. Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick was indeed repulsed by Broglie and his French at Bergen, April 13, in a vigorous effort to recover possession of Frankfort-on-the-Main; but at Minden, on August 1, he defeated Contades and Broglie, and thus rescued Westphalia from the devastation which had been decreed at Paris, and saved Frederick from being ruinously placed between two enemies. He was even able to send some reinforcements to Frederick, with Prince Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick, and they now joined him in Saxony. Frederick still held half of Saxony, and kept his army there in winter-quarters. The rest was under Daun's control. All Silesia, except the fortresses, was in the hands of the enemy. An earnest attempt to negotiate a peace was made by Prussia in November, supported by England and France; but the Austrians and Russians, who were intoxicated with victory, refused to enter into negotiations.

§ 12. The beginning of the year 1760 brought no improvement in Frederick's situation. George II. of England died October 25; the Tory ministry of Earl Bute succeeded Lord Chatham's cabinet, and the subsidy was not renewed. Frederick's treasury was exhausted, and he was driven to extreme measures. He debased the coinage, and oppressed the neighboring territories of the empire, especially Mecklenburg, Anhalt, and the Franconian circle, with heavy contributions. Nor was it easy to find new soldiers, now that most of his veterans lay on the fields of battle. When fortune seemed to desert him, those swarms of adventurers who had sought service with him disappeared, and his own country no longer sufficed to supply the necessary number of men. Some of the provinces, like Pomerania, indeed, organized a militia for their own protection. Frederick's recruiting officers used every means in their power, good and bad, to obtain troops in all parts of Germany. It was with an army

thus laboriously gathered that he entered on the new campaign.

§ 13. His task now was to recover and protect Silesia, where the Russians and Austrians threatened again to unite for a march to Berlin. Daun kept Frederick busy in Saxony. He sent his friend Fouquet against Laudon, who was entering Silesia. But Laudon had three times his force; so that, after a hard fight, in which Fouquet was desperately wounded, he was compelled to surrender with seven thousand men (June 23, 1760). Frederick had already set out to his assistance; but now turned back to Saxony, and attempted to take Dresden by storm, but was repulsed. He bombarded the city, but in vain: Daun came to relieve it, and it was permanently lost to him. He then really went to Silesia, where Glatz had been lost, and Breslau was besieged by Laudon, but was heroically defended by General Tauenzien with three thousand men against a whole army. A Russian army was also expected, and was marching up the right bank of the Oder.

§ 14. Frederick was closely followed by Daun and Lacy, and Laudon came to meet him. Czernichef, the Russian general, was also near. Frederick's enemies thought that he was shut in among them, and in their power. But at Liegnitz, by a sudden and bold attack on Laudon's army, he gained one of the most complete and memorable victories of the war (August 15, 1760). The Russians then retired, and Daun, left alone, did not dare to attack him. The fortune of Frederick seemed to be restored. But now an army of Russians under Tottleben, and one of Austrians under Lacy, with a corps of Saxons, marched against Berlin; the former from Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the latter from Lausitz. Berlin had but a weak palisading for fortifications, and a little garrison of twelve hundred men; but there chanced to be some efficient generals there convalescing from their wounds, among them Seidlitz. The Russians were resisted, and driven back to Cöpenik; but when the Austrians came, it was feared lest further resistance would lead to a sack of the city, and the Prussians retired to Spandau. The enemy entered Berlin October 9. The Saxons did much waste in the royal palaces at Charlottenburg and Schönhausen. Esterhazy acted honor-

ably at Potsdam. Tottleben finally accepted a contribution of 1,500,000 thalers. Hearing that Frederick was approaching, the enemy hastily fled, October 12, leaving him free to return to Saxony.

§ 15. Here, then, was heavy work before him. Saxony was almost entirely in the hands of the allies. Daun was in a strong situation at Torgau, and intended to winter in Saxony. Frederick, extremely unwilling to abandon Saxony, resolved, after much hesitation, to attack him. This battle, fought November 3, 1760, was the last of those frightful hand-to-hand assaults in which the Seven-Years' War abounded, and was the bloodiest of the whole war. Frederick assailed the steep heights in front, while Ziethen, who had so constantly counseled and supported him during the last year of trials, was to lead the other half of the army to the enemy's rear. But by a misunderstanding, Ziethen was too late, or the king's direct attack too early. This error enabled the Austrians to repel three successive charges of Frederick's men upon their front; nor was it until morning that he learned how much the enemy had suffered, and that they had abandoned the field. Even now his position was extremely dangerous; nor could all his efforts obtain new allies or reasonable terms of peace. He even endeavored, in vain, to form an alliance with the Turks against Austria, or with a Tartar chief against Russia.

§ 16. When the campaign of 1761 began, Frederick's resources were so far exhausted that he could act only on the defensive. But Austria and Russia renewed the war with vigor, in the hope of obtaining large cessions of Prussian territory. An Austrian army under Daun, with its allies of the German Empire, occupied Saxony; and Prince Henry of Prussia had but a corps to manœuvre against it. The French remained in Hanover and Hesse, but were held in check by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick. The king again took the command in Silesia, with 50,000 Prussians, and spent a long time in endeavoring by skillful marches to prevent the junction of the Austrians under Laudon and the Russians under Butterlin. This was, however, accomplished in spite of him. He then fortified to the utmost a camp at Bunzelwitz, near Schweidnitz, hoping to make it impregnable even with his

small army. But Laudon surprised and took the fortress of Schweidnitz on October 1; and before the end of the year (December 16) the Russians, who had again entered Pomerania, captured Colberg, after a long and heroic defense by its citizens under General von der Heyde. At the close of 1761 Frederick's condition was worse than ever before. Half of Silesia and half of Pomerania were lost, and he held but a small part of Saxony. The war threatened the heart of his country. In spite of Frederick's admirable perseverance, and of the disunion and slowness of his enemies, without which resistance would long before have been impossible, the moment seemed to be at hand when he must yield. But the death of a woman changed the entire aspect of the scene.

§ 17. On January 5, 1762, Elizabeth of Russia died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. of Holstein, a zealous friend and imitator of Frederick. He at once (March 16) made an armistice, and then (May 5) a final peace with the king, giving back all the territory conquered from Prussia. Sweden, whose king, Frederick II.'s brother-in-law, had unwillingly engaged in the war, was easily prevailed on by Russia to join in the peace (May 22). Peter III. even made an alliance with Frederick, and sent him ten thousand Russians under Czernichef. With the help of these troops Frederick was about to attack the Austrians, who were on the heights of Burkersdorf, when the tidings came like a thunderbolt that Peter III. had been deposed by his wife, Catharine II. (July 10), and soon after murdered (July 14). Catharine, by birth a princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, owed her fortune and crown to Frederick II., who had negotiated her marriage with the Crown-Prince of Russia. In spite of her obligations to the king, however, she immediately sent orders to Czernichef to leave Frederick, and to hold a strictly neutral attitude in the war. But the king persuaded him to conceal the news for three days, and meanwhile defeated the Austrians, whose right wing was held in check by the Russians, though they did not actually fight (August 16). This victory was followed by the recovery of Schweidnitz (October 9). Catharine soon renewed the treaty with Frederick, finding in Peter's papers letters from Frederick, recommending him to treat his clever spouse kindly, and to make her his adviser and friend.

But Russia thenceforth took no active part in the war. France also was now inclined to peace. It had lost immensely to England in its colonies, and had, on the whole, been unfortunate in its campaigns against the English and German army of Ferdinand of Brunswick, so that during this last year of the war Frederick had nothing to fear from that quarter. The negotiations were carried on at Fontainebleau in 1762, and the final treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, February 10, 1763, between France and Spain on one side, and England on the other. Large cessions were made to England of Spanish and French colonies, but every thing in Germany was left as before.

§ 18. Thus at the end of the year 1762 Austria stood alone in the war. On October 29, Prince Henry defeated at Freiburg the imperial army, which came with the Austrians to relieve Dresden. After this, the Prussians made raids into South Germany, levying contributions, and thus making the nobles there eager for peace. A truce was agreed to between the only remaining combatants, Austria and Prussia; and on February 15, 1763, the Peace of Hubertsburg (a hunting-seat near Leipsic) was signed. It confirmed the treaties of Breslau and of Dresden, leaving Silesia and Glatz to Frederick. He in return merely pledged himself, at the death of the Emperor Francis I., to give his electoral vote for his son Joseph.

§ 19. During the war thus ended, Frederick defended his little country, with a population of scarcely more than 5,000,000, against nearly all Europe, and yet lost no territory. By this defense he saved Germany from dismemberment, both on the Baltic and on the Rhine, and maintained the cause of religious freedom. His destruction would have been deplorable for Germany. His final success had an inspiring effect on the German people. He displayed admirable personal qualities—wisdom and boldness in pushing success, and a patient persistence under misfortunes, which made him a popular hero. But he owed much, also, to the division of his enemies, their slowness, and their want of foresight; and much to events which no wisdom could have anticipated, especially to the death of the Russian empress Elizabeth, just at the time when his cause seemed hopelessly

lost. That his resources were immense, in proportion to the size of his kingdom, was due to its compact and efficient organization, the work of the Great Elector and of Frederick William I., as well as of Frederick II. himself. The king's devotion to his own work, the faithful allegiance of his subjects, the fidelity of his officers, and the spirit and honor of his soldiers, were elements of power which had no precedents in modern times.

§ 20. Had Frederick been crushed in the Seven-Years' War, his kingdom must have fallen to the rank of Portugal or Holland, and the history of the last century would have been changed indeed. With Austria in possession of Silesia, Russia of East Prussia, and France of the left bank of the Rhine, it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the event of the Napoleonic wars. But the ruin of Prussia must surely have been disastrous to Germany. In this war, Frederick represented what was left of the national consciousness of the German people. Most of their princes were bribed by French money; most of them fought in behalf of foreigners who coveted German soil, and for the supremacy among themselves of half-Sclavonic, wholly Roman-Catholic Austria. But the people could not fail to see that Frederick's victories were German victories, nor to rejoice in German valor; and gradually the whole nation was stirred to its depths with pride in his achievements. This new feeling greatly helped to bring about the wonderful intellectual activity of the times immediately succeeding, and may fairly be regarded as the beginning of that sense of unity among the Germans which has grown in late years to one of the most momentous elements in European history.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

### FROM THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1763-1789.

§ 1. Civil Administration of Frederick II. § 2. Its Results. § 3. Causes of the First Partition of Poland, 1764. § 4. Its Conditions. § 5. Frederick Colonizes the New Province. § 6. His Government Paternal and Personal. § 7. His Example among the Germans. § 8. Improvement in Some of the Smaller German Courts. § 9. The Governments of the Prelates. § 10. Gross Abuses in Certain States. § 11. Austria under Maria Theresa. § 12. Joseph II. becomes Emperor; his Zeal for Reform. § 13. His Claims upon Bavaria. § 14. The "Potato War." § 15. Joseph Sole Monarch of Austria. § 16. Character of Joseph II. § 17. His Policy in Austria. § 18. Leopold II. Emperor, 1790. § 19. Last Days and Death of Frederick II. § 20. Frederick William II. King of Prussia; Invasion of Holland. § 21. His Plans for Aggrandizement Defeated. § 22. Decline of Prussia. § 23. Second Partition of Poland. § 24. Unsubstantial Character of the Prussian Acquisition. § 25. Frederick William's Character and Death. § 26. Intellectual Activity in Germany. § 27. Poets in the Early Part of the Century. § 28. In the Latter Part. § 29. General Literature and Criticism. § 30. National Value of German Literature.

§ 1. FREDERICK II. was now generally called "the Great," not only in Prussia, but throughout Europe; and he showed himself worthy of the name during the next twenty-three years of peace. His first work was to heal the wounds of the war. As soon as peace was made, he opened his magazines, and distributed seed corn to the peasants. The horses which could be spared from artillery and cavalry service were devoted to agriculture. The Prussian nobles had suffered more by the war than the citizens or even the peasants. Their estates had been injured, and they had been peculiarly zealous and self-sacrificing. Frederick gave especial attention to the wants of this order of men, whom he regarded as the strongest pillar of the state, and from whom nearly all his army officers were taken. He was careful to replenish his treasury, and exercised the closest economy in his own expenses, so that, out of 1,200,000 thalers set apart for his personal use, he expended but 200,000 yearly. He applied

the same system to all branches of administration. Thus he was able to distribute to needy communities more than 24,000,000 thalers, and at the end of his life to leave more than 60,000,000 thalers in the treasury. He enlarged the standing army, expending upon it 13,000,000 out of the 22,000,000 thalers which formed the total revenue of the state; so that it finally numbered 200,000 men, although the whole population was but 6,000,000. He rebuilt fortresses, and founded new ones. All this was accomplished only by a Spartan economy in the expenses of the court and the salaries of officers. The army consisted but in part of natives of the country, and these were of the lowest class. The majority of the soldiers were merceuaries obtained by recruiting officers in all parts of Germany. An iron discipline was maintained in the army, and enforced by punishments which were often cruel, such as flogging and running the gauntlet. But desertion, though so severely punished, was frequent.

§ 2. The peasantry in Prussia, as in all Germany, in Frederick's days, were burdened with heavy taxes, duties, and contributions, and were mostly under the judicial control of their landlords. All that could be done for them was to protect them from losing their land, and to secure to them the benefits of the public administration of the law. Frederick did all this zealously, and sometimes to the injury of the rights of others. On the whole, the peasants were still a wretched, slavish, and oppressed set of men. The citizens in the cities grew richer, but had not attained the free self-confidence and bold enterprise of our own days. The government was looked to for every thing: it must establish factories, and mills for spinning and weaving, by bounties and privileges, or carry on the business as a state monopoly. Meanwhile a class of rich merchants grew up in the cities; and certain Jewish families, in such cities as Berlin, became distinguished for their wealth and even their intelligence. But the old spirit of citizenship—narrow, pious, and with a high sense of honor—prevailed in general. There were as yet but a few enlightened minds to take part in the great intellectual revival, and in the new era of German poetry.

§ 3. Nine years after the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick

made a bloodless conquest, almost as important as that of Silesia, by the first partition of Poland. That kingdom had been entirely disintegrated by the unbridled independence of the nobility. The suggestion of a division of the kingdom among the neighboring monarchies was first made by Catharine II. to Prince Henry of Prussia in conversation. It was zealously taken up by Frederick, who devoted all his energies to it, until it was finally accomplished. After the Seven-Years' War, Frederick deeply felt the danger of standing alone. Lord Bute's offer, in 1762, to Russia and Austria, to dismantle Prussia for their benefit, if Russia would abandon the alliance with Frederick, showed him how little security the friendship of England gave him. He therefore formed a defensive alliance with Catharine II., April 11, 1764, by which each party guaranteed to the other for eight years the integrity of its dominions, and both bound themselves to sustain the constitution of Poland. Both these powers had already interfered in Poland to protect the Protestants and Greeks, who had been persecuted by the Catholic authorities. This gave them an opportunity for constant intermeddling, and for increasing the confusion and lawlessness of the country. Frederick saw with anxiety the rapid growth of Russia, and its threatening ascendancy, and thought that the partition of Poland would counteract it. Courland, a German district, with its own duke, was already a mere dependency of Russia. All Europe was threatened with danger in case Catharine II. should carry out her long-cherished plan of conquering Turkey and Constantinople, as she certainly hoped to do in this war. Russia already treated Poland as a subject country, and unquestionably meditated its acquisition, while Poland, already ruined by its own faults, could not possibly preserve any national life. Frederick regarded the question as simply whether he should leave all the booty to Russia, or obtain a share of it for himself and for Austria. The young emperor, Joseph II., who came to the throne in 1765, was an admirer of Frederick, and was extremely ambitious to enlarge his own dominions.

§ 4. In their common anxiety concerning Russia's rapid progress in power, the emperor and Frederick II. came together: Joseph visiting the king in 1769 at Neisse, and receiving a

visit in return the next year at Neustadt in Moravia. Negotiations were carried on with both powers skillfully and for a long time; but it was not until February, 1772, that Frederick came to a definite agreement with Russia as to the terms of the partition. In March, Austria acceded to the proposition, and on August 5 the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg. By this act Russia obtained the largest share—about 87,500 square miles, with 1,800,000 inhabitants; Austria took the most fertile and populous districts, Galicia and Lodomiria, in all 62,500 square miles, with nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants; and Prussia received only the bishopric of Ermeland, West or Polish Prussia, and the Netze district, without the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in all 9465 square miles, with a population of about 600,000. But this territory lay between Brandenburg and East Prussia, and its acquisition filled up a dangerous gap in Frederick's dominions; so that Prussia was probably more strengthened than either of its confederates. Poland was deprived in all of one third of its area and one half of its population, but the remaining territory was "guaranteed" by the powers. The Empress Maria Theresa was long reluctant to assent to the partition; and when she did so, it was in these words: "*Placet*, since so many great and learned men will have it so; but long after I am dead it will be known what this violating of all that was hitherto held sacred and just will give rise to."

§ 5. The land thus acquired by Frederick, except the Netze district, had been part of the territory of the German order, but had been wrested from it in the time of German weakness and shame, under the Emperor Frederick III. The land itself was waste and ruined, with a poor, proud, and uncontrolled nobility, and a savage peasantry. There was scarcely any thing like a city; and whatever there was of trade or manufacturing industry was in the hands of the Jews. Frederick gave careful attention to the improvement of the country. He constructed a canal from the Brahe to the Netze, connecting the waters of the Vistula and the Oder, and built up Bromberg, from a wretched little town of five hundred inhabitants into a flourishing city, which now contains sixteen thousand people. Other cities, too, grew

up with surprising rapidity. He sent faithful officers to the province, trade was made honest and trustworthy, and even the peasants began to have something to live for. Before Frederick's death, there was a new creation of German thought and labor in this region. In the same way he colonized all the new districts. Along the Oder, the Warta, and the Netze, tracts of swamp land were drained, which have since become some of the richest agricultural lands in North Germany. In East Friesland, much was recovered from the Dollart, and the region of the Havel was greatly improved. There were still no paved roads in Prussia or in Germany; but much was done to facilitate traffic, especially by canals. Frederick still retained his ancestors' false notions of foreign trade, and hoped to encourage home manufactures by heavy taxes on foreign products. He instituted a rigid system of duties, with extremely high taxes on coffee and tobacco; and these were regarded as oppressive, the more so since they were collected almost entirely by French officers.

§ 6. On the whole, however, Frederick's government was an admirable and efficient organization. A short time before his death, he formed a plan for a new Prussian code of laws. It was drawn up by the best legal minds in the kingdom, was in part published before Frederick's death, and still remains the basis of the law of Prussia. The "paternal government" of Frederick accustomed the people to expect every thing from it, and not to exercise their own independence and enterprise. Nor was any one, even the crown-prince, trained to association in the government. There were a number of eminent generals who grew up with Frederick in his wars, and were accustomed to a degree of independent command; but most of them died before the king. In affairs of state, Hertzberg, the negotiator of the Peace of Hubertsburg, was the king's only confidant, and he was not a statesman of the first rank. Thus Prussia's greatness depended entirely on the personal attention and labors of the king; and if he were removed, the whole organization might be left lifeless. Yet the position of Prussia in Europe was one not likely to be maintained without ceaseless vigilance.

§ 7. While the example of Louis XIV. had a great and per-

nicious influence on the princes of Europe during the sixteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth, that of Frederick the Great, toward the end of the latter century, was followed by many to the benefit of their subjects. He was the foremost representative of a school of thought which rejected and mocked at all that the world had regarded as sacred; and its influence did much to destroy various forms of superstition—especially among people of high rank—and to introduce a regard for freedom and for the welfare of mankind. This movement, associated with no profound convictions and no moral earnestness, did not take hold strongly of the German mind. It found its most complete development in French literature, and ultimately in French public life in the great Revolution. But it certainly gave rise to much that was healthful and beneficent in the aims of rulers and governments.

§ 8. The peace of nearly thirty years which followed the Seven-Years' War in Germany was a time of rich mental activity and growth. Court life itself, if its vanities were not abolished, still acquired a more enlightened and humane tone. The fierce passions of the princes no longer exclusively controlled it: there was something of regard for education, for art and science, and for the public welfare. This is particularly true of courts which were intimately connected with Prussia; as that of Brunswick, where Duke Charles, Frederick II.'s brother-in-law, though personally an extravagant prince, founded an institution of learning which brought together many of the best intellects of Germany (1740 to 1760), or that of Anhalt-Dessau, where the famous "Philanthropinum" was established. Several princes imitated Frederick's military administration, and that sometimes on a scale so small as to be ludicrous. Prince William of Lippe-Schaumburg founded in his little territory a fortress and a school of war. But this school educated Scharnhorst, and the prince himself won fame in distant lands. He invited Herder to his little court at Bückeberg. Weimar, too, imitated Frederick's example, where the Duchess Amalie, daughter of Charles of Brunswick, and her intellectual son, Charles Augustus, made their little cities Weimar and Jena places of gathering for the greatest men of genius of the time. Among the petty

Thuringian princes of this period, there were others of noble character. In 1764 the Saxon throne was ascended by Frederick Augustus, grandson of Augustus III., but, being a minor, he could not be elected king of Poland. This put an end to the union of the two titles, which had been the cause of immeasurable evil to Saxony and to Germany. When the young elector attained his majority, the government of Saxony was greatly improved, and a period of prosperity followed. Duke Charles Eugene of Wirtemberg (1737-1793), during his early years, rivaled Louis XV. in extravagance and immorality, but in after-days was greatly changed. He founded the Charles School, at which Schiller was educated. Baden enjoyed a high degree of prosperity under Charles Frederick (1746-1811).

§ 9. Even the spiritual lords, on the whole, threw their influence in favor of enlightenment and progress. Such names as Fürstenberg, in Münster, Archbishop Clement Wenceslaus (brother of the King of Saxony), in Trèves, Emmerich Joseph, Elector of Mayence, and Francis Lewis of Erlthal, in Würzburg and Bamberg, rank with the best of German princes. The reforms within their power, indeed, amounted to little more than the complete exposure of invincible abuses. For the Church territories were in deep decay; the clergy and religious orders included one in twenty of the population, and the beggars more than one in four. The prelates of Cologne, Trèves, Mayence, and Salzburg, strange to say, agreed at Ems in 1786 to renounce the supremacy of Rome, and to found an independent German Catholic Church; but the plan was broken down by the resistance of the inferior clergy and of the Emperor Joseph II.

§ 10. Some of the German states were slow to take part in the general progress. Bavaria was constantly retarded by the influence of the Jesuits, and even Maximilian Joseph (1745-1777), though himself a well-meaning duke, was able to make but slow advances. The Palatinate, too, was under luxurious and idle rulers, mostly in the pay of France. In some territories the boundless extravagance of the princes was a terrible burden upon their subjects. In Salzburg, whence in 1732 the Protestants were expelled, noble buildings were erected: and at the end of the century an enlight-

ened government succeeded. In Cassel, Frederick's military policy was imitated, and here, too, magnificent public works were built, far beyond the resources of the land. Men who professed enlightenment and humanity were often shamefully tyrannical. The courts of Cassel and Wirtemberg sold their people by regiments to England, to fight against the independence of the North American Colonies. In the same spirit game laws every where oppressed the common people, for the pleasure of princes and nobles. In some of the smallest states, proverbially said to contain only "twelve subjects and a Jew," deeds of despotic tyranny and cruelty occurred such as are hard to parallel. It was a twilight age, with deep shadows lingering in it. The empire was become a mere name. Whatever good there was in particular regions and courts, there was no recognized bond of union, and no common national life, among the German people.

§ 11. Austria shared in the general intellectual awakening of Germany. Maria Theresa was a firm, strong character, with a clear mind and a sincere desire for the people's welfare. She found Austria in decay, and was able to introduce many reforms. She alleviated the condition of the peasants, who were still mostly serfs. The nobles had before lived mainly for show, but she provided institutions for their education. She encouraged agriculture; and, in spite of her Catholic piety, while supporting schools and churches, she resisted the excessive influence of the clergy, diminished the number of useless festivals, improved the tribunals of criminal law, conformed the organization of the army to the Prussian model, and in many ways ministered to the welfare of the country. Something even of German literature reached these territories, so long cut off from the rest of Germany. The finances of Austria had fallen into a sad condition under the extravagance and neglect of her predecessors, but Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I., though she allowed him little influence upon the government in other respects, aided greatly in restoring these to order. A systematic effort was made to form into one homogenous state the very motley mass of the Austrian territories, and in most of these changes the example of Prussia was closely followed.

§ 12. It was a condition of the Peace of Hubertsburg that



Frederick II. should give his electoral vote for the eldest son of Francis I. None of the other electors objected to the choice, and on March 27, 1764, they performed the ceremony of choosing Joseph "King of the Romans," but without power to interfere with the government during his father's life. Francis I. died August 18, 1765, and his son, Joseph II. (1765-1790), was then crowned emperor in the traditional fashion. He was also associated with his mother in the government of Austria; but she retained the royal power mainly in her own hands, assigning to her son the executive control of military affairs. Joseph II. was an impetuous and intellectual character, all aglow with the new ideas of enlightenment and progress, and was perhaps more deeply impressed by the example of Frederick II. than any other prince of the age. He would gladly have imitated Frederick's restless activity, his faithful, exact devotion to the work in hand, and his minute attention to details; but he acted so impulsively that he often had to retrace his steps, or to drop the enterprise just begun. The path of reform being closed to him in Austria, he strove to open it in the empire. But his power as emperor was insignificant; and his noble efforts to improve the supreme chambers of justice at Vienna and Wetzlar were thrown away, these institutions having lost all their value.

§ 13. At the same time, Joseph II. was eager to aggrandize Austria, and at least to obtain an equivalent for Silesia. For a long time Austria had been longing to acquire Bavaria, and there now seemed to be some reason to hope for success. The ancient line of electors of the house of Wittelsbach died out in 1777 with Maximilian Joseph (December 30). The next heir was the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore, also Duke of Jülich and Berg, who was not eager to obtain Bavaria, since, by the Peace of Westphalia, he must then forfeit the electorate of the Palatinate, and must also remove to Munich from his favorite residence at Mannheim. Besides, Charles Theodore had no legitimate children, and could not leave to his natural sons either dukedom; so that he was eager to exchange some of his dignities for possessions which he could dispose of by will. Under these circumstances Joseph II. made an unfounded claim to Lower Bavaria, under a pre-



Joseph II. (1765-1790).

tended grant of the Emperor Sigismund in 1426. A secret treaty was made by him with Charles Theodore, by which he was to pay that prince a large sum of money for Lower Bavaria; and soon after Maximilian Joseph's death, Joseph II. occupied the land with troops. Frederick II., who was ever jealous of the growth of Austria, resolved to prevent this acquisition. He instigated Charles of Zweibrücken, the next heir to Bavaria after Charles Theodore, to protest against the bargain, and pledged himself to defend Charles's rights. Joseph II. offered to compromise, but Frederick would have no terms which enlarged Austria; and thus the war of the Bavarian Succession broke out (1778-79).

§ 14. Again the Austrian and Prussian armies marched to the borders of Bohemia and Silesia. No decisive battles took

place in this war, and no memorable deeds of heroism are recorded. Frederick had a fine army, but held it back, and refused to take Austria by surprise, even when the opportunity seemed most tempting. The war is ever since known in the Prussian army as "The Potato War," the only achievement in it being Frederick's stay of some months in Bohemia, living on the country. Neither he nor Maria Theresa wished to renew their useless conflicts; and she opened negotiations with him in 1778, keeping them secret from her son. They failed, but on May 13, 1779, peace was concluded at Teschen, through the mediation of Russia and France; the Empress Catharine declaring that, unless the Austrian claims were abandoned, she would support Frederick II. with 50,000 men. Austria gave up all claim to the Bavarian inheritance; but received the small district between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salzach, known as the "Innviertel," containing about eight hundred square miles and a population of sixty thousand. Mecklenburg and Saxony received compensation in money and lands for their claims on Bavaria; and Austria agreed not to oppose the future union of Anspach and Bai-reuth with Prussia. But the inheritance of Bavaria, upon the death of Charles Theodore without legitimate sons, was secured to the Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld branch of the house of Wittelsbach, which succeeded to the dukedom in 1799, in the person of Maximilian IV. Joseph, ancestor of the present king. By inviting the interference of Russia in this case, Frederick gave that power a new opportunity to interfere in German affairs. From that time Joseph II. courted the favor of the Empress Catharine II.

§ 15. By the death of Maria Theresa, November 29, 1780, her son Joseph II. became sole monarch of Austria. He now resumed his plans for the aggrandizement of his country. He reduced the spiritual lordships of Salzburg and Passau, secured for his brother the Archbishopric of Cologne and Münster, and again formed with Charles Theodore a scheme for annexing Bavaria to Austria. He obtained that prince's consent to exchange Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, to be ceded to him as a kingdom of Burgundy. Frederick again induced Charles of Zweibrücken to protest, and promised to support him to the utmost. Joseph II. then abar-

doned his plan, without war. Frederick had for a long time observed with anxiety the growing friendship between Austria and Russia; and his own alliance with Russia was dissolved. It was therefore more necessary than ever for him to find support and alliance in Germany. In order to meet any aggressions of Austria the more effectually, he founded the "Confederation of the German Princes," a league of the smaller German states under Prussia, to guarantee the security of the empire. It was joined by Hanover, Saxony, Brunswick, Baden, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, Hesse, the Electorate of Mayence, Zweibrücken, Anhalt, and others. In bringing about this league, Frederick's minister Hertzberg showed much diplomatic skill.

§ 16. Joseph II. was a man of large mind and noble aims. Like Frederick, he was unwearying in labor, accessible to every one, and eager to assume his share of work or responsibility. The books and the people's memory are full of anecdotes of him, though he was far from popular during his life. But he lacked the strong practical sense and calculating foresight of the veteran Prussian king. In his zeal for reforms he hastened to heap one upon another in confusion. Torture was abolished, and for a time even the death penalty. Rigid equality before the law was introduced, and slavery done away. His reforms in the Church were still more sweeping. He closed more than half of the monasteries, and devoted their estates to public instruction; he introduced German hymns of praise and the German Bible. By his Edict of Toleration, June 22, 1781, he secured to all Protestants throughout the Austrian states their civil rights and freedom of worship, "in houses of prayer without bells or towers." Pope Pius VII. in person visited the court of Vienna in March, 1782, and Joseph II. received him with marked reverence and courtesy, but yielded nothing to him in his policy.

§ 17. Joseph II. carried into the rest of the Austrian territories the same impetuous spirit of reform on which he acted in his German dominions. He zealously followed up Maria Theresa's policy of consolidating Austria into one state; and it was this course which made him enemies. He offended the powerful nobility of Hungary by abolishing serfdom

(November 1, 1781), and the whole people by the measures he took to promote the use of the German language. In the Netherlands, he alienated from him the powerful clergy by his innovations; and they stirred up against him the people, already aggrieved by the loss of some of their ancient liberties. A revolution broke out among them in 1788, and was threatening to extend to Hungary and Bohemia, when the emperor suddenly died, still in the full vigor of manhood, at the age of forty-nine, February 20, 1790. He had assisted Catharine II. of Russia in a war against the Turks, in the autumn of 1788, hoping for some conquests of his own; but failed in his campaign, and contracted a fever in the malarious country on the Lower Danube which broke down his strength. The failure of nearly all his plans depressed his spirits and prevented his recovery. Not long before his death, he made a public declaration, upon receiving the sacrament in the chapel of his palace, that his designs had been good, and that, if they had failed, he looked for divine pity and forgiveness. After his death, the progress of reform was checked in Austria; but he had awakened new and strong forces there, and a complete return to the ancient system was impossible.

§ 18. Europe was now in agitation and terror before the approach of the French Revolution, which made even the most liberal princes jealous of innovation and of any popular movement. Leopold II. (1790-1792), who succeeded his brother Joseph II., both in Austria and as emperor, was a self-indulgent but prudent ruler. As Grand-Duke of Tuscany he had practiced the same principles as Joseph, but with extreme caution. He suppressed the revolution in the Netherlands by violence, and conciliated Hungary. He showed a vein of cunning in his conduct of foreign affairs, especially toward Prussia. In Austria he created a watchful body of secret police, reintroduced the censorship of the press, and met every revolutionary impulse with prudence and energy.

§ 19. During his long reign, Frederick II. enjoyed the unchanging love of his people and the respect of Europe. But he was fully aware of the changes which time wrought around him. He saw the simple, unselfish spirit in which the burdens of the Seven-Years' War had been borne die



Leopold II. (1790-1792).

away. He saw the unfeigned piety of the Prussian people disappearing under the influence of unbelievers and mockers in the higher classes, and he sincerely wished that it might be restored. As he advanced in life, his habits grew more lonely; all his friends died before him, and his isolation of mind increased. He did not appreciate the grand intellectual movement of the German people, nor even the literary revival which had been going on among his own subjects from the times of Lessing and Kant. His personal feelings were embittered by the loss of the early friends whom he never replaced; of his mother, just after the battle of Colin; of his sister Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth, on the very day of the disaster of Hochkirch; and of the Marquis D'Argens. He grew to be almost a misanthrope, yet never re-

laxed his exertions in the service of his kingdom and people, to the very day before his death. He died August 17, 1786. His figure is one of the most prominent among the favorite heroes of the German people, who know him as "Old Fritz," in his cocked hat, plain blue army coat, and high boots reaching the thighs; or on his horse riding to war, staff in hand; his form thin, not tall, and bent with age and suffering, his face deeply furrowed and weather-worn, his eye large, clear, and commanding. In the stories, anecdotes, and traditions of the people, his name is still next to Luther's. It seemed at his death as if Prussia's greatness was gone.

§ 20. For his nephew and successor was far from filling his place. Frederick William II. was a spirited, honorable, kind-hearted, sensitive man, of an active mind; but his character was clouded by irresolution, disgraceful sensuality, and a taste for the marvelous. Frederick II. had felt little respect for the abilities of his nephew, and had taken no pains to initiate him with the work of government. No one but Hertzberg, the minister, remained, who could carry out the policy of the great king. Prussia still commanded the respect of the great powers, as was seen at the beginning of the new king's reign. The republican party in Holland was in a dispute with the hereditary stadtholder, William of Orange, and carried it so far that his wife, Frederick William's sister, while on a journey from Guelders to the Hague, was seized by the citizen soldiers of a little Dutch town, detained several hours as a prisoner, and then sent back. This produced an outbreak, and the stadtholder called on his brother-in-law for help. Frederick William, wishing to avenge his sister, hastened to respond. Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick, with 20,000 Prussians, in 1787 invaded Holland, and with ease reduced to submission its boastful citizen militia, and restored the princely family to their former position. Frederick William II. was always generous; but it was against the interests of Prussia that he now declined even to accept an indemnity for the expenses of the war; nor did he take advantage of the opportunities afforded to secure other benefits for his country, such as the free navigation of the Rhine, which was now obstructed with tolls by the Dutch. This first easy campaign confirmed the

faith of the army in its own invincibility, but entirely exhausted the treasure left by Frederick II.

§ 21. The kingdom of Poland, though overshadowed by the growing power of Russia, and humiliated by the first partition, still existed for a time. In 1787 Catharine II. again took up her plans of conquest, and began a war against the Turks, in alliance with Joseph II. of Austria, and with her creature, Stanislaus Poniatowski, King of Poland. This alliance was, first, for the conquest of Turkey, but it was impossible to conceal the further purpose of attacking Prussia. The Russians, under Potemkin, made rapid progress in Moldavia and Wallachia. Frederick William II. and Hertzberg, still his minister, pursued the policy of Frederick II., in opposing the destruction of the European balance of power by the ascendancy of Russia and Austria, and the growth of an immense Slavonic empire in the East. Prussia therefore formed an alliance, not only with England, Holland, and Sweden, whose interests were identical with its own, but also with Turkey itself, and with Poland, whose government was not in accord with the king. Yet Hertzberg's policy was ambiguous. He was desirous of securing for Prussia at least Dantzic and Thorn, if not Posen and Kalisch; while Austria, if possible, should be made to give back Galicia to Poland, compensating itself out of Turkey. While Joseph II. lived, and the revolts in his territories continued, the prospects for Hertzberg's plans were favorable. Prussia supported the inhabitants of Lüttich, on the frontier of Belgium, against their bishop, and Prussian officers organized the Belgian troops against Austria. But when Leopold II. came to the throne in 1790, he dexterously strove to come to an understanding with Prussia. The Congress of Reichenbach, in Silesia, was the result; at which England and Holland, hitherto allies of Prussia, protested against any territorial aggrandizement of that country, and declared in favor of the "*status quo*"—the maintenance of the situation as it was. This had been Austria's desire; but it now pretended to make a concession to Prussia, in engaging to seek no aggrandizement in Turkey. Frederick William II. contented himself with this mere shadow of gain, since he was now distrustful of Hertzberg and of his revolutionary projects, and weary



of the war. Thus Leopold II. obtained by the convention of Reichenbach (July 27, 1790) peace at home and abroad. But Prussia was evidently and for the first time defeated in its plans, and began to lose its high position in Europe.

§ 22. In consequence of the convention of Reichenbach, Hertzberg retired, and Prussia became more and more subject to Austrian influence. The agreement of Austria to renounce all hope of acquiring territory from Turkey was not observed; but King Frederick William was now wholly absorbed in the war against the French Revolution, and once more yielded, and the old city of Orsowa was ceded by the Porte to Austria as the price of the Peace of Sistowa (August 4, 1791). Russia, too, paid no regard to the threats of Prussia, now abandoned by the naval powers, England and Holland, but went on with the war against Turkey. The powers which had put their trust in Prussia—Turkey, Poland, and Sweden—found themselves without help, and regarded Prussia as faithless. Poland disregarded the friendship of Prussia and formed a new constitution (May, 1791), with an hereditary monarch and a fundamental law, founded on the French principles of 1789. Frederick William acquiesced in all these changes; but the Russian party, dissatisfied with the new constitution, formed a confederation, under Potocki, to overthrow it, and Catharine II., having made peace with Turkey, sent one hundred thousand troops into Poland. Prussia had promised Poland aid, but now refused it, and left Kosciusko and the Poles to be crushed. The king, Poniatowski, under Catharine's threats, joined the confederation, which had just met to complete its triumph, when it was informed that Russia and Prussia had resolved to make a new partition of their country. But it required long negotiation to agree on the terms of division, and especially to induce Austria and England to acquiesce in it. By fair words and concessions of trading privileges, and especially by the promise to join the alliance against France, the Northern powers succeeded in this, and on April 9, 1793, the new partition was made public.

§ 23. Russia obtained by this act 88,000 square miles of territory, with a population of 3,055,500. Prussia received 22,000 square miles, with 1,136,300 inhabitants, including Po-

sen and Gnesen, Kalisch, Sieradz, Plock, part of Rawa, the fortress of Czenstochau, and the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, the whole forming the new province of "South Prussia." Poland was left with one third of its original extent, and this was again "guaranteed" by Russia and Prussia. Soon after this, the Poles once more revolted under Kosciusko; but Prussia invaded the country, beating down all opposition. When the insurrection was nearly suppressed—Warsaw alone remaining in the hands of the Poles—the Russian general Suwaroff came with his army, captured Praga, and stormed Warsaw. On January 3, 1795, a declaration of the three powers appeared, setting forth that the only way of keeping the peace in Poland was to divide it among them. On October 24 the final treaty of partition was signed, by which the king, Poniatowski, was pensioned off, and the remnant of Poland distributed. Prussia now received Warsaw, the capital city, parts of Massovia and Podlachia, and some smaller districts forming a strip on its eastern frontier, out of which the provinces of "New East Prussia" and "New Silesia" were made: the whole composing 21,000 square miles, with a million of inhabitants. Austria, which had not drawn a sword in the war, was permitted to take West Galicia, nearly as large and quite as populous as the Prussian share, while Russia took all the rest, including all Polish Lithuania and other territories—43,000 square miles and 1,200,000 people.

§ 24. Thus, without any remarkable feat of arms or of statesmanship, Prussia easily acquired a vast addition to its territory and power. But the gain by the last two partitions was of a very different nature from that made by Frederick II. in the first one. It was not German soil, nor were the people easily to be assimilated with a nation of Germans. The country contained wild plains of vast extent, peopled by fanatical Roman Catholics of Slavonic descent, hostile to the Germans, and incapable of being fairly incorporated with Prussia in less than a century of peace. This unsafe acquisition was speedily lost again when Prussia was dismembered in 1806.

§ 25. Frederick William II. was not successful in his interior administration. The oppressive customs duties were abandoned, education was encouraged, and some favor was

shown to the new and vigorous literary activity in Germany. But the internal organization of the state, on the whole, declined. The treasure of Frederick the Great was early exhausted, and public debts were contracted. The court was tainted with immorality, which was spread abroad by its influence. Vanity, self-indulgence, and vainglorious boasting prevailed, and the higher uses of life seemed to be forgotten. Meanwhile the king came under the influence of men who knew how to inspire him with a sickly religious fanaticism, without any moral earnestness. Vice was fostered; but an edict of Wöllner, the king's canting minister, provided that the clergy should undergo a preliminary examination as to their faith, and in fact endeavored to force them—under penalty of deposition or worse—to preach the old and rigid doctrine favored by the court, whether they believed it or not (July 9, 1788). Against this worthless law the fashionable mocking skepticism, whose home was at Berlin, was as bitter as the earnest spirit of free inquiry which had characterized the intelligence of Prussia from the time of Lessing and Kant. Professor Bahrdt, of Halle, was condemned to two years' confinement in the fortress of Magdeburg for writing against the edict. The true Protestant spirit, which could not endure any form of religion on compulsion, revolted. The law was set aside as pernicious by the pious Frederick William III. In the ten years of the reign of Frederick William II the strong and admirable foundations laid by Frederick the Great were entirely undermined, and when he died, November 16, 1797, he left to his son, Frederick William III., a hard task at home, even had there been no storms threatening from abroad.

§ 26. Amid the general awakening of intelligence in Germany there were still some painful exceptions. Austria, after the hasty efforts of Joseph II. for reform, had returned to the old paths, and was more isolated from Germany, both politically and intellectually, than ever. Prussia, too, seemed to be in a decline. In short, Germany seemed to be little more ready to meet the severe trials now approaching than it had been when Louis XIV.'s attacks began. Yet a great change had taken place in the people. There was more than ever before that consciousness of community among them

which justifies calling them a nation. This was largely the result of the splendid deeds of their heroes, Prince Eugene, the Great Elector, and, above all, Frederick the Great; but it was also much promoted by the works of intellectual heroes, who created among the people a new sense of their unity, and of their position among the nations of the world. It was to a very great extent the achievements of Prussia, and the fact that a great Protestant power had grown up in Germany, that gave the great impulse to this patriotic awakening of national feeling; but it was by no means confined to the Prussian people, but extended throughout the south and west of Germany, and even to Switzerland.

§ 27. It was in Switzerland that a poet and scholar arose in the first half of the eighteenth century who formed a new bond of union between his country and Germany. Haller (born 1708, died 1777), "the poet of the Alps," was invited to Göttingen, and lived long to honor the university founded there by the royal Hanoverian house of England in 1737. Hagedorn of Hamburg (born 1708, died 1754) was a contemporary of Haller, and was the first graceful versifier of the modern German tongue. In Leipsic, at the same time, Gottsched (1700-1766) laid down poetical principles and rules, which were narrow and rigid enough; yet he extended the knowledge of the best French poets, and elevated the taste of the people. Just at the time when Frederick II. ascended the throne, and went to war for Silesia, the Swiss poets and critics, Breitinger and Bodmer, entered upon a lively controversy with Gottsched, which contributed to a better understanding of poetry. Gellert (1715-1769), the author of so many favorite hymns, and of popular fables and tales in verse, also wrote in Leipsic. Here, too, was formed a circle of young friends, who were afterward mostly recruited at Duke Charles's institute in Brunswick—Gärtner, Ebert, Zachariä, and others: the circle amid which afterward arose Klopstock (1724-1803), the first of the great German poets. He restored to the German language an elevation and dignity of movement which it had not attained since Luther. He was full of the spirit of the great Reformation in all its freshness, and breathed in every thing the truest patriotism.

§ 28. A number of younger poets echoed the patriotic

strains of Klopstock; among them, Voss, Hölty, Bürger, and the brothers Stolberg. Meanwhile Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), who resided successively at Leipsic, Berlin, Hamburg, and Wolfenbüttel, gave boldness and strength to German prose, and broke the last fetters of French slavery in poetry. He created the German drama, celebrated Prussia's greatness in "Minna von Barhelm," and proclaimed toleration and perfect freedom of thought in "Nathan the Wise." Closely connected with him are the Prussian poets—Kleist (1715–1759), the minstrel of spring, who was killed at the battle of Kunersdorf, and Gleim, a canon of Halberstadt, author of the "Songs of the Prussian Grenadier." Prussia also had great scholars: Winkelmann, who disclosed to modern times the glories of ancient art, and Kant, of Königsberg, the most original thinker of his time, and the father of the great modern philosophical systems.

§ 29. Herder (1744–1803) was also an East Prussian, and grew up under the influence of the new zeal for inquiry. He was great as a theologian, philosopher, and thinker, as the exponent to Germany of the poetry of all ages and nations, and as the first representative of that comprehensive and catholic impartiality which has ever since distinguished German scholarship. But the full development of German poetry was for the South Germans, of the ancient Frankish and Suabian stock. At a still earlier period, Wieland (1733–1813), the author of "Oberon," had animated the slow and heavy German mind with grace and wit, while adhering to French models. But the summit of literary art was attained by John Wolfgang Goethe (born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, August 28, 1749, died at Weimar, March 22, 1832). His wonderful powers placed him at once at the head of the poetic youth of the country; and under his guidance they all plunged into what has been called the "storm and crush period" of German literature (1770–1785), which was to the world of thought much what the French Revolution afterward proved to the world of politics. But Goethe's growth continued long after this, in the maturer and calmer regions of true art, and while he lived to be recognized in all nations as the first poet of his age, his reputation and influence have only increased in the forty years since his death. His younger

friend, Schiller (born at Marbach, in Suabia, November 11, 1759, died at Weimar, May 9, 1805), reached still more inwardly the depths of the popular heart. Full of earnest devotion to truth and beauty, his life was a constant growth, and his works wielded an immeasurable power in stirring the intellect and taste of the nation. Goethe and Schiller lived in intimate friendship at Weimar, where also Herder, Wieland, and other men of genius gathered at the court of the Grand-Duke Charles Augustus, then a chief capital of the German intellect. A second centre of power was Jena, where the great philosophers Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, one after another, studied and taught (from 1795 to 1806).

§ 30. Thus German literature reached its highest point of productiveness and power at the end of the eighteenth century. It was more to the Germans than a national literature could be to any other nation. For it was not merely a pride, a delight, and an education for each citizen: it was for the time the nation itself, the only symbol of its union and centre of its patriotic feelings. It lifted the minds of men above the boundaries of the petty states, and united all the scattered members of the race in a national consciousness. Colonists on the Baltic, emigrants to North America, and every subject of each severed German principality in Europe shared in it alike. This feeling was a gradual growth, but it proved of the highest value when the times came in which a national reunion of Germany seemed to many forever impossible.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF LUNEVILLE, 1792-1801.

§ 1. Ideas of the Revolution. § 2. Causes which Hastened it in France. § 3. Overthrow of the Monarchy. § 4. Reign of Terror; Supremacy of the Army. § 5. Effect of the Revolution upon Germany. § 6. Especially near the Rhine. § 7. Causes of War with France. Accession of Francis II., Emperor of Germany. § 8. Prussian and Austrian Attack on France. § 9. Its Failure. § 10. The Germans Driven Back; the French at Lütich and Aix. § 11. And at Mayence. § 12. Death of Louis XVI.; the First Coalition; French Successes. § 13. Dissension among the Allies. § 14. Defection of Prussia. § 15. Napoleon in Italy. § 16. Victories over the Austrians. § 17. Archduke Charles Successful in Germany. § 18. Napoleon's Advance to Klogenfurth. § 19. Peace of Campo Formio. § 20. The Empire in Fragments. § 21. Congress of Rastatt. § 22. The Second Coalition, 1799. § 23. Murder of French Embassadors. § 24. Napoleon First Consul. § 25. Battles of Genoa and Hohenlinden. § 26. Peace of Luneville. § 27. The Imperial Deputation Redistricts Germany; Distribution of "Indemnities."

§ 1. THE intellectual agitation in Germany was contemporaneous with violent political agitations in other nations. The American Colonies, after a long war (1775-1783), secured their independence of Great Britain; and Frederick the Great was the first monarch in Europe to recognize them as a nation, expecting great advantages from their trade with East Friesland. These events and the constitution of the new popular government in America gave a strong impulse in Europe to the doctrine of the political equality of all men and of the right of self-government. In France, indeed, the minds of men were ripe for such doctrines, and they gained ground rapidly. Young French enthusiasts, like Lafayette, volunteered in the War of Independence, and were soon acknowledged as leaders and apostles of enlightenment and freedom; until public opinion in France compelled the king to make open war in behalf of the young republic.

§ 2. The success of the American Revolution further stimulated the growth of the new doctrines in Europe, and above

all in France. The follies and crimes of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. still burdened the nation, and their unfortunate descendant, Louis XVI., inherited the blame for all. An intolerable public debt, and oppressive taxes which were levied upon the citizens and peasants, but not upon the rich nobles and clergy, exasperated the people. Religious faith had nearly perished; and wild immorality, under the sanction of the court and the nobles, spread through the community. Want and oppression destroyed the loyalty of the people. All these causes together helped to prepare the great Revolution, in which, step by step, the power of the ancient monarchy was destroyed.

§ 3. After a series of conflicts between parties, and popular outbreaks, the Girondists, or Republicans, gained the control of the National Legislative Assembly, in which the powers of the government were now vested (October 1, 1791). This party led France into a war with Germany, and a camp of volunteers was formed in Paris. These soldiers, with the Paris mob, made a systematic attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792; the king was made prisoner, and the monarchy declared forfeited, and a new National Assembly was called to reconstitute the government. But the Girondists themselves soon fell before the passions of a party beside which they seem moderate. Danton, in the Jacobin club, declared that terror alone could save France from foes without and within, invaders and traitors; and the frightful "September massacres" of unarmed prisoners soon followed. The new Convention, on September 21, 1792, declared France a republic, and assumed the government in the name of the people.

§ 4. "The Mountain," the wild followers of Danton and Robespierre, now ruled the Convention. They sent to the guillotine the king, then the moderate Republicans, or Girondists; and then they quarreled among themselves—Danton himself was beheaded, and Robespierre with his gang ruled France as a tyrant. All Europe was in arms against the new republic; but this only convinced its leaders the more that the terror must be maintained. At last, in July, 1794, Robespierre was overthrown, and a more moderate party succeeded. The Convention lasted a year longer; but France was then weary of bloodshed, and sought to restore internal



quiet by the government of a "Directory" (1795). The whole power of the country soon came into the hands of the army and its rising generals. The effort for lawful freedom and constitutional order was forgotten, the people longed for repose, and the natural result was a military despotism.

§ 5. A profound impression was made by these events on all Europe, and especially on Germany, the next neighbor of France. The first demands for constitutional freedom, and the rule of justice instead of an arbitrary king, uttered in eloquent language by zealous and able men, stirred the sympathies of all intelligent Germans. Freedom and equality became a watchword even east of the Rhine. The decline of this enthusiasm and sympathy was but gradual, and many deeds of violence were pardoned to the spirit of liberty. But the horrors of the September massacres, the murder of the mild and not wicked king, and the streams of innocent blood shed in wantonness, turned most Germans in horror from the scene, and very many of them even abandoned all faith in the right or power of a people to govern themselves.

§ 6. Yet Germany was not of one mind. In great states, like Prussia and Austria, with a proud history of their own, and accustomed to thought and action on a large scale, the Revolution had but a slight influence. But the nearer the Rhine, and the smaller the state, the more excited were the people. The decay of the empire now showed itself a terrible misfortune, especially in the territories of the prelates, as in Trèves, Cologne, and Mayence. Complaints were made of oppressive taxation, of the defective administration of justice, of abuses under the game laws, and of many things. There were people here who were not repelled by the extremest doctrines and practices of the Jacobins from claiming to be of the new French school in which all men are brothers. When the Austrian and Prussian armies were defeated by the French, no one welcomed the result more than many Germans, who forgot their love of country in their zeal for the new Red-Republican faith. Ancient cities of the empire, like Mayence, Cologne, and Coblenz, rushed into the arms of foreigners, to rejoice with them over the humiliation of their own country.

§ 7. The attacks of the Jacobins on the dignity and the

person of the king alarmed the German rulers, and even the Austrian and Prussian monarchs forgot their rivalries in their common anxiety to save royalty itself. The empire had a complaint against France, for the rights of German princes in France had been attacked by the National Assembly. The French "emigrants," who had fled from France at the outbreak of the Revolution, were kindly received by the German rulers, and were often aided by them in their preparations to invade their own country. The Emperor Leopold and King Frederick William II. met in the summer of 1791 at Pillnitz, near Dresden, as guests of the Elector of Saxony, to consider what measures should be taken. The Count of Artois, a brother of Louis XVI., also joined them, to ask for their aid against the Assembly. But Leopold was extremely cautious, and would not bind himself by any promise, though Frederick William II. was eager for action. Leopold might still have avoided war for a long time, but that the Republicans in France hastened it. The National Assembly decreed that the corps of emigrants must disperse before March 1, 1792, or France would declare war. On the day named, the Emperor Leopold died. His son succeeded him as Francis I. of Austria (1792-1835), and on July 5 was elected emperor as Francis II. (1792-1806). Francis was an honest, kindly, and sincere prince, but was without eminent abilities. As a private gentleman, he would have been esteemed and admired, but it was his misfortune to inherit duties above his capacity. In his communication to the French diplomatists, announcing his father's death, he promised to maintain his father's policy; but even here his language showed that he was ready to go much farther. Before the month of March ended Austria offered as an ultimatum to France the demand that the ancient French monarchy should be restored in all its strength, with the nobility and clergy in their ancient possessions and rights. On April 20, King Louis XVI. himself presented to the National Assembly the complaints of France against Austria, and war was declared. The whole French nation entered with enthusiasm into the war against "the hordes of slaves" and "the conspirator kings," who wished, as they believed, to destroy their liberties.

§ 8. France seemed torn with dissension; its army and its



Francis II. (1792-1806).

finances were in utter disorder, and the nation was in no condition to resist a strong attack. But Germany was also far from ready. The empire was powerless; single states, like Bavaria and the Palatinate, now united, asking the enemy to regard them as neutral, while the two great powers wasted precious time, and soon ruined their cause by disagreement. It was not until the end of July, 1792, that the Prussians crossed the frontier from Luxemburg, while the Austrians were to join them, advancing from the Netherlands and from the Upper Rhine. The armies were smaller than had been agreed upon. The division of the supreme command in the principal army was ruinous. Frederick William II. was eager to advance. His general-in-chief, Duke Charles

of Brunswick—reputed to be the ablest soldier of his time—wished to act slowly and cautiously. All the measures taken were spoiled by cross-purposes. A proclamation to the French, issued from Coblenz by Brunswick, assumed to speak to them in the name of their own legitimate government, threatened to destroy every city which should resist, and to chastise Paris in a way to be remembered forever, if a hair of the king's head were harmed. These empty threats had no effect but to serve as texts by which the French patriotic orators stirred up the people to fury in their resistance. The tone of the proclamation, too, convinced multitudes of the French that their foreign foes were in communication with the royal family, and acted in concert with the king; and this conviction hastened the fall of the monarchy.

§ 9. The Prussians took Longwy (August 23) and Verdun (September 2), and then marched into Champagne. In front of this province was the forest of Argonnes, the passes of which were narrow and easily defended. Dumouriez conceived a brilliant plan for defending these, as "the Thermopylæ of France." The project was poorly carried out, but the Prussians needlessly gave Dumouriez and Kellermann, the two French generals, time to unite their forces. On September 20, 1792, Brunswick suddenly attacked Kellermann at Valmy, and threw his troops into a panic, but neglected to take advantage of his success, contented himself with a useless cannonade, and drew off his forces in the evening. This trifling repulse was represented throughout France as a great victory, and had a vast effect in encouraging the French soldiers and people.

§ 10. Dumouriez now skillfully held the Prussians aloof for eight days, until he was strongly reinforced and his position made impregnable. The Prussians had been assured by the emigrants that the invasion would be a mere promenade. But they found themselves without supplies, the resistance increasing daily, the roads growing worse under the incessant rains, and diseases, caused by exposure, imperfect food, and chalky water, rapidly weakening them. They opened negotiations, demanding the restoration of the king, but at the same time, September 30, 1792, began their retreat to the Rhine, much reduced in numbers. The allies, too, were already dis-

trustful of one another. Dumouriez now attacked the Austrians in Belgium. The battle of Jemappes, November 6, 1792, showed the energy of Republican enthusiasm in the French troops. The Austrians were defeated, and the Netherlands conquered. On November 14, Dumouriez entered Brussels in triumph. Before the year ended the French occupied the German cities of Lüttich and Aix; and at Lüttich his soldiers were welcomed by a people infatuated like themselves with "the principles of the Revolution."

§ 11. During the retreat of the German armies, the French under Custine, who had seized Spire and Worms, suddenly attacked Mayence, October 5. Poorly fortified and poorly governed, and now abandoned by the cowardly elector and his officers, it gladly surrendered to the French, who entered proclaiming liberty (October 11, 1792). The Paris clubs were imitated here on a small scale, and in the spring of 1793 George Forster and Adam Lux of Mayence went to Paris to propose the annexation of the Rhine districts to the French Republic. Forster was bitterly undeceived, and died of a broken heart. Lux defended Charlotte Corday, whose beauty and heroism had excited a memorable devotion in his heart, and his aspiration to die for her was satisfied under the guillotine. Frankfort, also, was occupied October 22, 1792, and forced to listen to proclamations of liberty and equality, and to pay burdensome contributions; but the Prussians and Hessians, with the help of the brave citizens, retook the city by storm, December 2, and captured the whole French garrison of 1500 men.

§ 12. Louis XVI. was put to death January 21, 1793. England immediately dismissed the French minister, and on February 1 France declared war against England and Holland. On March 25, England and Russia formed an alliance against France, which was joined in April by Sardinia and Hesse-Cassel, in May by Spain, and during the year by Prussia, Austria, Portugal, Tuscany, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt. This was the famous First Coalition, in which Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, alone of the powers of Northern and Western Europe, remained neutral. France endeavored to secure the alliance of the United States, but failed. Catherine II. of Russia, however, held aloof from actual war, while

encouraging the other powers, in the hope of carrying on her projects against Turkey and Poland without interference. Against the vast preparations of Europe, France, weakened by party strife and by many revolts at home, had nothing to rely on but undisciplined armies and untried Jacobin generals. It was again due to the divisions and irresolution, the mutual envy and jealousy of the allies, that the republic maintained itself. The campaign of the coalition opened promisingly. The Austrians, by a victory at Neerwinden, March 18, reconquered Belgium, and were enabled to invade France. The Prussians recovered Mayence, July 23, and marched triumphantly into Alsace and the Palatinate. But minister Thugut in Austria, and a peace party under Haugwitz in Prussia, constantly increased the want of harmony between the two countries. King Frederick William II. became absorbed in the prospect of the second partition of Poland, and left the army at the end of the year. On the other hand, the fierce enthusiasm of the Convention and the genius of Carnot, the French minister of war, wholly changed the conduct of the war in France. The levy of the whole people was proclaimed by the Convention, August 16, and the revolutionary enthusiasm expressed in "the Marsellaise" hymn took hold of the soldiers. Against such enemies, the old, systematic method of warfare availed nothing, and the French troops began to inspire in their foes a panic like that once spread by the Hussites. At Hondscoten they defeated the English, and at Wattignies the Austrians (October 15 and 16); though the Prussians in the Palatinate under Brunswick were victorious at Pirmasens (September 14), at the lines of Weissenburg (October 13), and finally, after a long and fierce struggle, at Kaiserslautern (November 28-30). It was here that Blücher, already fifty years of age, first gained great distinction for his services at the head of his "red hussars." The Austrians under Wurmser were then attacked by the French in the lines of Weissenburg, December 4; the Duke of Brunswick failed to support them, and they were compelled to retreat before the end of the year toward Manheim. The Prussians also retired, leaving the whole left bank of the Rhine to the enemy. Mutual recriminations followed, and the Duke of Brunswick resigned his command.

§ 13. The campaign of 1794 opened with some Austrian successes in Belgium, where the emperor commanded in person. But the French rapidly united their forces under Jourdan, who on June 26, at Fleurus, fought an important battle with the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. The immediate result seemed doubtful, but the Austrians gave way after the battle, and gradually retired from nearly all Belgium. On July 9 the French occupied Brussels. One after another, the Belgian fortresses yielded to them. Early in October the Austrians crossed the Rhine and abandoned Cologne, and in November much of Holland fell into the hands of the French. In fact, Francis II. had now resolved, at Thugut's instance, to abandon the Netherlands, looking for compensation in the final partition of Poland, and to join Russia, in order to overshadow Prussia's influence in Germany. The Prussian treasury was exhausted, and the Prussian troops only kept the field on condition that Great Britain should advance most of their pay. In return, England wished to use these troops as its own, and to throw upon them the burden of the war in the Netherlands. In the Palatinate, the Prussians continued to be successful, under Möllendorf; and at Kaiserslautern gained two victories this year (May 23 and September 18-20), in the first of which Blücher distinguished himself. But the allies still found it impossible to act in concert, and the Prussians felt humiliated in being used as a mere hired instrument; so the coalition fell to pieces. The revolt gaining ground in Poland, Frederick William wished to employ his army there, and carried on secret negotiations with France for a separate peace. The French were of course eager to separate Prussia from Austria, even at a considerable cost. In October the Prussians recrossed the Rhine, and the French occupied nearly the whole left bank of that river.

§ 14. Early in 1795 the French under Pichegru wrested Holland from the English, and formed of it "the Batavian Republic." On April 5 the Peace of Bâle was concluded between France and Prussia, by which Prussia ceded to France the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine—Mörs, Guelders, and Cleves—on condition that Prussia should be compensated on the right bank of the Rhine whenever

France should make peace with the empire; and meanwhile Prussia, and all the German states which might adopt its policy, should be neutral. Hanover and Hesse-Cassel acceded to these terms, as did a number of the smaller states under Prussian influence. Prussia itself suffered sadly afterward from this abandonment of the common cause of Germany. Austria continued the war; but Thugut, its real ruler, a false and unscrupulous minister, was justly suspected of having no higher end in view than further conquests, and especially the acquisition of Bavaria. In the summer of 1795 the war became active, two French armies advancing by Düsseldorf and Mannheim to the Rhine, with frightful devastations. But the admirable Austrian general Clairfait succeeded in driving them back, and in obtaining a truce which left the former situation unchanged.

§ 15. In 1796 the French Republic placed in the field five armies against England, Austria, and Sardinia. Two of these, the armies of the Maas and the Rhine, were to invade Germany; a third was to make an attack by way of Italy, and seek a junction with the others in the heart of Austria. The last was lying uselessly between the mountains and the sea near Nice, when by order of the Directory Napoleon Bonaparte took the command, March 30, 1796. He was then twenty-seven years of age, and had already distinguished himself in the wars of the Revolution, but it was now that he entered upon his great career before the world. With scarcely 30,000 men, he set about invading a difficult country, defended by 60,000 Austrians and Sardinians under Beaulieu; and though his men were hungry and in rags, and were most of them without experience, he promised them to take Milan within a month.

§ 16. He kept his word. Beaulieu was seventy-two years old, and was excessively slow; Bonaparte was fertile in expedients, swift as thought in executing them, and could rely upon his generals and his men. He separated the Sardinians from the Austrians, and forced them to a truce, April 28, and soon afterward to a peace, May 15. He crossed the Po, turned the Austrian lines, captured the bridge over the Adda at Lodi by a bold and terrible charge (May 10), and, as Beaulieu withdrew to Mantua, turned back and seized Milan, May



14. On May 31 he crossed the Mincio, and the next day took Verona, and drove the Austrians back to the borders of the Tyrol. They advanced again, now commanded by Wurmser; but Napoleon defeated them repeatedly in September, and drove them into Mantua, where he blockaded them all winter. A third army, under Alvinzi, was defeated by him at Arcola in November and at Rivoli in January, 1797. Napoleon was now firmly intrenched in Northern Italy, and controlled nearly the whole peninsula, levying contributions and shaping governments at his will. It was he alone that obtained victories for France this year.

§ 17. The French campaign in Germany ended in disaster. The young Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor Francis, was now commander-in-chief of the Austrian armies in Germany. In the spring he defeated the army of the Maas under Jourdan, near Wetzlar, and drove it back across the Rhine. Two armies then advanced under Jourdan and Moreau, and, although he skillfully prevented their junction, he retired before them far into Bavaria. But he obtained reinforcements, and suddenly fell upon Jourdan at Amberg (August 24), and again at Würzburg (September 3), and drove him in headlong flight across the Rhine at Düsseldorf; while the peasantry along his route avenged themselves upon his troops for their previous insolence and oppression. Moreau was now compelled to retreat through the Black Forest and across the Rhine. He conducted this march of thirty-seven days with a skill and success, under extreme difficulties, which secured him great renown.

§ 18. Archduke Charles was sent in the spring of 1797 to oppose Napoleon in Italy. Napoleon had already occupied Mantua (February 2) and crossed the Adige, and the archduke, whose army of 20,000 men was utterly insufficient to contend with Napoleon's 60,000, could only retreat before him. A French corps entered the Tyrol in March, and approached the Brenner, while Bonaparte with his main body of troops took Trieste, forced his way through the mountain passes to Klagenfurt, March 30, and into Styria, within thirty-six hours' march of Vienna. A great panic resulted in the Austrian capital; though the Tyrolese infantry rising behind him, and the patriotic fervor of the Austrians, made Bona-

parte's position, so far from home, with an army now of scarcely 40,000 effective men, a very perilous one. The Austrian court was afraid, too, of any popular movement which might become revolutionary. Accordingly a truce was made, April 7, and on April 18 preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben. Meanwhile Napoleon put an end to the republic of Venice, May 16, and in June incorporated it in "the Cisalpine Republic," comprising all Lombardy, which, like the kingdom of Sardinia, now became the close friend and ally of France.

§ 19. After discussions and negotiations between France and Austria which lasted all summer, the Peace of Campo Formio (a castle near Udine, where Napoleon had his headquarters) was signed, October 17, 1797. Austria ceded the duchy of Milan to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Netherlands to France; but received Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. In the original agreement at Leoben the integrity of the German Empire was avowedly guaranteed; but at Campo Formio, by a secret article, Austria agreed to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, on condition of obtaining the Archbishopric of Salzburg and part of Bavaria, and that Prussia should obtain no accession of territory. Thus the emperor himself bought peace and profit at the cost of the empire.

§ 20. The German Empire was now abandoned by its two great powers. Neither of the two could reproach the other. The smaller states, also, had acted in the same spirit of timid, narrow selfishness; nor had they the power to help themselves. The first tidings of the French advance across the Rhine was the signal for a general flight, or a cowardly and crouching submission; Charles Theodore, of the Palatinate and Bavaria, of course, setting the example. The pitiable condition of the empire was manifest to all, and the French now resolved to strike for "their national boundary, the Rhine," the goal of their wishes for centuries.

§ 21. At the Peace of Campo Formio it had been determined to hold a congress at Rastatt, of French as well as German ambassadors, to arrange the terms by which the cessions to France west of the Rhine might be completed, and to establish peace with the empire. This congress met

December 9, 1797. The French insisted on the most extravagant concessions, trampling on all rights. The plans already secretly agreed on with Prussia and Austria were boldly presented, France to take all west of the Rhine, and the dislodged princes to be recompensed out of the possessions of the Church, which were to be secularized. The negotiations were protracted for a whole year, new difficulties constantly arising, though the German envoys, deserted by Prussia and Austria, could not directly resist the French demands. Meanwhile the French occupied the left bank of the Rhine, and organized their new possessions in all respects as parts of their republic.

§ 22. But the demands and conduct of the French grew more and more insolent. They either occupied or demanded the demolition of the fortresses on the German side of the Rhine—Kehl, Mannheim, Castel, and Ehrenbreitstein. A new "daughter republic" was formed out of the states of the Church (February 15, 1798), and another, the Helvetic Republic, out of Switzerland (April 12). In May, Bonaparte made an adventurous expedition to Egypt, conquering on his way Malta, the home of the Knights of St. John, and won new laurels at the battles of the Pyramids and at Cairo. England believed itself threatened, and Pitt the younger, now prime-minister, earnestly strove to form a new coalition. Paul I. had succeeded his mother, Catharine II., in Russia in 1796, and, though a passionate and unwise prince, he inherited her hatred for the Revolution. Russia was therefore easily induced to attempt the restoration of the old order of things in Europe. Austria, too, disappointed in the hopes of gain which had led it to accept the Peace of Campo Formio, was now inclined to the coalition. On April 13, 1798, Bernadotte, the French ambassador, displayed the tricolored flag of the republic at a festival at Vienna. A tumult resulted, amid which Bernadotte left the city; and the French government demanded satisfaction in vain. Prussia could not be induced to join the coalition, but it was completed, in January, 1799, by the adhesion of England, Austria, Russia, Sicily, and Turkey.

§ 23. The confederates were at first successful. Archduke Charles gained a victory at Stockach, March 25, and drove

the French back across the Rhine. In Switzerland and Italy, too, the Austrians were victorious. The Congress of Rastatt went on, stupidly and patiently discussing the French demands, long after Austria had begun hostilities again, and only dissolved when the Austrian troops actually appeared before the city. The French ambassadors, who had recently published the secret agreements at Campo Formio, were attacked by the Austrian hussars as they left Rastatt (April 28), two of them killed, and the third, though severely wounded, was sent over the French frontier by the Austrians. This horrible deed was really the work of Thugut and Lehrbach, the Austrian ministers, who hoped to find among the ambassadors' papers evidence of treason on the part of some of the German princes. In April, the Russian general Suwaroff, the indomitable and bloody conqueror of Ismail, took command of the united Russian and Austrian forces in Italy; and the "daughter republics" of France which Bonaparte had created fell in ruins. Recalled by the Czar to Switzerland, Suwaroff made a famous passage of the Alps, only to find the French, under Massena, in possession of the outlets at Lake Lucerne and the valley of the Muotta, so that he was compelled to make another dangerous march to the Rhine. Dissensions now began in the coalition. Paul I. was zealous for the old order of things, but suspected Austria of seeking aggrandizement in Bavaria and Sardinia. The English and Russian troops in Holland had been unsuccessful. The Czar therefore recalled his army, and the second coalition began to dissolve.

§ 24. Meanwhile Napoleon returned from Egypt, overthrew the Directory, November 10 (18th Brumaire), 1799, and caused himself to be chosen first consul of the republic for ten years, Christmas-day, 1799. His powers were dictatorial, and he was the most absolute ruler in Europe. In a high-sounding letter he offered peace to England and Austria, but after a long correspondence, the negotiations failed to reach any result. In the spring of 1800, Moreau advanced triumphantly into Bavaria, while Massena, by his obstinate defense of Genoa, wore out the strength of the Austrian general Melas. Bonaparte meanwhile gathered large forces in Eastern France, and in May rapidly led sixty thousand men across

the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and through the valley of Dora Baltea, into the plain of Lombardy.

§ 25. On June 4 Genoa surrendered to the Austrians; but they were suddenly attacked by Napoleon, and on the 14th a general action took place at Marengo. Melas, the Austrian commander, had gained great advantages, and made sure of victory, when General Desaix brought up two fresh divisions of the French, and by a fierce charge of his guards, in which he was slain, decided the day in favor of Napoleon. The Austrians only obtained an armistice on condition of retiring beyond the Mincio, and abandoning all the fruits of the last year of victory. But Austria was now fully committed to the alliance with Great Britain, and only wished to gain time. The truce expired without any further agreement, and then Moreau, with eighty thousand men, attacked the Archduke John and General Wrede, with one hundred thousand Austrians and Bavarians, at Hohenlinden (east of Munich), December 3, 1800, and gained a complete victory, which enabled him to cross the Enns, and invade the very heart of Austria.

§ 26. Austria could carry on the war no longer. Napoleon had already secured the friendship of Paul I, the fickle Czar of Russia, and was able to dictate to Austria the terms of the peace which was concluded at Luneville, February 9, 1801. It was also formally accepted by the German Empire, March 9. The treaty of Campo Formio was renewed: the Adige was to be the boundary of Austria in Italy; the Rhine, that between France and Germany. The Hapsburg dukes of Modena and Tuscany were to receive, as a compensation for their Italian territories, the Breisgau and Salzburg. In other respects the agreements of the Congress of Rastatt were adopted. The losses of the several secular princes were to be made up by the secularization of the territories of the prelates. Germany lost by this treaty about 24,000 square miles of its best territory and 3,500,000 of its people; while the princes were indemnified by the plunder of their peers.

§ 27. But the hardest task, the satisfactory distribution of this plunder, remained. While the Diet at Regensburg, after much complaint and management, assigned the arrangement of these affairs to a committee, the princely bargainers were

in Paris, employing the most disgraceful means to obtain the favor of Talleyrand and other influential diplomatists. On the 25th of February, 1803, the final decision of the delegation or committee of the empire was adopted by the Diet, and promulgated with the approval of the emperor, Francis II., and of Prussia and Bavaria. It confiscated all the spiritual principalities in Germany, except that the Elector of Mayence, Charles Theodore of Dalberg, received Regensburg, Aschaffenburg, and Wetzlar as an indemnity, and retained a seat and a voice in the imperial Diet. Of the forty-eight free cities of the empire, six only remained—Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Frankfort, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. Austria obtained the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen; Prussia, as a compensation for the loss of 1018 square miles with 122,000 inhabitants west of the Rhine, received 4875 square miles, with 580,000 inhabitants, including the endowments of the religious houses of Hildesheim and Paderborn, and most of Münster; also Erfurt and Eichsfeld, and the free cities of Nordhausen, Mühlhausen, and Goslar; Hanover obtained Osnabruck; to Bavaria, in exchange for the Palatinate, were assigned Würzburg, Bamberg, Freisingen, Augsburg, and Passau, besides a number of cities of the empire, in all about 6150 square miles, to compensate for 4240, vastly increasing its political importance. Wirtemberg, too, was richly compensated for the loss of the Mömpelgard by the confiscation of monastery endowments and free cities in Suabia. But Baden made the best bargain of all, receiving about 1270 square miles of land, formerly belonging to bishops or to the Palatinate, in exchange for 170. After this acquisition, Baden extended, though in patches, from the Neckar to the Swiss border. By building up these three South German states, Napoleon sought to erect a barrier for himself against Austria and Prussia. With the same design, Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau were much enlarged. There were multitudes of smaller changes, under the name of "compensations and indemnities." Four new lay electorates were established in the place of the three secularized prelaties, and were given to Baden, Wirtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg. But they never had occasion to take part in the election of an emperor.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### FROM THE PEACE OF LUNEVILLE TO THE PEACE OF TILSIT, 1802-1807.

§ 1. Condition of Germany in 1802. § 2. The French Attack Hanover. § 3. Conspiracy of Pichegru and Cadoudal. § 4. Napoleon Emperor of the French. § 5. Alexander I., Czar of Russia. The Third Coalition. § 6. Military Preparations. § 7. General Mack's Incompetency and Surrender. § 8. Threatening Attitude of Prussia. § 9. Battle of Austerlitz. § 10. Treaties of Presburg and Schönbrunn. § 11. King Frederick William III. of Prussia. § 12. Social and Military Degeneracy in Prussia. § 13. Its Growth; its Diplomacy. § 14. The Rhine League. End of the Holy Roman Empire. § 15. Napoleon forces War on Prussia. § 16. Blindness of the King. § 17. The Prussian Ultimatum. Opening of the Campaign. § 18. Friendliness of England. Position of the Forces. § 19. Battle of Jena. § 20. Battle of Auerstädt. § 21. Disastrous Consequences to Prussia. § 22. Blücher's Defense. § 23. The King's Flight. Loss of Magdeburg. § 24. Promises of Russia. Napoleon in Poland. § 25. Battle of Eylau. Valor of Colberg and Schill. § 26. Treaty of Bartenstein. Russia Deserts Prussia. § 27. Peace of Tilsit. § 28. The Rhine League Strengthened. Death of Brunswick. § 29. The Kingdom of Westphalia Formed.

§ 1. THE treaties of Bâsle, Campo Formio, and Luneville, with the crowning disgrace of the work of the deputation, completed the destruction of the German Empire—long a hollow form. The Peace of Westphalia itself had brought no greater humiliation. None of the German powers were free from blame for the result; every one had adopted Napoleon's own principles, and sought for plunder. Meanwhile the German people looked on helplessly and idly, while the empire was overthrown, the country cut to pieces, and its boundaries narrowed; and it was more obvious than ever that they were not a nation, though no one seemed to feel the force of this truth until still more severely scourged.

§ 2. Napoleon concluded the Peace of Amiens with England March 27, 1802, and seemed actually to wish for a period of peace with the world. But quiet was not long maintained. The English were now in Malta, but agreed in the

treaty of Amiens to restore it to the Knights of St. John, and France insisted that the surrender should be made without delay. In Parliament, Pitt constantly stirred up the war feeling against France; and in May, 1803, both countries took up arms again. Napoleon was weak at sea, and resolved to attack Great Britain in Hanover, although that country had proclaimed its neutrality in the war. On May 26 General Mortier suddenly led 12,000 French into Hanover from Holland; and although they had an army of 15,000 men ready for action, the Hanoverians were panic-struck, and afraid, above all, of provoking the French to fight. The regency gave their general-in-chief the ludicrous order, "Not to permit the troops to fire, and to use the bayonet only under extreme necessity and with moderation." On June 3 they signed a convention, in effect giving the country, with its military stores and fortresses, and a large sum of money in the treasury, into Napoleon's hands, while they withdrew their army to Lauenburg, beyond the Elbe, and there, on July 5, disarmed and disbanded it. The people, who were spirited enough in themselves, were compelled to see a little French army take possession of the country and quarter themselves there without a shot. The only pretext for the invasion was that the King of England chanced to be also Elector of Hanover, which however was German, not British territory. But the empire looked on indifferently, when one of its chief members was thus wrested from it. Prussia, for its own protection, proposed to England to join in occupying Hanover and guaranteeing its neutrality; but when this offer was refused, made no further opposition to the seizure by foreigners of a territory which lay between its own eastern and western possessions. For Napoleon meanwhile held out to Frederick William III. the hope of securing Hanover, or part of it, to Prussia; and this remote bribe was enough to blind the Prussian court, for the time, to the common danger of Germany. In December, 1803, a convention was signed between Prussia and France, by which Frederick William III. bound himself to peace and friendship with Napoleon, on no better conditions than that France should not dispose of Hanover without the knowledge and consent of Prussia.

§ 3. There had been in France a number of conspiracies



against Napoleon's dictatorship, both among Republicans and Royalists; but he overcame them all, and turned them to his own advantage. The most famous of them was that of which Pichegru, the famous Republican general, and George Cadoudal, formerly chief of the insurgents in La Vendée, were leaders. They, with forty-five others, were arrested, January 16, 1804; the two chiefs were put to death, and many of the rest imprisoned. General Moreau was sentenced to prison for two years, and then banished to America. At Ettenheim, in Baden, the Duke d'Enghien, of the Bourbon family, lived in exile as a private gentleman. He was accused of being a confederate of Pichegru, and in the night of March 15, four hundred French soldiers crossed the Rhine, thus invading German territory in time of peace, seized the duke and his attendants, and brought him to Strasburg, and thence to Vincennes; when he was condemned under the form of a court-martial, and on March 21 was shot in the castle ditch. But Germany had sunk so low that the Diet at Regensburg had not even a protest to offer, and the German Empire was silent, while Russia and Sweden, as well as England, denounced the deed, and at once broke off diplomatic intercourse with France.

§ 4. Napoleon now attained the object of his long-cherished aspirations, the imperial crown. In 1802, he became President of the Italian Republic, and consul for life. On May 18, 1804, he was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and, by the form of a plébiscite, or popular vote, the office was made hereditary in his family. The pope was summoned to Paris for the coronation, and on December 2 Napoleon was crowned and anointed emperor in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Most of the European powers recognized his title without hesitation. On August 10, 1804, Francis II., whose authority as Emperor of Germany was now but a name, assumed the hereditary title of Emperor of Austria, as Francis I., and then acknowledged the new dignity of Bonaparte. But England, Russia, Sweden, and Turkey refused to recognize it. During this year Napoleon visited Aix, Cologne, and Mayence, imitating in the seats of the strength and glory of the ancient German Empire the state of Charlemagne, and finding every where a slavish spirit of humiliation before him. Even the

Germans, who were not his subjects, and did not worship his success, showed little sense of the degradation of their country.

§ 5. Austria was not content with the Peace of Luneville and the conventions which followed it. In 1801, Czar Paul was assassinated. His son and successor, Alexander, was a gentle and sensitive youth, capable of enthusiasm for a good cause, zealous for the welfare of his people, but wavering, and easily influenced. He had been a warm admirer of Napoleon, but was alienated from him by the false conduct of France in the negotiations with England after the Peace of Luneville. Thus Austria and Russia were both ready for war, while England, guided by Pitt, was as hostile to Napoleon as ever. The conversion of the Italian Republic into a kingdom, March, 1805, the assumption by Napoleon of the iron crown of Lombardy, May 26, the annexation of parts of Italy to France, and the appointment of his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, as vice-King of Italy, further displeased all the powers. The English minister, therefore, found it easy to engage Russia (by treaty signed April 11, 1805) and Austria (August 9) to join Great Britain in a new coalition. It was hoped that Prussia would also join, and the Czar Alexander even threatened to force it to do so. He sent his armies to the frontier, and haughtily demanded the right of way through the country. But King Frederick William III. kept his word to France, and sent his armies to resist every violation of his neutrality. Alexander then resorted to milder measures; but the neutrality of Prussia was strictly maintained, until it was soon after shamefully violated by Napoleon himself.

§ 6. Sweden and Naples joined the coalition, and it was designed to make a grand attack on France at once from Italy and from Germany, and, in case of success, to set free or divide the states under Napoleon's sway, and to restore the old order in Europe. It was only the princes, however, not the people, who set their hearts on such schemes. Napoleon prepared at Boulogne an expedition to England. It was inferred from this that he was not yet ready for war on the Continent, and the allies hoped to surprise him. But he was fully advised of all their plans, which were at best slow and

confused in their execution. The only army of suitable strength which they had was that of the Archduke Charles in Italy. In Germany, the army assigned to General Mack, to occupy Bavaria, to check Napoleon's friends, the Electors of Wirtemberg and Baden, and to oppose the emperor himself, was wholly inadequate for these purposes. The Russian armies came on slowly. The first only reached the Inn, and the second the frontier of Moravia, in October.

§ 7. But the greatest mistake was the choice of a commander-in-chief. Mack was full of fantastic schemes of war on paper. He invaded Bavaria; but the elector, Max Joseph, who succeeded Charles Theodore at his death in 1799, easily escaped from him, and led his troops to Napoleon, who was also joined by the armies of Wirtemberg and Baden. Mack brought together his forces of 57,000 men on the Upper Danube, at Ulm, confident in his strong position. Napoleon disposed his army according to the plan he had formed for his invasion of England, and surprised Mack by a sudden attack. Each division of his army marched, with perfect precision though independently, and under its own marshal, against the Germans, all of them pursuing the radii of a circle, converging to its centre at Ulm. Mack was surrounded before he knew of the enemy's approach. Bernadotte made his way from Hanover, through the Anspach territory, without regard to Prussian neutrality. Mack's blind confidence was no sooner broken than, finding himself surrounded by nearly 200,000 men, he fell into despair, and, on October 17, 1805, surrendered, with the 25,000 men who still remained with him. The troops laid down their arms in gloomy silence, victims to the folly of their leader. The rest of the campaign was also unfortunate. The first army of the Russians, under Kutusoff, reached the Inn, but now turned back into Moravia. Napoleon's marshals—Murat, Lannes, and Bertrand—occupied Vienna without opposition. Napoleon himself advanced into Moravia, where the decisive contest promised to take place.

§ 8. But new dangers began to threaten him. Prussia was irritated by the violation of its neutrality, and suddenly resolved—or, as was the king's habit, half resolved—to join the coalition. The Czar Alexander visited Berlin in person, and

formed an intimate friendship with King Frederick William III. Haugwitz was sent by the Prussian king to Napoleon's head-quarters, to propose a treaty of peace, under the mediation of Prussia, by which the French should leave Germany; and if this were refused, Prussia promised to join the coalition with 180,000 men. Besides this, the Archdukes Charles and John were approaching from Italy, Styria, and the Tyrol, with nearly 90,000 men, threatening Napoleon's rear. The Russians, newly reinforced and commanded by Czar Alexander and General Kutusoff, were before him, with a third army under Benningsen on the march to join them. The French fleet was destroyed by Nelson at Trafalgar (October 21), and the British had landed in Hanover, where the people were joining them. All these things together made Napoleon's position very critical.

§ 9. Napoleon was equal to the emergency. He easily disposed of the dilatory Haugwitz, by merely referring him to Talleyrand at Vienna. The policy of the allies was now to avoid a battle; but Napoleon skillfully feigned fear and flight, to draw them on. Alexander was impatient, and he and his arrogant Russians were at once ensnared. The battle of the three emperors, of Napoleon against Alexander I. and Francis I., was fought at Austerlitz, near Brünn, December 2, 1805, on the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. When "the sun of Austerlitz" set, it was on the routed army of his opponents, whose remnants were seeking safety by flight across a narrow dam between two lakes, or upon the thin ice which broke beneath, giving thousands of them to death.

§ 10. This victory brought a speedy peace. Two days after it, the Emperor Francis, who was thoroughly disheartened, and distrusted his allies, met Napoleon, and decided with him upon the terms in a personal interview, held in a small hut. Francis never forgot the humiliation of this meeting, which made him Napoleon's bitter foe; but it led to peace for a time, and the treaty was signed at Presburg, December 26. Austria ceded Venice to the kingdom of Italy, the Tyrol and Voralberg to Bavaria, and some portions of the Breisgau to Wirtemberg and Baden, but obtained Salzburg as a compensation. Bavaria gave the duchy of Berg

to Murat, and Würzburg to the Elector of Salzburg. The Emperor of Germany was compelled to acknowledge the Dukes of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings, and they and the Grand-Duke of Baden were to be sovereign and independent. He was also required to assent to the establishment of a Germanic Confederation, under the protectorate of Napoleon. But Haugwitz and his country, Prussia, fared worst of all. After the battle of Austerlitz, Haugwitz dared not fulfill his mission; but Napoleon knew its purport, and watched his opportunity for revenge. On December 15, the very day on which the king had directed him to declare war, he signed the Peace of Schönbrunn, by which Prussia was to receive Hanover, as the reward of an alliance with France. The purpose of Napoleon to embroil Prussia with England and Russia was too obvious not to be perceived, but how was it possible to offend Napoleon by a refusal? Two months later this treaty was renewed at Paris; but Haugwitz was now compelled in return to cede the ancient Hohenzollern territory of Anspach to Bavaria, and the remnant of Cleves to Murat, as Grand-Duke of Berg. Napoleon's plan was thus ripe: Prussia was completely isolated from the other great powers, and lay at his mercy.

§ 11. Ever since the Peace of Bâsle, in 1795, Prussia had preserved its neutrality. But this position was unsatisfactory, and was not in harmony with the traditions of the kingdom, which had formerly aspired to defend the German frontiers, and even to be the arbiter of Europe. Frederick William II. died November 16, 1797; and his son, Frederick William III. (1797-1840), succeeded him, at the age of twenty-seven; a man of a fine, soldierly presence, of few and simple words, of reserved manners, and of truly noble aims. But he had been educated by narrow men, apart from affairs, and had not yet acquired maturity of character, nor the confidence in himself which is essential to a great ruler. The old counselors of his father still exercised an influence which was ruinous to him and to the state. Many abuses were reformed; the king's own morals were pure and his conduct dignified; while his beautiful and intelligent queen, Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (born 1776, died 1810), graced his court, and won the hearts of the people. While still but the wife of

the crown-prince, the old king called her "the princess of princesses;" and poets such as Goethe and Jean Paul did homage to her beauty and character, no one foreboding as yet the terrible sufferings she was to endure, or dreaming of the good work she would do, in dark hours to come. But the family of the young king, with his pure wife and their children, had but little influence on life around them in their court and capital. The Spartan spirit of earlier days in Prussia had given way before vanity, a passion for display, luxury, and indifference to religion. German literature was at its zenith in the last ten years of the eighteenth century, and Berlin was one of the principal centres of its productiveness and influence. But it resulted in producing, side by side with the vanity of social display, the new fashionable vanity of literary display. Hardly a thought was given to the ruin of the German nation, or even to the dangers which were accumulating before Prussia itself.

§ 12. Prussian statesmanship shared in the decay of society and manners. The honest purpose of the young king accomplished some good ends. He immediately revoked the edict of Wöllner, controlling the preaching in the churches; and introduced economies which improved the finances. He built some fine edifices, such as the Brandenburg Gate, in Berlin, and opened public roads through the country. Much was done to promote science and art, and to improve the education of the people. But the antiquated machine of the administration remained in substance as it had been left by Frederick William I. and Frederick the Great, with all its imperfections. Haugwitz, a superficial, unscrupulous, and vain minister, conducted foreign affairs, without any sense of the dangers of the kingdom, and was supported by men like Lucchesini and Lombard, of whom the latter was actually in French pay. The army was in the worst possible condition. With a population of about ten millions, Prussia maintained an army of 200,000 men, splendid to look at, and drilled, in the most pedantic and wearisome fashion, on the field of exercise, but without any experience in battle, and full of pride founded on the traditions of the Seven-Years' War. The common soldiers had fallen into ever-deeper contempt, under the terrible and humiliating discipline of stripes

and violence to which they were subjected. The officers were almost exclusively of noble birth. Whatever natural merits they had were lost in the habits of an army in a long peace. The elder officers were generally rigid and formal; the younger ones vain and presumptuous; and nearly all were puffed up with the fond fancy that their army was invincible. This notion was only strengthened by the easy campaign of 1787 in Holland, and was not broken or corrected by their severe experience in Champagne in 1792, or by the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in the Palatinate.

§ 13. The external growth of Prussia continued. In 1791 the ancient Hohenzollern possessions of Anspach and Bai-reuth fell to the Prussian monarchy. By the Peace of Luneville, and the subsequent distribution of the spoils of the Church, Prussia obtained five districts, amounting to nearly 4500 square miles, not by conquest, but by the dangerous friendship of an upstart conqueror, who within a year afterward occupied Hanover, and cut off the western provinces from the seat of government. The Prussians had ever since been eager to make themselves masters of Hanover, yet had not the boldness to do so by frankly accepting Napoleon's offers of alliance. Thus Napoleon himself came to hate and despise a government which acted with such weakness and irresolution toward him. Prussia tried for a long time in vain to form a league of the German princes to protect the neutrality of North Germany. In 1805 Prussia was so little feared that we have seen Alexander hoping to compel it by threats to join the coalition. Just after its refusal the French violated the neutrality of Anspach, and excited the king's fierce indignation. Then the Emperor Alexander visited King Frederick William III. at Potsdam; and the personal friendship of the monarchs, begun at Memel in 1802, turned the scale. Alexander wished to visit the grave of Frederick the Great, and on this spot the two monarchs pledged their friendship to one another. Prussia seemed resolved on war, and was in a position by speedy action to ruin Napoleon. But there was still delay; and then came the battle of Austerlitz, and the unauthorized treaty made by Haugwitz. Napoleon had calculated well. By seizing Hanover,

in January, 1806, Prussia made an enemy of England, which declared war June 11, and at once swept Prussia's merchant vessels from the sea. By accepting gifts from Napoleon also, against whom it was pledged to fight, Prussia earned the distrust of every ally, as false and treacherous. Thus Napoleon isolated Prussia on all sides before attacking it.

§ 14. Napoleon now offered Prussia only contempt and provocation. In the campaign of 1805, Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria joined him, and they made an open alliance with him after the Peace of Presburg. On July 17, 1806, these countries, together with Mayence, Darmstadt, Nassau, Würzburg, Berg (whose grand-duke was now Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law), and several smaller states, formed the Rhine League, under the protectorate of Napoleon, and became his mere tools. On August 1 the princes of the league notified the Diet at Regensburg of their withdrawal from the empire, justifying the act on the plea of necessity, since the empire no longer afforded them protection, and of the example already set by the more powerful princes of the empire. On August 6, Francis II. abdicated the imperial crown of Germany; and thus, without a battle, the empire of Charlemagne, after a thousand years, came to an unhonored end. It had long been but a name. George III. of Great Britain, indeed, as Elector of Hanover, declared that the abdication of Francis, under duress, was without validity, and that he must regard emperor and empire as still existing; but neither of them gave a sign of life again.

§ 15. Prussia complained with good reason of this threatening acquisition of power by France. Napoleon cunningly proposed that Prussia should form a similar league of the rest of the German states, and should even assume the imperial crown; but secretly urged the princes of the smaller territories not to attach themselves to Prussia. On January 23, 1806, William Pitt died, and Lord Grenville and Charles James Fox took the control of the British government. Believing the new ministry to be less hostile to him, Napoleon began to negotiate for peace, and even secretly offered to compel Prussia to restore Hanover to Great Britain. Under his direction, Murat seized on the Prussian abbeys of Elten, Essen, and Werden, and annexed them to his possessions of Berg.



Immediately afterward General Schulenberg invaded Hanover, and formally proclaimed it a conquest of the Emperor Napoleon, ceded by him to the kingdom of Prussia, April 1, 1806. But by this time every body could understand the systematic policy of France, to humiliate Prussia and provoke it to war. Indeed, the British cabinet made Napoleon's proposition known at Berlin.

§ 16. The best minds in Prussia had long seen that war was unavoidable, and that the king must change his ministers. Early in 1806 some of the most eminent men in the kingdom, led by Stein, a member of the ministry, and by the king's brothers, Princes William and Henry, made pressing representations to him of this necessity; but Frederick William, accustomed to the absolute views of royalty entertained by his predecessors, regarded this step as an attack on his supreme authority, and was offended. Lucchesini, too, his minister in Paris, was completely blinded by Talleyrand and Napoleon. But as France grew more insolent, Prussian pride rose high in the people as well as in the army, and the younger officers were especially zealous for war. Some of them sharpened their swords before the windows of the French embassy, and others sent their sergeants to the theatre, to join in the chorus, "Up, comrades, up! to horse! to horse!" in Schiller's "Wallenstein."

§ 17. Before the summer of 1806 ended the king himself recognized the impossibility of avoiding war, though he came to his resolution anxiously and with hesitation, knowing the weakness of the country. The army, which had been partly in readiness for a year, was directed toward Central and Southern Germany, where the states of the new Rhine League held a threatening position, and where the French army of 1805 still stood, almost ready for action. Frederick William III. demanded of Napoleon the withdrawal of these troops from Germany, and his consent to the formation of a North German League. When Napoleon received this ultimatum at Bamberg he was already quietly gathering his army in Franconia to march into Thuringia. Together with his German troops of the Rhine League, he had about 200,000 men. The Prussian armies, about 150,000 strong, were placed under the command of Duke Charles William Ferdinand of

Brunswick, now seventy-two years of age. In spite of his misfortune in Champagne he was still every where regarded as the proper leader against Napoleon. The duke had at first been bold in his plans of attack; but neither his own age nor his army was fit for a rapid and energetic campaign, and he soon abandoned all thought but of defense. There seemed to be, indeed, no comprehensive plan; yet amid hopeless confusion there was still overweening confidence.

§ 18. The only allies secured by Prussia were Saxony and Weimar. Austria was neutral, and helpless to assist. Russia was sincere in sympathy, but could not reach the field of war in time. England was actually at war with Prussia, but, on learning of the breach with Napoleon, at once discontinued the blockade of the Prussian ports, and offered to renew diplomatic intercourse, without waiting even for Prussia to abandon its claims on Hanover. In fact, the British government and people were thoroughly in sympathy with Prussia throughout the campaign, though a formal peace was not signed between them until January 28, 1807, and England was no more able than the Continental allies to avert the impending disasters. It was the intention of the Prussians, at first, to defend the Saale against the French. After long delay and hesitation, half the army, under Prince Hohenlohe, took up a position at Jena, while the rest, under Brunswick himself, encamped at Weimar. A formal declaration of war was made by Napoleon October 7. He had already passed the Thuringian forest, and his troops were marching down the valley of the Saale, when at Saalfeld they fell upon the weak Prussian vanguard under Prince Louis Ferdinand. The prince made a valiant resistance, but was defeated and slain (October 10, 1806).

§ 19. This was but the prelude to disaster. It became known at head-quarters that Napoleon's marshals had already passed Schleitz and Gera, and threatened to surround the Prussians. It was resolved, therefore, to take another position behind the Unstrut. But in three days after the battle of Saalfeld Napoleon was at Jena. In the night of October 13 his troops dragged their cannon up the Landgrafenberg, north of Jena, which commanded the valley of the Saale. Hohenlohe had occupied these heights, but, under

orders, abandoned them to the enemy. The morning of October 14 was foggy, and the Prussians could not see the numbers of the French; but they were unable in any case to avoid a battle, for the columns of the enemy poured into the plain through two valleys, and attacked them on both sides. After a valiant resistance, they were thoroughly routed, just at the time when Rùchel's corps arrived on the field, hoping to relieve them, but only to complete the disaster by its own ruin. The Prussian army fled in wild confusion in the direction of Weimar.

§ 20. On the same morning the main army of the Duke of Brunswick, on its march toward the new position, fell in with the French corps of Davoust at Auerstädt, within twelve miles of Jena, on the left bank of the Saale. These troops were sent by Napoleon, with the design of attacking Hohenlohe at Jena in the rear, and they passed the Saale without opposition. The Prussians here had vastly superior numbers, but they made their attack at random, and in detached parties, under the orders of the king. During the action the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded. General Blücher made a desperate cavalry charge, but could not retrieve the fortunes of the day. Both the defeated armies mingled in utter confusion in their flight to Weimar; but on the same evening the French pursuers entered the city.

§ 21. A single day had crushed Prussia. The army was now a disorganized throng, and dispersed rapidly, the commanders losing all control over the men. Erfurt should have formed their first rallying-place. General Möllendorf was taken thither, desperately wounded. It was a strong, well-provided fortress, with an ample garrison; but was surrendered in a panic, October 15, the day after the battle; and the example was followed by other places. Out of the general wreck Blücher gathered some remnants of troops, and led them through the Hartz and Altmark to the Elbe. Sharply pursued by the French, he managed with great difficulty to cross the river at Sandau. Colonel York, in command of his rear-guard, was the first to show, in the brilliant affair of Altenzaun, that Prussian valor was not a thing of the past. The main body of the fugitives strove to pass

Magdeburg, and escape into the Hartz, while the French marched directly through Leipsic and Halle to Berlin. They plundered Leipsic, and at Halle defeated and destroyed the reserve army of the Prussians under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, October 17. Hohenlohe strove to gather the scattered army under the defenses of Magdeburg, but the commander of this important fortress declared that he could not furnish supplies. It was necessary to retreat beyond the Oder, to Stettin, while the French were approaching Potsdam and Berlin. In the capital city nothing was left of the ancient heroism and persistency. Face to face with these great misfortunes, the commander of the city, Count Schulenberg-Kehnert, had no advice to give but that peace was now the first duty of citizens. Spandau capitulated October 18, without a shot. Napoleon entered Berlin October 27, while Marshals Lannes and Murat marched swiftly to cut off the retreat of Hohenlohe to the Oder. Napoleon took down the chariot of triumph from the Brandenburg Gate, and sent it and the sword of Frederick the Great from Potsdam as trophies to Paris. He entered this gate in triumph, and passed up the Linden avenue to the king's palace, before which his guards kindled their nightly watchfires in the pleasure garden. On October 28 Prince Hohenlohe capitulated at Prenzlau with the remnant of his force, about 10,000 men and 1800 horses; and smaller fragments of the fugitive army rapidly followed this example.

§ 22. Blücher alone would not submit. On hearing of the surrender at Prenzlau, he hastened with his 14,000 men to Mecklenburg, hotly pursued by Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte. York held the arduous but honorable command of the rear-guard. At last the corps took refuge in the ancient city of Lubeck, whose fortifications were still defensible. The French arrived immediately afterward; and a furious struggle ensued in the streets, in which Blücher fought like a tiger. York was sorely wounded, and was taken. Blücher led about 8000 men out from the city, but finally surrendered at Ratkan, November 7, on honorable terms. "I capitulate," he wrote with his signature to the Convention, "because I have no bread and no ammunition left."

§ 23. The humiliated king fled to Cüstrin, where the queen

joined him, they having parted on the morning of the battle of Jena. Napoleon had stooped to name her in his bulletins, and to denounce her as the instigator of the war. But misfortune only brought out more prominently the virtues of the royal pair. They pursued their flight to Königsberg. Stein saved the principal treasury of the state, and thus secured the means of continuing the war. But the misfortune and humiliation of Prussia had not yet culminated. General von Kleist, it was now learned, surrendered Magdeburg on November 8, with nineteen generals, 24,000 men, 6563 horses, 600 cannon, and an abundance of provisions and ammunition. Von Kleist, indeed, was seventy-three years old, and his nineteen generals counted up 1300 winters among them. But he surrendered to Ney, who had but 10,000 men, and no siege artillery whatever. Stettin yielded on October 29 to 800 of Murat's cavalry. Cüstrin fell November 1, just as easily, and the Hanoverian fortresses of Hameln and Nienburg followed. The king still hoped to obtain from Napoleon a tolerable peace. But his demands had risen to such a pitch that any fate was preferable to submission. The king found it hard to break entirely away from the old councilors and the old views which had caused his disasters; and he still had hope in Russia and the Czar Alexander.

§ 24. On hearing of the misfortunes of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia at once sent the king assurances of friendship and assistance. The Russians actually entered the province of Prussia. But instead of taking up the line of the Vistula, as the friends of Prussia desired, they aimed only to cover the Russian frontier; and they made worse havoc in the country than the French themselves. Napoleon's first care was to proclaim from Berlin "the Continental system," laying an embargo on British ships and goods in all the ports which he could control on the Continent, believing that he was thus striking a deadly blow at Great Britain. He then marched to Poland; while the Poles, hoping for the restoration of their kingdom, and instigated by him, rose in rebellion—first of all in the Prussian districts. He entered Posen under a triumphal arch, inscribed "To the deliverer of Poland." He advanced, by way of Warsaw, nearly to the Russian frontier, where the Russian general Bennigsen, one

of the murderers of Paul I., attacked him at Pultusk, December 26, 1806; but he retired after an indecisive conflict. Winter then compelled the suspension of hostilities.

§ 25. One body of six thousand Prussian troops, under General Lestocq, joined the Russians; and when operations were renewed, they attacked Napoleon at Eylau, in Prussia, February 7 and 8, 1807. The battle was fierce and bloody; the field, a desolate and wintry heath, was the first Napoleon ever saw which he could not call his own. He now invited Frederick William III., with many promises, to make a separate peace and abandon Russia; but the king refused. It was felt that fortune was turning. The city of Thorn was held by Lestocq at the close of 1806 in spite of the French summons. De Courbiere, commander in Graudentz, though seventy-three years of age, held out gallantly against the French until the end of the war. Dantzic, too, being now well supplied and fortified, began an obstinate defense. Silesia, the youngest of the Prussian provinces, showed a vigorous patriotism. A series of Silesian fortresses, indeed, were surrendered in a panic on the entrance of an army-corps under Jerome Bonaparte — Glogan, December 3; Brieg, and then even Breslau (January 5) and Schweidnitz (February 7). But Neisse made a heroic defense; and the little fortresses of Kosel and Glatz held out, under extreme difficulties, to the end of the war. The people of the province were eager and patriotic, and needed but resolute leaders to accomplish much. The most eminent example of resistance was given by Colberg in Pomerania. The citizens themselves took a valiant part in the defense, with a bold mariner, Nettelbeck, at their head. He was an old hero, hardened by a thousand adventures in all parts of the world, and retaining at seventy the spirit of his youth. Here, too, Schill distinguished himself, with his bold hussars, for dash and fire; while Gneisenau, who was made commander of the fortress, displayed his cool invention and self-possessed bravery. Part of the city was burned, and the prisoners broke out of the guard-house; but the city held out, through a bombardment of thirty hours, until the news of peace arrived.

§ 26. Alexander himself came to Prussia in the spring of 1807, still full of zeal. At a review of the troops he embraced

Frederick William, and said with tears that neither of them should fall alone. A new treaty of alliance was made at Bartenstein between Russia and Prussia against Napoleon. They were sure of help from England and Sweden, and hoped to be joined afterward by Austria. The war was not now for conquest, but to restore the order of Europe, destroyed by Napoleon, and to free Germany, and especially Prussia, from him. Each power pledged itself not to make peace without the other, and to carry on the war until Prussia should be restored to the possession of all that it had lost. But on May 25 Dantzic fell, after an attempt by the Russians with inadequate forces to relieve it, and after a protracted resistance. Napoleon then began the campaign with overwhelming forces. At Heilsberg, on June 10, the Russians repulsed a hasty attack of the French, and raised high hopes among the Prussians. But Bennigsen, the general-in-chief, and his associates were already weary of the war "for Prussia," and steadily yielded ground. A decisive battle was fought at Friedland, on the Alle, June 14, and the Russians were defeated with great slaughter. All was not lost: Napoleon's rear was threatened, since Austria might yet declare against him, and Sweden and England approved of a project of Blücher to make a landing in Pomerania. But Napoleon opened negotiations with Alexander, who now forgot all his assurances to his friend. On June 25 the two emperors met in a tent upon a raft in the river Niemen; and Alexander proved to be but wax in Napoleon's hands. His mind was inflamed with prospects of ruling Eastern Europe, of obtaining Finland, of dividing Turkey. Alexander formed an alliance with Napoleon, who, with his usual skill in planting new enmities wherever he made friends, successfully pressed upon him a portion of Prussian Poland, in order to prevent him from being reconciled with Frederick William III.

§ 27. Napoleon and Frederick William also had an interview at Tilsit. The emperor expected to meet a humble suppliant; but he found instead a proud soldier, calm and reserved, but unshaken by misfortune. He also saw with him the noble and beautiful queen Louise. On July 7 the Peace of Tilsit was signed with Russia; on July 9, with Prussia.

Prussia ceded half its territory and half its population. Napoleon took care that the mortification should be keenly felt, for he declared that the remaining territory was left to the Prussian king only "out of consideration for his ally, the ruler of all the Russias;" though, in fact, his object in preserving Prussia at all was obviously to erect a barrier between Russia and France. All that lay west of the Elbe, with the fortress of Magdeburg, was given up, including the Altmark, the cradle of the Prussian monarchy, all the Rhine provinces, Westphalia, and East Friesland, besides the recent acquisition of Hanover. On the eastern side, Prussia ceded all that had been acquired by the second and third partitions of Poland, and Napoleon erected these into the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, under the Elector of Saxony, whom he now made king. By the treaty, the Prussian territories were to be evacuated by the French upon the payment of all the requisitions and contributions which the latter had demanded. It was not until November 18, 1808, that the French evacuation was completed. The amount of money extorted by the French from the Prussians during the preceding two years was estimated at 564,000,000 francs, or \$109,500,000.

§ 28. The conqueror resolved to make Saxony a bulwark against Prussia; and although it had fought against him, he enlarged it at Prussia's expense and made it a kingdom, and it joined the Rhine Confederacy. Saxe-Weimar, too, though Duke Charles Augustus fought to the end faithfully as a Prussian general, was pardoned by Napoleon, and permitted still to exist. But the Elector of Hesse, who in his foolish ambition had weakly turned from side to side in the war, was driven from his country by Napoleon; and so was the ducal house of Brunswick, on the pretense of revenge for the manifesto of 1792 (Ch. XXV., § 8). The old duke, wounded and made prisoner, died November 10, 1806. The fate of the Duke of Brunswick excited deep sympathy, especially in England, and embittered public opinion against Napoleon. It was while the impression made by these events was still fresh, and when the upstart emperor was at the height of his power over Western and Central Europe, that Sir Walter Scott wrote his famous and spirited eulogy of the venerable soldier whom the conqueror had insulted:



“ Oh, hero of that glorious time,  
When, with unrivaled light sublime—  
Though martial Austria, and though all  
The might of Russia, and the Gaul,  
Though banded Europe stood her foes—  
The star of Brandenburg arose,  
Thou could'st not live to see her beam  
Forever quenched in Jena's stream. \* \* \*  
Lamented chief! not thine the power  
To save, in that presumptuous hour  
When Prussia hurried to the field,  
And snatched the spear, but left the shield;  
Valor and skill 'twas thine to try,  
And, tried in vain, 'twas thine to die. \* \* \*  
On thee relenting Heaven bestows  
For honored life an honored close;  
And when revolves, in time's sure change,  
The hour of Germany's revenge,  
When, breathing fury for her sake,  
Some new Arminius shall awake,  
Her champion, ere he strike, shall come  
To whet his sword on Brunswick's tomb.”

§ 29. Napoleon now brought together the territories of the princes of Hesse and Brunswick, whom he had dethroned, with most of those ceded by Prussia at Tilsit, forming what he called the new kingdom of Westphalia, and named as king his brother Jerome, who made Cassel his capital, and joined the Confederacy of the Rhine. This new kingdom, having no foundation either in history, in the laws, customs, and institutions of the people, or in their desires and affections, was a mere imposition forced upon them for a time by French bayonets. The king was made miserable on both sides—by his subjects who hated him, and by his own subjection to a master. But “Westphalia” served its purpose of signaling the overthrow of Prussia and the complete humiliation of Germany. Indeed, this was the culminating point of Napoleon's strength and ascendancy in Germany and in Europe. The reaction began in the popular mind at once. The people deeply felt the disgrace of their country, and the keen sense of injury and the eager thirst for reparation spread rapidly, beyond Austria and Prussia, among all who bore the German name.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### NAPOLEON'S SUPREMACY IN GERMANY, 1807-1810.

§ 1. The Germans under French Rule. § 2. The Murder of Palm. Patriotic Sentiments among the People. § 3. Congress of Erfurt. § 4. Condition of Prussia. § 5. Character of Stein. § 6. His Administration of the Finances. § 7. Stein Removed and Banished. § 8. Scharnhorst. § 9. His Reforms as Minister of War. § 10. Stein's Successors. § 11. The Royal Family. § 12. The Tugend-Bund. § 13. Blücher; his Hatred of Napoleon. § 14. Neithardt of Gneisenau. § 15. General York. § 16. Von Bülow. § 17. The Philosopher Fichte. § 18. The University of Berlin Founded. § 19. Science and Literature in the Service of Patriotism. § 20. Reform in Austria. Ministry of Stadion. § 21. Effect in Germany of Napoleon's Unsuccessful War in Spain. § 22. Austria Aroused against France. § 23. Brilliant Campaign of Napoleon in Bavaria, April, 1809. § 24. He is Defeated at Aspern and Esslingen. § 25. Battle of Aspern and Peace of Schönbrunn. § 26. Napoleon's Marriage with Maria Louisa of Austria.

§ 1. NAPOLEON was now master of Germany. All the German territories, except Austria and Prussia, were included in the Rhine League, and were under his protection and control. Nor was his sovereignty felt as a heavy burden by most of the people. The French supremacy had many friends among the Germans. Many were dazzled by the personal genius and power of the emperor. In some directions the masses of the people really gained by his ascendancy. Thus in Westphalia, the new kingdom which Napoleon created out of the western provinces of Prussia, with Hesse, Brunswick, and Hanover, and in which he established (November 15, 1807) his brother Jerome as king, the Code Napoleon, with its superior adjustment of rights, was introduced. Juries were established, and the peasants were relieved of distrains and personal exactions. In Bavaria, under the well-meaning king Max Joseph, his minister Montgelas strove, with an unscrupulous zeal worthy of Joseph II., to consolidate into one state the manifold and varied fragments of the kingdom. On the whole, amid much that was arbitrary, the government was really improved, especially by

the removal of the Jesuits from power. In Wirtemberg the king, Frederick I., was severe and arbitrary. Baden was still ruled by Charles Frederick, an admirable prince, who did his best for the people of his increased territory, as he had done for those of his little margraviate. But he found Napoleon's exactions oppressive, and often wished for his former modest domain with his former independence. The increasing taxation for Napoleon's benefit, the restriction of trade by his decrees, and the ever-extending conscription for military service, made their chains very heavy upon the states of the Rhine Confederacy. Their armies, indeed, shared the French enthusiasm for the emperor. In their former relations to the empire the armies of the small states had been the mockery of all nations, and Napoleon led them to victory, and filled them with soldierly pride. It was now plain that none of the Germans had lost their ancient warlike qualities, but it had been left for foreigners to dig out this buried treasure. The troops of the Rhine League often excelled the French themselves in their zeal and ferocity against the North Germans. On the whole, the condition of the people of Germany during Napoleon's supremacy was not one of oppression nor peculiar suffering.

§ 2. But tolerable comfort is not freedom. In 1806 there was a cry of horror in Germany. A bookseller of Nuremberg, named John Philip Palm, a peaceable man, who had published a pamphlet entitled "Germany in its deep humiliation," was seized by French policemen, and, at Napoleon's express order, was tried by a court-martial and shot at Braunau (August 26, 1806). This act has been much discussed, but no explanation of it has ever been given which can reverse the judgment passed upon it at the time by England and Germany as a wanton murder. Together with the conduct of the French police and spies, and of German traitors in French pay, it showed that the slavery of the French under Napoleon was double slavery among the Germans. Some of the princes of the Rhine League were but too prompt to learn from their master his unscrupulous methods of attaining his purposes. The vicious court of Jerome, in Cassel, was a serious disgrace to Germany. Wantonness there threw off its mask of shame. Jerome, too, was thor-

oughly instructed by Napoleon that his first duty was to France and to the emperor. First of all, the states of the Rhine League, indeed, were required to render service with their arms-bearing men to the conqueror. When in 1808 Napoleon began in the Spanish peninsula the war which finally proved so destructive to him, two thirds of the soldiers led by him were Germans. But there were still some patriots in Germany, outside of Prussia and Austria. In Westphalia, the people of Brunswick still remembered with affection the kindly government of their late duke, Charles William Ferdinand, who had been so outraged; and even the Hessians still clung to the family of Philip the Magnanimous, in spite of the degeneracy of his descendants. In East Friesland, too, the people remained attached to Prussia. The same was true of Anspach and Baireuth; nor did the people of Franconia and Suabia at once take kindly to their new Napoleonic masters. Throughout these sections the spirit of patriotism began to glow, and the patriots to cherish a secret understanding among themselves. It often seemed that nothing was needed but an impulse from without to produce a general outbreak against foreign rule.

§ 3. But there was no immediate change. From the time of the alliance of Napoleon and Alexander, all Europe, except Great Britain, seemed to be subject to these two great despotisms of the East and the West. The two emperors, and the German princes of the Rhine League, met at Erfurt, in Germany, in September and October, 1808, with much pomp and display, to renew the alliance formed at Tilsit. Here Russia adopted Napoleon's "Continental system," and recognized his brothers as kings of Westphalia, Holland, and Spain, while Napoleon agreed to make no resistance to the aggrandizement of Russia, either in Scandinavia or in the Turkish provinces. The two powers strove in vain to make peace with England. During the summer of 1808, Napoleon dethroned the Bourbons in Spain, and made his brother Joseph king. He deprived the pope of his temporal sovereignty; drove the royal family from Naples, erected there a monarchy for Murat, and established his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, as king of Northern Italy. In Holland, his brother Louis was king; in Germany, the Rhine Confederacy was his

servant. Denmark was closely allied with him, and even Sweden, after King Gustavus IV. was dethroned (March 13, 1809), was ready to join him at once. Thus all Western Europe was his own. On the other hand, Alexander wrested Finland from Sweden, and was on the point of carrying out his plans against the Turks. England, indeed, still ruled the seas without a rival, and went steadily forward in the conquest of foreign colonies, and in the obstinate prosecution of the war against Napoleon. But Austria and Prussia seemed to be entirely crushed between the two great empires. Such was the situation at the beginning of the year 1809.

§ 4. The pressure of calamity began to awaken the force of the German character. Prussia had fallen lowest of all, and rose again first, and in greatest vigor. It was not shame alone that the day of Jena and Auerstädt brought on Prussia; but it suffered more than any other land by contributions, exactions, and plunder. The Prussians had a recent and glorious history of their own, and felt the humiliation keenly. The two years of calamity, 1806 and 1807, exposed their previous errors, and King Frederick William III. now had both the knowledge and the will to effect a reform. In the earlier days of trouble he had been reluctant to intrust affairs to the man whom all patriotic voices selected as the only one who could save the state. But when all seemed lost by the sad treaties at Tilsit, Stein was at last made chief minister.

§ 5. Henry Frederick Charles, Baron Stein, belonged to a noble family of Rhenish Franconia, which had lived immemorially in its castle of Stein, at Nassau, on the Lahn. He was born there in 1757. Full of family and personal pride, and regarding himself as equal in independence to a prince, he was loath to enter upon any service at court; but finally chose the court of Prussia, though his ancestors had preferred the Austrian service, or that of one of the spiritual lords. He took an active part in the negotiations for a league of the North German princes, and was then appointed a supervisor in the Mark, and afterward employed in the work of incorporating with Prussia the Episcopal territories secularized after the Peace of Luneville. Finally, he was called into the General Directory as minister of finance. Stein was a valiant

patriot and a Christian, and to him Napoleon seemed the very embodiment of evil. Frederick William III long felt no personal inclination to Stein. Before the calamity of Jena, the king rejected his warnings, and even dismissed him in displeasure after it. But he was at length forced to accept him as a last resort; and then the king soon learned to honor and trust him, and to accept his great plans without reserve, in spite of the party that clung to the old system and strove to embarrass and discredit Stein's reforms. The minister was zealous in his work from the first.

§ 6. The heavily burdened state lacked resources and money. The French were still 200,000 strong in Prussia, and it was almost exhausted by their contributions, requisitions, quarterings, and the like. But Napoleon had not yet even fixed the sum upon payment of which he would withdraw his troops, but seemed bent in keeping the kingdom in subjection to him. Prince William, the king's younger brother, husband of the Princess Marianne of Homburg, went to Paris to obtain from Napoleon some relaxation of his severity; but in vain. The prince offered himself as a hostage, until all the emperor's demands should be met; but Napoleon rejected the proposition as not practical. At Erfurt, he fixed his demand at 120,000,000 francs; but he exacted in all from Prussia, according to his own account, a thousand millions of francs. Stein gave all the assistance he could by economy, by the use of paper money, by laws, and by the sale of the royal domains. But he saw that there could be no thorough rescue of the state but by a moral renewal of the people. He steadily aimed at this, and began to rebuild the state from its foundation. In the ancient provinces the peasants were still the hereditary subjects of their landlords. They were now freed from this bondage, and it was provided that a number of customary exactions which oppressed them should be gradually removed. From this time the peasant was no longer an appendage to the land he cultivated, but could choose his own employment, and could look forward to the possession one day of a free piece of land for himself. The city people, too, were much burdened by guilds, by police regulations, and by officers, mostly invalid soldiers or superannuated civil servants, imposed on them by the government.

By the new laws of city government, November 19, 1808, Stein restored to these communities their self-control and freedom. The delegates were chosen from the citizens themselves, the magistrates from the delegates. The burgomaster alone was named by the government, out of three candidates proposed by the city. The tyranny of the guilds gave way before the freedom of the trades; and in the open country free markets were allowed, and the exclusive privileges of particular mills were abolished. The nobility seemed to be the losers, as their distinctive privileges disappeared. Every man had free access to the calling for which he was adapted; any tradesman might buy a baronial estate, any nobleman might carry on trade. Stein was himself a nobleman, and devoted to his order; but he sought its dignity in moral and patriotic bearing, not in privileges and exemptions. The government was simplified, the council of state taking the place of the cabinet. But, above all, Stein aimed to secure self-government to communities, and a share in the affairs of the state to the people. The country communities obtained more independence than before. The provincial estates, which were still maintained in some places, were to be reformed, and all considerable proprietors of land were to be represented in them. They would consider and determine upon the questions of internal administration in each province. The great work was to be completed by the States-General, representing the whole kingdom, and thus Prussia would become a constitutional monarchy.

§ 7. This reconstitution of Prussia was magnificently planned, and really accomplished more for that kingdom than France gained by the Revolution. Stein's administration was too short for his project to be carried out entirely, and its crowning feature, the States-General, failed of establishment. Much was left by him to his successor, but he gave the great impulse to the work. Stein looked also beyond Prussia, and sought the emancipation of all Germany. He cultivated new relations with Austria, and with many patriotic and influential men in the rest of Germany. The gradual growth of a general understanding among such men was the result; and this spread rapidly over all Northern Germany as soon as Napoleon's first misfortunes in Spain sug-

gested the hope of throwing off the yoke. A letter from Stein to a prince of the Wittgenstein house was intercepted at Spandau by the French police, and sent to Paris, where Napoleon had it printed in the Paris *Moniteur*, with bitter comments, as a proof of the hostile disposition of Prussia, and of a wide-spread conspiracy against the empire. Stein thought it was his duty, in order not to bring the vengeance of Napoleon upon the king, to resign his office; and Frederick William reluctantly let him go, November 24, 1808. Early in January following, an "imperial decree" of Napoleon, dated at his "imperial palace in Madrid, December 16," was promulgated throughout Germany, declaring that "a man named Stein" was engaged in fomenting disorder among the Germans, denouncing him as an enemy of France and of the Rhine League, confiscating all his possessions in France and in the states of the league, and calling on the troops of these countries and of their allies to arrest him wherever found. The enemies of Stein did not doubt that Prussia would obey the command of Napoleon, and rejoiced in the prospect of his surrender to France. But the French ambassador at Berlin, General St. Marsan, warned Stein of his danger, and he fled by night to Austria. There he remained until the great Russian war of 1812 opened to him a new field of activity in the service of the Czar Alexander. It was little more than a year that he had conducted the government of Prussia, but it had been long enough to fill the state with new life. His removal was a misfortune to Germany, which lost in him the organizing centre of all the forces now working for a recovery of national strength.

§ 8. Gerard David Scharnhorst was to the army what Stein was to the state. He was a peasant's son, born November 12, 1755, at Bordenau, in Hanover. He was inclined to a military career, and Count William of Lippe-Schaumburg, a soldier of the school of the Great Frederick, took him into his military institute at Wilhelmstein. At an early age he distinguished himself in the Hanoverian army, especially in 1794 in the Netherlands, and his military writings also attracted attention; so that he was invited to the military academy at Berlin as a teacher, and at once entered the Prussian army as an officer. He was a calm, thoughtful, and very modest



man, and from the first enjoyed the confidence of the king, who gradually promoted him to be a general, and raised him to nobility. He gained great credit in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807, and displayed alike in good and bad fortune both a cool, sound judgment and an enthusiastic devotion to all that is great and good. He was envied and hated, too, but steadily and vigorously pursued his own straightforward course.

§ 9. In 1807 King Frederick William III. reorganized his army. A tribunal of honor was established, before which every officer who had taken part in any of the countless capitulations was required to appear and justify himself. Those who failed to do this completely were dismissed, the army having need now of fewer officers, since Napoleon decreed that it should number no more than 42,000 men. In 1807 Scharnhorst was appointed minister of war, with the special work of reorganizing this army in view. The system of hiring mercenaries was abandoned, and the troops were made up exclusively of natives of Prussia. They were treated humanely and honorably; their arms were simple and manageable, and their drill was made a real preparation for war. Scharnhorst secured a military strength three or four times as great as Napoleon's limit, by enlisting his 42,000 men for a short time, and then renewing them, so that the former army became reserve troops, which could be recalled to their standards at any moment. Thus the foundation of the Prussian army was laid in the universal liability to military service, and in the constitution of the Landwehr, or trained militia, a system which counteracted the effects of luxury and effeminacy among the people, and which, by the wonderful results it produced, compelled all Europe to imitate Prussia, and marked a new epoch in warfare. A new army arose, in which, as in the state, merit and services, not birth, were the only grounds of promotion. These silent preparations escaped the notice of Napoleon, or else he despised them. Scharnhorst remained in office, the nearest and noblest support of the king.

§ 10. Stein was succeeded as minister of finance for a short time by the irresolute Altenstein, and then by Hardenberg, a man inferior to Stein in greatness of mind and char-

acter, but superior to him in dexterity, and therefore in ability to manage the state during the stormy days at hand. He brought to completion much in the internal administration which Stein had begun; and was assisted by a number of illustrious spirits, such as Schön, Niebuhr, Vinke, and William von Humboldt, who sustained and carried out Stein's policy.

§ 11. These days of misfortune were days of trial and of purification to the popular mind. Prussia, in its deep humiliation, became the source first of an intellectual and then of a military revival in Germany. It was now that the old Prussian nature, with its stiff conservatism, became completely united in sympathy with Germany at large. The two great leaders in the revival of Prussia, Stein and Scharnhorst, were not natives of Prussia; but, in their spirit, Prussia now went on to draw to itself the forces of all Germany. Nowhere were the disgrace and burden of foreign rule so deeply felt as here. The people grew serious and earnest again, and their religious faith and feelings revived. The royal family set them an example which exercised a wide influence. For two years they lived a simple life, almost as private citizens, at Königsberg. They then returned to the capital two days before Christmas, 1809, in deep affliction. Queen Louise was already declining. On July 19, 1810, she died at her early home in Mecklenburg, full of hope for her unfortunate country.

§ 12. The renewal of a serious and religious spirit led to the foundation in Königsberg, then the residence of the royal family of Prussia, of the Tugendbund, or "League of virtue," which included many excellent men. Its avowed purpose was the awakening of the intellectual and moral strength of the German people, especially in Prussia; but it was impossible to conceal the fact that its peculiar significance at this time lay in the ultimate aim of delivering Germany from the ascendancy of Napoleon. The court quietly gave it countenance, wisely hoping to harden and discipline the people, and to raise up a host of true heroes against the emergencies of the future. But the power and influence of this league have been exaggerated by French writers. It included hardly any names of great prominence, and on the last day of the year

1810 the king, at the bidding of Napoleon, formally proclaimed its dissolution.

§ 13. We have space but to name the most eminent leaders of the great popular movement; and first of all the military men. Among the foremost of these was Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher (born 1742), who distinguished himself as the last general to yield in the campaign of Jena. He was born in Mecklenburg, and served in the Swedish army in the Seven-Years' War. Being made prisoner by the Prussian black hussars, he gladly changed his uniform, and from that time was a zealous Prussian soldier. While he was employed as an officer in Poland, he brought on himself the anger of the king by his rashness; a number of murders had been perpetrated among the soldiers of his battalion, and he believed a certain priest to be the instigator of them. Though he could not prove this, he brought the priest to an open grave, and there had him fired at with blank cartridges. Neglected in promotions, he talked bitterly, and Frederick II. roughly turned him away. For a considerable time he cultivated his lands, and lived in debt, taking his pleasure in expensive horses. But his passion for the army could not be controlled. His bold riding attracted the notice of King Frederick William II., when the noblemen of that district were attending him as an escort, and he was invited again to enter the hussars. As a colonel of horse in the wars of the French Revolution, he won the respect of friend and foe. The French soldiers called him "the red king." At Auerstädt, as general of cavalry, he endeavored by a desperate charge to save the lost fortunes of the day; and he led his brave band to Ratkau, near Lubeck, where they were at last compelled to surrender. When the army was renewed, he was made general in command in Pomerania. Here he was seized with that passion of pain at the shame of Prussia which at times took away his reason; so that he would dash at the flies on the wall with his drawn sword, crying "Napoleon." His whole soul was absorbed in hatred of the emperor. His form was commanding and noble, his speech eloquent and full of fire. He was the idol of the soldiers, who called him "Marshal Forwards."

§ 14. Augustus William Anton Neithardt, of Gneisenau, is

always named with Blücher. He was born at Schilda in the midst of the Seven-Years' War, and a few days before the battle at Torgau. His father was a soldier in the imperial army, and his early years were spent under the oppressive guardianship of strangers, until his grandfather took him to Würzburg. Here and at the University of Erfurt he was carefully educated. But he, too, was fond of military life; and when his means of prosecuting his studies failed, he entered the service, first of Austria, and then of Anspach-Baireuth. With a regiment of Anspach troops he went to America, but fought no battle. On his return he entered the Prussian army. Thus he lived a hard and narrow life, until the years of misfortune brought out his abilities. With Schill and Nettelbeck he acquired great honor in defending Colberg, and was thenceforth regarded as one of the pillars of the Prussian army. In his ability to plan campaigns and battles, he was superior to Blücher, who was rather the man of fiery dash and of cunning cavalry exploits; and thus the two men admirably supplemented each other. He claims remembrance as much for his nobility of mind, his strong and simple will, and the true modesty that blushed at its own praise, as for his military genius.

§ 15. Hans David Lewis of York (born 1762) was apart from the men we have described, and often sharply opposed or even hostile to them. He was the son of an officer in the Seven-Years' War, was always meant for a soldier, and served as a lieutenant under "Old Fritz." He too was led into a difficulty which offended the king, was rudely cashiered at the age of twenty, and was compelled him to enter the service of Holland. He fought at the naval battle at the Doggersbank, and afterward passed some years of adventure at Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. He returned, and re-entered the Prussian army under Frederick William II., where he soon became colonel of the single light infantry regiment in the service, and trained them with great severity in the light musketry practice in which the French were so eminent. He was not in the battle at Jena; but kept his regiment together, and in a spirited and well-conducted affair at Altenzaun protected Blücher's passage of the Elbe. He was a man of iron character, proud, sharp, sudden, and reso-

lute, and was more feared than loved. His discipline was still that of Frederick the Great, without the degeneracy of later times. In the reorganization of the army, Blücher pointed him out as one of the ablest officers. He was made general, and then governor-general of the province of Prussia.

§ 16. Frederick William von Bülow was placed at Blücher's side as general in Pomerania, when the latter was sick. He was a member of an ancient and numerous family, of marked features of character. He had been the military instructor of Prince Louis Ferdinand; and had displayed great qualities in the battles around Dantzic, though without succeeding in the campaign. But his calm, cheerful strength of mind and self-possessed energy already distinguished the future commander-in-chief. A fine band of younger officers, such as Grolman, Boyen, and Clausewitz, supported these tried commanders; and afterward became ornaments of Prussian military history.

§ 17. There were men of learning and science, too, who did honor to this period of the Prussian annals. In the foremost rank of these was John Gottlieb Fichte. He was the son of a weaver at Rammenau, in Saxon Lusatia, and was born in 1762. A nobleman observed that the boy could accurately report a sermon he had once heard, and sent him to the "Schulpforte" gymnasium or academy. His character was developed and strengthened during his early years by extreme penury, which did not crush his temper, but hardened it. He went to Königsberg to hear the great philosopher Kant; and then his own fame began; while his fortune was founded in Switzerland, where he married a daughter of Klopstock's sister. He was invited to Jena, then the capital of German intellectual life, where he stimulated the minds of the students, by his personal influence, to a degree of activity and zeal before unknown. But his philosophical views assumed such a form as to be thought hostile to Christianity. A complaint of the Saxon government against him led to an investigation and a controversy, which, through Fichte's pride, resulted in a breach, in spite of the strong desire of Charles Augustus and his minister Goethe to retain him. He went to Berlin, was welcomed by Frederick William III., and delivered a course of lectures, before the

university was founded, which was eagerly listened to by the most eminent men of that capital. After the battle of Jena he left Berlin, and only returned when peace was concluded. A French garrison still held the city. But while paid spies listened to his lectures, and while the French drums were heard in the Linden avenue without, he delivered in the academy his "Words to the German nation" before a company of select scholars, who were to him, he said, the representatives of the whole German people. He showed how the German people alone had preserved the embers of an unselfish and free intellectual life, and if these were lost, there was no hope for the world. Thus he summoned their oppressed minds to awaken to the true calling of Germany. Napoleon did not disturb him. The emperor despised the "Ideologues," and could not suspect how potent the influence of ideas is on the German mind.

§ 18. Frederick William III. now resolved, in spite of the oppression of the times, to found the University of Berlin, in order to unite, as far as possible, the forces of German scholarship. With a noble generosity the king appropriated ample means for the institution, assigned to it one of the finest palaces in Berlin, that of Prince Henry, and its career began in 1810. Fichte was its first rector, for ten terms. Schleiermacher stood by his side. He was born in 1768, and educated in the academy of the Herrnhuters at Niesky, where he received deeply pious impressions, which remained unimpaired, even when he in after-days gave himself up for a while to the most skeptical speculations in theology. He was for a time professor in Halle, but now removed to Berlin, and became one of the principal ornaments of the new university. Men of eminent learning and ability were gathered there from all parts of Germany, among them the philologists Wolf, Buttmann, and Böckh, the medical teacher Hufeland, and many others, almost all of them zealous, too, for the emancipation of the country.

§ 19. Science, art, and poetry now assumed a patriotic character. The brothers Jacob and William Grimm drew attention to the study of German antiquities, and brought to light stores of legends and popular stories, of laws and customs, and of the religion and language of the early Germans.

The brothers Boisserée pointed out the real beauty and magnificence of the architecture of the Middle Ages, and of its great churches, such as the cathedrals at Cologne and Strasburg. Alexander von Humboldt made a European reputation by his travels, while his brother William, Schiller's friend, an enthusiast for philosophy and history, served Prussia also as a statesman, in harmony with Stein. Some of the great poets had passed away; the people's chief favorite, Schiller, died May 9, 1805. Goethe now stood without rivalry or approach, earning ever new laurels, and esteemed even by Napoleon; but he was not in sympathy with the sufferings or the hopes of the German people. A younger generation was growing up, in which lofty poetic insight and taste were associated with patriotic feeling. These were called the "romantic poets:" a class not without something morbid in their nature, but distinguished for their insight into ancient German art, and for their enthusiasm for the Middle Ages of German culture and splendor. Among them were the brothers Schlegel, Lewis Tieck, and Novalis (Hardenberg); as well as Von Kleist, Brentano, and Von Arnim. In other parts of Germany, too, there was fresh poetic vigor. In 1811, Uhland, then twenty years of age, published the "Minstrel's Curse," in which the rich and bloody king who is the curse of minstrelsy represents Napoleon.

§ 20. While Prussia was thus agitated with new energy in literary productiveness and patriotic feeling, Austria did not hold aloof from the movement, but promised really to be the centre of the wishes and hopes of German patriots. It was no longer the Austria of Thugut and Cobenzl. The great revival of the nation reached both the people and the government. Count Philip Stadion (born 1763), of a Suabian knightly house, became to the Austrian states what Stein was to Prussia. He was called to the ministry soon after the Peace of Presburg. A thorough German in his spirit, he soon saw that a successful war of emancipation could only be fought by the entire nation. He removed the shackles which, ever since the death of Joseph II., had burdened the mental and moral powers of the people; he promoted education, freed the press, and encouraged patriotic thought and feeling. The peasantry were relieved of burdens, and citizens were allow-

ed free scope for their capacities and talents. The state rose rapidly, as in the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph. Stadion's encouragement of freedom distressed the emperor, but his ruling passion was still hatred of Napoleon. Austria was not oppressed and humiliated by him as Prussia was, and had not, like Prussia, a struggle for life or death to meet; but its honor and ancient power were at stake, and neither the people nor the court of Vienna could forget the lost dignity of the German Empire. The army, too, was reformed. After 1806, the Archduke Charles, the well-trying general of Austria, was its commander-in-chief. Under him, the army was renewed in its officers, its arms, and its spirit. Just as Scharnhorst in Prussia armed the people as well as the army, so in Austria a militia was organized, by summoning which the army might be raised to 500,000 men. In this respect, too, the government trusted the people, and was not disappointed.

§ 21. In 1808 the tidings of the great war waged by the people of Spain against Napoleon, with constantly increasing success, encouraged all Germany. It was evident now where the giant who overshadowed Europe was vulnerable. "Why may we not esteem ourselves as highly as the Spaniards?" wrote Blücher to a friend; and all patriotic Germans asked themselves the same question. Napoleon was compelled to withdraw his army from Prussia to Spain, so that both Austria and Prussia breathed more freely. His forged bulletins of victory and his empty displays at Erfurt alike failed to deceive longer. But it was a misfortune that just at this time came the fall of Stein, in whom mainly rested the hope of united action by Prussia and Austria, and whose avowed aim was "the emancipation of Germany by German strength." With him a great hope disappeared. Napoleon again won Alexander's friendship, as at Tilsit, and felt secure in his place, so that he went in person to Spain to put an end to the wearisome war.

§ 22. By the capture of Madrid, March, 1808, Napoleon thought that the subjugation of Spain was accomplished; and at once undertook to punish Austria for the military preparations which it had been making for more than a year. He began by diligently provoking it to war. But the changed character of Austria now showed itself. The people were



enthusiastic in their patriotism; volunteers of all classes flocked to the standards, and free gifts were brought in abundance to supply and equip the soldiers. Such men as Gentz and Frederick Schlegel were at the head-quarters of the archduke, eager to promote the cause of freedom by their writings and poetry, to summon all Germany to enlist in the cause, and to excite and maintain the popular enthusiasm. A universal movement of Germany was hoped for, but especially the aid of Prussia. But Stein's resolution was wanting there, nor indeed was Prussia able to undertake any thing without aid from Russia, while Alexander urgently advised the king to remain at peace. But there, as every where in Germany, the beginnings of the strife were watched with feverish anxiety among the usually peaceful people. The fierce old German wrath began to burn against their arrogant oppressors.

§ 23. The Austrian government showed itself eager enough to take advantage of the zealous patriotism of the people, and of the embarrassments of Napoleon in Spain. On February 28, 1809, the French ambassador at Vienna, Andreossy, received his passports, and on April 15 Austria declared war against France. But Napoleon, as usual, was more nearly ready for war than his adversaries. Without the Rhine League, indeed, he would have found the swiftness of action demanded in this war impossible. It was German forces that he used against Germans. The Archduke Charles ought to have fallen at once with his well-provided Austrian army on the states of the league—Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden—taken possession of their stores and resources, and met the enemy on the Rhine. But he hesitated, proposed at first to occupy a strong position in Bohemia, but at length advanced slowly across the frontier of Bavaria. As soon as the conflict seemed inevitable, Napoleon hastened with his usual speed from Spain into Germany, collected his forces from France, but especially from the states of the Rhine, and marched rapidly with them down the Danube to meet the Austrians. His military abilities were magnificently displayed in the battles in the neighborhood of Regensburg (Ratisbon). He was victorious at Pfaffenhofen, April 19, 1809, at Abensberg, on April 20, at Landshut, on the 21st, and on the 23d in the great and decisive

battle of Eckmühl. In these five days of victory, according to Napoleon's bulletin of April 24, his army captured 400 cannon, 40 standards, 3000 wagons, and 50,000 prisoners. During this brief and splendid campaign, Napoleon's military conduct was not merely faultless, but uniformly brilliant; and in after-days he often spoke of these actions fondly as the greatest achievements of his life. The army of the Austrians, however, was badly led, and it now retreated, almost in ruins, to Moravia. Napoleon marched down the right bank of the Danube, and entered Vienna May 12.

§ 24. But the war was not ended. The Tyrol, on Napoleon's right flank, had thrown off his yoke. An Austrian army, under the Archduke John, who had hitherto been successful, and had defeated Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, at Sacile (April 16), now drew near. The archduke occupied the north bank of the Danube, opposite Vienna, with an army almost equal to that of Napoleon. The emperor was in haste to fight it, and sought to cross the river at the island of Lobau, below Vienna. But at Aspern and Esslingen (May 21 and 22) he met an enemy such as he had not expected to find. The Austrian troops, led to the battle by their heroic general in person, marched with songs and shouts. The French attempted to cross on two bridges, and spread themselves in a fan-like form on the north side; but they met in every direction the Austrian columns, ready for action. Meanwhile the Austrians sent huge trunks of trees and fire-boats down the river, and destroyed the draw-bridges. The bloody day ended with the retreat of Napoleon to the island of Lobau, with an exhausted army, the first complete defeat he ever experienced. In spite of the watchful French police, the song of triumph over this battle spread through all Germany.

§ 25. Napoleon was compelled to wait a month before he could venture to break forth. On July 5, having been joined by Prince Eugene, he marched with 150,000 men to Wagram, a little below the battle-field of Aspern. After a contest of unusual fierceness and fatality, which lasted two days, he won a victory. The Archduke John, while on his way from Hungary, had been defeated at Raab by Eugene, and driven across the Danube (June 14), so that he arrived too late to

take part in the battle. The Austrians retreated toward Moravia. The Archduke Charles, whose heart was but half in the war, began to negotiate, and the armistice of Znaim was concluded (July 12) for four weeks, and was afterward prolonged. There was still no necessity for submission. Austria had large resources left, and Prussia now took the first steps toward an alliance with Austria. But the allies, who were expected to hasten into the war, delayed. Even England postponed the promised expedition to North Germany, which was to support the popular movement there, and encourage Prussia, and, instead of this, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the Netherlands, in hope of acquiring Antwerp. Thus the peace party obtained the control in Vienna, and at length the Emperor Francis, terrified at Napoleon's threat to depose him, signed the Peace of Vienna, or Schönbrunn, October 14, 1809. By this treaty Austria gave up its Adriatic sea-coast entirely; Istria, Dalmatia, Friaul, and part of Carinthia were ceded directly to the French Empire. Western Galicia was added to the Duchy of Warsaw, Eastern Galicia to Russia. For the Emperor Alexander, who might have prevented the whole war, and whose mere consent would have enabled Prussia to join Austria against Napoleon, had permitted himself to be led into an alliance with Napoleon by the prospect of conquests in Turkey; and he now received his part of the spoils of Austria.

§ 25. After this war the Emperor of Austria seemed to have lost all his wish to fight against France. Stadion withdrew from office, and was succeeded by the dexterous Metternich. Like the princes of the Rhine League, the Austrians thought their interests lay in friendship with France. Napoleon had long cherished the wish to connect himself with some ancient European dynasty. Soon after the treaty was signed, he began to seek the hand of the emperor's daughter, Maria Louisa. On December 14, 1809, he divorced his first wife, Josephine, who had borne him no children. In February, 1810, came the betrothal, and on April 2 the marriage with Maria Louisa. This event was regarded by European statesmen in general as a guarantee for peace on the Continent. But it drove the patriotic party in Germany almost to despair.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE LAST YEARS OF FRENCH SUPREMACY; NAPOLEON IN RUSSIA.

- § 1. The War of 1809 in the Tyrol. § 2. Zeal of the Tyrolese for Austria.  
§ 3. Wrede's Invasion of the Tyrol. § 4. The French and their Allies De-  
feated in August. § 5. The Revolt Crushed after the Peace of Schönbrunn.  
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Schill's Daring March. § 9. Frederick William of Brunswick Invades Bai-  
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and the Hanse Towns. § 15. Power and Policy of Napoleon in 1810.  
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of Tauroggen. § 23. York's Report to the King. § 24. The King's Situa-  
tion and Policy. § 25. Patriotic Movements in East Prussia.

§ 1. THE year 1809 brought new instances of German patriotism. The incidents of the great Austrian war are significant proofs of the changed temper of the German people. The Tyrol, for centuries a possession of Austria, was ceded to Bavaria by the Peace of Presburg in 1805. The Bavarians made many innovations, in the French style, some good and some bad; but the mountaineers, clinging to their ancient ways, resisted them all alike. They hated the Bavarians as foreign masters forced upon them; and especially detested the military conscription, to which Austria had never subjected them. The priests had an almost unlimited influence over these faithful Catholics, and the Bavarians, who treated them rudely, were regarded as innovators and allies of revolutionary France. Thus the country submitted restlessly to the yoke of the Rhine League until the spring of 1809. A secret understanding was maintained with Austria and the Archduke John, and the people never abandoned the hope of returning to their Austrian allegiance.

§ 2. When the great war of 1809 began, the Emperor

Francis summoned all his people to arms. The Tyrolese answered the call. They were as true to their hereditary king as to their faith, and still full of their ancient spirit of freedom. They are a people trained in early life to the use of arms, and to activity, courage, and ready devices in hunting, and in traveling on their mountain paths. Austria could be sure of the faithfulness of the Tyrol, and made haste to occupy the country. When the first troops were seen entering the passes, the people arose and drove away the Bavarian garrisons. The alarm was soon sounded through the deepest ravines of the land. Never was there a more united people, and each troop or company chose its own officers, in the ancient German style, from among their strongest and best men. Their commanders were hunters, shepherds, priests: the former gamekeeper, Speckbacher; the innkeeper, Martin Teimer; the fiery Capuchin monk, Haspinger, whose sole weapon in the field was a huge ebony crucifix, and many more of like peaceful occupations. At the head of the whole army was a man who, like Saul, towered by a head above all others, while his handsome black beard fell to his girdle—Andrew Hofer, formerly an innkeeper at Passeyr—a man of humble piety and simple faithfulness, who fairly represented the people he led. He regarded the war as dutiful service to his religion, his emperor, and his country. The whole land soon swarmed with little bands of men, making their way to Innsprück (April, 1809), whence the Bavarian garrison fled. Meanwhile a small French corps came from Italy to relieve them. Though fired upon by the peasants from every ravine and hill, they passed the Brenner, and reached the Iselberg, near Innsprück. But here they were surrounded on every side, and forced to surrender. The first Austrian soldiers, under General Chasteler, then reached the capital, and their welcome was a popular festival. The liberators, as the Tyrolese soldiers regarded themselves, committed no cruelties, but carried on their enterprise in the spirit of a national jubilee.

§ 3. The tidings of the disasters at Regensburg now came upon them like a thunderbolt. The withdrawal of the Austrian army then left the Tyrol without protection. Napoleon treated the war as a mutiny, and set a price upon Chasteler's

head. Neither Chasteler nor any of the Austrian officers with him understood the warfare of the peasantry. The Tyrolese were left almost wholly to themselves, but they resolved to defend their mountains. On May 11 the Bavarians under Wrede again set out from Salzburg, captured the pass of the Strub after a bloody fight, and then climbed into the valley of the Inn. They practiced frightful cruelties in their way. A fierce struggle took place at the little village of Schwatz; the Bavarians burned the place, and marched to Innsprück. Chasteler withdrew, and the Bavarians and French, under Wrede and Lefevre, entered the capital. The country again appeared to be subdued. But cruelty had embittered the people. Wrede was recalled, with his corps, by Napoleon; and now Hofer, with his South Tyrolese, recrossed the Brenner Pass. Again the general alarm was given, the leaders called to arms, and again every pass, every wall of rock, every narrow road was seized. The struggle took place at the Iselberg. The Bavarians, 7000 in number, were defeated with heavy loss. The Tyrol now remained for several months undisturbed, during the campaign around Vienna.

§ 4. After the battle of Aspern, an imperial proclamation formally assured the Tyrolese that they should never be severed from the Austrian Empire; and that no peace should be signed unless their indissoluble union with the monarchy were recognized. The Tyrolese quietly trusted the emperor's promise, until the armistice of Znaim. But in this the Tyrol was not mentioned, and the French and their allies prepared to chastise the loyal and abandoned country. Lefevre returned, with French, Saxon, and Bavarian soldiers, and took the capital without opposition. Then the Tyrolese people, for the third time, rose against the foreigners (August, 1809). A corps, mainly of Saxons, advancing from the south, were caught in the narrow ravines of the Eisach, and almost buried under rocks and trunks of trees, hurled on them from above. It seemed to them as if the mountains were falling on them. A second column was destroyed in a similar manner, in the valley of the Upper Inn, above Landeck. The French marshal himself escaped with difficulty. Hofer entered the castle at Innsprück as commander-in-chief of the Tyrol.

§ 5. Then came the Peace of Schönbrunn, by which the Tyrol was hopelessly sacrificed. Napoleon sent about 50,000 men to the mountains. Up to this time the court of Vienna had encouraged the revolt; but now it suddenly advised them to submit. Most of the people yielded to necessity. Hofer resigned his command, and ordered the people to return home and lay down their arms. But his simplicity was deceived by fanatics, and he once more undertook to resist. The whole land besides was subjected; only around his valley of the Passeyr was there still an attempt to defend the country (November, 1809). In his extreme excitement, Hofer neglected either to escape or to submit in time. Even his nearest friends dispersed. Speckbacher lay all winter, hidden in a stable, with his leg broken, until he found an opportunity for flight. Haspinger escaped into Austria, and lived to be present, in 1839, when the Hofer monument was dedicated in the cathedral at Innsprück. Hofer himself took up his abode among the mountains, in a herdsman's hut, which was abandoned during the winter. But he was betrayed by a priest named Donay. On January 20, 1810, a troop of soldiers were guided over the snow to him, and brought down the patriot in bonds. He was treated with harshness—his beard was plucked, he was led barefoot over ice; but he bore all with invincible patience. A court-martial at Mantua sentenced him to die, and he was shot in the fortifications of the city, February 20, 1810. The Tyrol was subjugated once more, for a time.

§ 6. It was not among the Tyrolese alone that the war of 1809 was signalized by acts of heroism. There was much excitement in Northern Germany. In the previous year, Stein and his friends had formed far-reaching plans. The English were to land at the mouth of the Ems or Weser, with at least 50,000 men, as soon as Austria should declare war. The people of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse, still faithful to their ancient princely houses, should be called to arms. Prussia, it was believed, would surely join the alliance, and all Germany would be united in the war against Napoleon. The plan was defeated by the delay of England, or by its preference of the useless expedition to the Netherlands. Instead of the general movement of the people, there were

but a few detached efforts to support the Austrian cause; and these soon ended in misfortune.

§ 7. Dörnberg was of a noble Hessian family, and already had much experience as a soldier, having accompanied Blücher to the end of the campaign of 1806. He then entered Jerome's service as colonel, but, like all the Hessians, was discontented under foreign rule, and took an active part in the plan for a general movement against Napoleon. Hesse seemed ripe for a revolt, and the peasants of that region, who are accustomed to arms, were regarded as sure to rise whenever a call should be made. Dörnberg formed the bold plan of seizing the King of Westphalia as a prisoner in his own city, with only his own battalion, in which he trusted, and such help as the peasantry might bring. But these began their revolt too soon (April 21). Dörnberg was compelled to leave Cassel, but soon found himself at the head of from 8000 to 10,000 countrymen, unaccustomed to war, and almost unarmed. They were, of course, dispersed by a few grape-shot and a charge of cavalry. Dörnberg in the disguise of a peasant and after many adventures, reached Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick, whom he afterward attended with honor, until he won a distinguished position in Russia, and finally in the Prussian army.

§ 8. Schill, a handsome, impetuous man, too adventurous for success, but a hero in heart, distinguished himself, as we have seen, in the defense of Colberg. When the French evacuated Berlin in 1808, he was the first to lead the Prussians into their city, and was welcomed with enthusiasm, both by the army and by the people. When Dörnberg led the revolt in Hesse, some of the younger officers in the Altmark were to march against Magdeburg. In April, 1809, Austria began the war, but Prussia still delayed. Schill conceived the notion of setting an example of a North German war of the people, and of hurrying into it, if possible, Prussia and the king. On April 28 he led out his regiment of cavalry, about 500 strong, before Berlin, as if for a drill. He then announced to them his purpose to begin a war against the oppressor of Germany. The men were devoted to him, and met his declaration with eager applause. About two hundred of his infantry battalion, with four officers,



came to him afterward as volunteers. The number soon increased. He turned toward Saxony, forced his way through Wittenberg, and then advanced to Halle, where he was received as a liberator. But here the tidings of the first Austrian reverses reached him, and of the failures in Hesse and the Altmark. Schill began to hesitate. He moved northward toward the Elbe, and at Dodendorf, near Magdeburg, defeated a corps of Westphalians sent against him. But it was already evident that his example would not stir up among the North Germans any such general popular movement as had taken place in Spain or the Tyrol. King Frederick William was justly offended at the arbitrary and violent conduct of his officer. Before the superior forces of the state, he withdrew through Mecklenburg to the Baltic Sea, and at length took refuge in Stralsund, then a poorly fortified town, where he surprised and captured the French garrison. He hoped to make a Saragossa of this city by a glorious defense, and rejected the advice of friends to escape to Rugen or to a British ship. Meanwhile he was surrounded by troops from Westphalia and Holland, and even from Denmark, in all 6000 men. The assailants broke through the poorly defended gates, and Schill fell at last in a fierce fight in the streets of Stralsund, May 31, 1809. He was buried without military honors. But his comrades who were captured fared still worse. Napoleon treated them as guilty of high-treason. Fourteen natives of Westphalia were shot in Brunswick, and eleven young officers in Wesel. The common soldiers went to France, where they were sent to the galleys with robbers and murderers, until they were set free by the victory of the allies in 1814.

§ 9. Frederick William of Brunswick-Oels was the son of the Duke Charles William Ferdinand who was fatally wounded at Jena. The duchy was annexed to Westphalia. But Frederick William, long trained to hate and oppose the oppressor of Germany, was now made acquainted with the plans of Stein. When the war broke out, he recruited a corps in Silesia on his own account, intending to attack the King of Westphalia. He pledged his estates in Silesia (Oels) to Prussia, for advances of money and materials of war. His corps was not filled up until some time after the battles in

Bavaria, and it was then put under the command of an Austrian general to be employed in Saxony. Finally, a vigorous advance was made toward Franconia, and into the ancient territory of Baireuth, where the people were still attached to Prussia, with the design of attacking Jerome and Junot, when the news of the armistice was received. If the prince wished to be regarded as an Austrian officer, he was bound by its terms; but he disregarded it, and went on, in the pride of an independent prince, to make war on his own account. About half of his corps—1300 musketeers, 650 horsemen, and 80 artillerists with four guns—declared themselves ready to follow him wherever he should go.

§ 10. The little band carried a death's head on their caps, as a token that quarter would neither be given nor accepted. The duke now undertook to force his way to his capital, and onward to the sea. His following was like one of the ancient German bands, of which Tacitus remarks that they thought it honor to die with their chief, and shame to survive him. The little mimic army marched through Saxony to Halle, where, like Schill's band, they were welcomed by the faithful Prussian people. They then passed the heights of the Hartz and Quedlinburg, and on July 28 reached Halberstadt. Here there chanced to be a Westphalian regiment on its way from Magdeburg, and they, surprised by hearing that the enemy were near, in the midst of a peaceful country, undertook to defend the towers and gates of the city. A lively conflict ensued; but the duke battered down the gates with cannon, and, after a night battle in the streets, the enemy yielded. The prisoners were all Germans, and many of them joined the bold band. On July 31 the towers of Brunswick were in view. The duke, with his weary followers, encamped on the fortifications of his city, which had been turned into promenades. Now came the decisive struggle. A Westphalian corps of five thousand men, under Reubel, met the duke here, while the Dutch commander, Gratien, followed him with another body of troops as large, the same that had destroyed Schill. The duke attacked the former corps on August 1 at Oelper, a village two miles from Brunswick, but could not break his way through, and was driven back to Brunswick. But during the night Reubel strangely march-

ed around Brunswick to join Gratién, and on August 2 the duke found the way open for his retreat. He moved hastily, with wagons collected from the people, or voluntarily furnished by them, through Hanover and Wunsdorf to Bremen, reaching the Weser at Niendorf. At Hoya the pursuing enemy drew near, but the little army embarked at Elsfleth without annoyance. The Danes, who had helped to ensnare Schill, were also here at the mouth of the Weser, but their balls did no harm. Thus the duke and his followers reached the open sea, after a rapid march of fourteen days from the Bohemian frontier. British ships conveyed them to Heligoland, and they nearly all entered "the German Legion," which fought so well in Spain under Wellington against the French.

§ 11. Thus Napoleon ended the campaign of 1809 victoriously. The first great movement of German patriotism was defeated, and the prospect was darker than ever. Austria, under Metternich, seemed to aim only to please Napoleon, although neither the emperor nor the high nobles entertained any friendship for the conqueror. But the country was exhausted, and its finances were broken down, so that, apart from Napoleon's new relationship by marriage to Francis, the means of sustaining another great enterprise were not at hand. Indeed, Austria was on the brink of bankruptcy.

§ 12. But Austria was still in a better position than Prussia, which had done enough in 1809 to provoke Napoleon, and yet not enough to be regarded as an ally of Austria in the war. Napoleon knew the hatred of the leading Prussians toward him, and his wrath was fierce against the little kingdom he had already so maltreated. The new ministry of Dohna and Altenstein strove to mitigate his anger by submission; the Tugendbund was dissolved; the royal family returned from Königsberg, where they had been free, and near to Russia, which was still their friend, to Berlin, within reach of the French forces in Magdeburg, Lower Pomerania, and Hamburg. The ministers even humiliated themselves so far as to propose to content Napoleon by ceding Silesia to him, to be at his disposal. On the very day on which they laid this plan before the king he sent a messenger to Hardenberg, March 14, 1810, inviting him to serve as chancellor of the

kingdom. Hardenberg carried on Stein's reforms in the interior, and in foreign affairs pursued a policy as resolute as it was prudent.

§ 13. The states of the Rhine Confederacy, formed by Napoleon out of the fragments of the empire, found their condition by no means improved under him. The arbitrary division and exchange of territories went on unchecked after 1809. Thus Bavaria, which was to have had the entire Tyrol, received back but a part of it: part went to the kingdom of Italy, and part to Illyria, now annexed to France. Bavaria had also been required to make smaller cessions to the Grand-Duchy of Würzburg and to Wirtemberg. In compensation it received Salzburg, part of Upper Austria, and Bai-reuth. But these accessions bore no relation to the sacrifices made for Napoleon in 1809, and to the hopes then excited; and Bavaria was discontented. The new Grand-Duchy of Frankfort, given by Napoleon to Dalberg, was treated with similar willfulness, and Napoleon's step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, was designated as Dalberg's successor. The states of the Rhine League now began to feel the burden of foreign supremacy. Napoleon's wars required ever higher taxes and severer conscriptions. The complaining people began to be suspected. The book trade and the newspapers were put under the most rigid censorship, and almost ruined. The mails were tampered with, private letters opened, and family life and prison cells were alike haunted by spies. No tribunal was independent, no judgment pronounced but under arbitrary control. The heaviest burden of all was the "Continental system" of embargo, which was enforced despotically and under cruel penalties. Yet the law was broken, not only by contraband tradesmen, but under shameful licenses sold for the purpose by Napoleon himself. These practices had a deplorable effect on public morality.

§ 14. It was only by constant violence to law and precedent that Napoleon's commercial war against England could be maintained. His brother Louis, King of Holland, found the interests of his people so much injured by the narrow, exclusive, and protective policy of France, that he sustained it with hesitation and without efficiency, and his lukewarmness offended the emperor, who sent a French army under

Oudinot to occupy the Dutch ports. Louis then (July 1, 1810) abdicated his crown in favor of his eldest son, still an infant, and retired to Austria; but Napoleon at once (July 9) incorporated Holland with the French Empire, a part of which it continued to be until December, 1813. He published a decree excusing this annexation, on the ground that Holland is the creation of French rivers (that is, the deposit of the Rhine and the Maas!). On December 13, 1810, nearly the whole of Northwestern Germany was annexed to the French Empire. Hanover, which had been seized by Napoleon in 1806, and annexed to Westphalia in January, 1810, was now again directly severed from it. Oldenburg, hitherto a member of the Rhine Confederacy, was compelled to dispense with its duke. The Hanse cities, and some smaller districts, as far as Lübeck, were annexed immediately to France. The explanation given was, that "this union is dictated by circumstances;" that is, by the continued trade with England, which was to be suppressed; and in the case of Frankfort, that "this city, founded by Napoleon's predecessor, Charlemagne, must no longer be kept from its natural union with France."

§ 15. Napoleon seemed to stand at the summit of fortune and power. On March 20, 1811, the long-wished-for heir was born, and the child, Napoleon Francis Charles Joseph, afterward known as the Duke of Reichstadt, at once received the title of King of Rome. But this fortune and power were already hollow. The French themselves were sated with the "glory" which ruined their trade, wasted their fields, and spilled the blood of their sons. It was on violence and terror that Napoleon, whose contempt for the people steadily grew, relied to maintain his throne, which was already beginning to tremble. Sweden seemed sure to be his ally, since his relative, Marshal Bernadotte, had been adopted in 1810 as Crown-Prince of Sweden, and heir to the throne of the childless Charles XIII. But he had good reason to distrust the man he had advanced, especially after it became obvious that the true interests of Sweden must be sacrificed, if Napoleon's commands, to adopt his "Continental system," should be obeyed. His relations to Russia were still less satisfactory. Alexander had satisfied himself at Erfurt that Na-

napoleon would not be content to permit Russia to acquire more than Finland and the Danubian provinces; that he would never consent to see Constantinople in the hands of the Czar. He saw that Napoleon's friendship was of little value to him. Besides, the Continental embargo, which he had suffered to be imposed on him, could not possibly be maintained as a permanent policy in Russia, and at the end of the year 1810 it was abandoned for a new tariff. The dethroning of his relation, the Duke of Oldenburg, was regarded by Alexander as a personal injury. Perhaps the most controlling reason, however, in Alexander's mind for hostility to Napoleon was the slight upon his sister, Anne Paulowna, in 1810. Napoleon then sued for her hand, and yet, finding that there was likely to be hesitation in accepting his suit, opened negotiations for marriage with Maria Louisa of Austria before the Russian reply was received. This act Alexander never forgave, and it may be conjectured that, but for certain religious scruples in the mind of the empress dowager of Russia, the fate of Europe might have been changed. After the year 1811 it became constantly more obvious that a war between the two great emperors was approaching.

§ 16. The part Germany would take in the approaching conflict seemed plain. The Rhine Confederacy could but obey Napoleon's orders. Metternich in Austria thought the ascendancy of Russia in Europe quite as great a danger as that of France. A league with Napoleon promised in the East, in Galicia and the Danubian provinces, a compensation for all that had been lost in the West. Napoleon now eagerly sought the friendship of Austria. An alliance was concluded, and Marshal Schwarzenberg, with 30,000 men, was assigned to the service of Napoleon in the coming campaign. The position of Prussia was full of peril. In a visit to St. Petersburg, Frederick William had renewed his old friendship with Alexander, and the Prussian patriots looked to Russia as their natural support. How could they join Napoleon against Russia, knowing that Napoleon had long resolved to embrace the earliest opportunity to blot out Prussia from the map? The friends of the country recommended a desperate struggle against Napoleon. Scharnhorst made ready 124,000 men; the fortresses were armed afresh;

the temper of the people was excellent, and the land seemed, among its rivers and marshes, like an almost invincible encampment. The king and the people were alike resolved to meet the worst firmly and with honor. But they sought to avoid the extremity. Hardenberg even offered an alliance to Napoleon, who knew of the preparations of Prussia, and made no answer. On the other hand, Alexander gave no express assurance of his protection. Prussia was in a fever of excitement, between anxiety and hope, irresolution and despair. A network of troops was drawn around the unfortunate country, from Dantzic and Poland to Hamburg and the Rhine. At last Napoleon uttered his demands: Prussia must make an alliance with him against Russia, must furnish him 20,000 auxiliary troops, permit the transit of his army, undertake the support of it on the way, and restore to him at least some of its fortresses. In return, Prussia was to receive the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, which were to be wrested from Russia. The convention was signed February 24, 1812, and, for the time, destroyed the last hopes of the Prussian patriots, who were ready for a death-struggle in defense of German and Prussian independence. All the preparations made during the year were now in the hands of the enemy. About three hundred officers left the Prussian service, and most of them went to Russia to fight against Napoleon.

§ 17. In the spring of 1812 vast masses of troops, the largest armies seen in Europe since the time of Attila, began to move through Germany toward Russia. They marched in splendid military order, and in the proud consciousness that they were invincible. Of the 600,000 men led by Napoleon to Russia, 200,000 were Germans; and nearly all of them perished in a strange land, for a stranger's cause. On May 9 Napoleon reached Dresden, where he remained three weeks. Subject kings and princes crowded around him here, on much the same footing as his generals and marshals. This was the culmination of his fortune, and of the prostration of Germany before him. Goethe himself gave magnificent expression to the slavish humiliation of the German mind in an ode to the Empress Maria Louisa, and praised the conqueror's reign as the golden age. Even Francis I. and Frederick

William III. could not avoid waiting upon him. At Dresden he issued his proud order that the kings, princes, and marshals should proceed to their own head-quarters. The emperor then followed his troops, having sent them forward into Poland and East Prussia. Here he mustered his vast forces. The troops of the Rhine Confederacy, like the French, saluted him with loud acclams, but the Prussians, as he rode before their ranks, remained in proud silence. Napoleon was displeased at this, but admired their accurate and soldierly bearing. They then crossed the Niemen into Russia (end of June, 1812).

§ 18. The "Grand Army" under Napoleon at once made a general advance toward the heart of the Russian Empire, against Wilna, Smolensk, and Moscow; but the Prussian auxiliaries were placed on the left wing, which, under Macdonald, invaded the Baltic provinces. The Austrians, under Prince Schwarzenberg, had a still more independent position on the right wing, which advanced from Galicia into Southern Russia. The Prussian corps had been placed, at Napoleon's desire, under the command of General Grawert, an honest, but weak and pliable man. The king had therefore given him General York as an assistant, knowing that in his hands the honor of the Prussian corps was safe. In the course of the summer Grawert took a long furlough on account of sickness, and York assumed the command. The commander-in-chief, Marshal Macdonald, was a man of honor and of a generally amiable character; but York was in the highest degree unacceptable to the French, and Macdonald endeavored in every way to annoy him, in order to drive him from the army. York saw the design, but met every thing with his cool, satirical patience, and remained. The Prussians made it a point of honor, since they must for the time follow their conqueror's standard, to show themselves soldiers. Macdonald was indebted to them for the victory of Bauske, and they distinguished themselves again under the walls of Riga.

§ 19. Meanwhile the Russians retired farther and farther into their immeasurable wastes, avoiding a battle, and drawing their enemies onward. The French troops suffered frightfully from hunger and disease, and even before the end of



July scarcely two thirds of them were fit for service. Of 22,000 Bavarians who crossed the Oder, but one half reached the Dña, though they had met no enemy. This plan of destroying the invaders by nature itself is said to have been conceived by Knesebeck, a German, submitted to Alexander and approved by him—though there are several other claimants of the idea. The clamor among the Russians against foreign influence compelled the Czar to displace General Barclay de Tolly, a Livonian German, hitherto commander-in-chief, by the veteran Kutusoff, who, to defend Moscow, fought the terrible but indecisive battle of Borodino, September 7. This was the most destructive contest of the war: each side lost nearly 50,000 men. The French wounded nearly all died from starvation or want of care. After the battle the Russians retreated, and did not further defend their ancient capital, so that the French bulletins claimed a glorious victory; but it was a heavy blow to Napoleon's strength. On September 14, 1812, Napoleon entered Moscow, confident of victory, and of an advantageous peace.

§ 20. But now his great misfortunes began. The Russians laid their own capital in ashes. Napoleon deceived himself for a long time with hopes of a peace, and sent propositions to the Czar Alexander, to which no answer was returned. He only began his retreat on October 18, when winter was already at hand. It proved an earlier and more cruel winter than is usual even in Russia, beginning with very heavy snow November 6, and brought destruction to the Grand Army, and to the Germans with it. On reaching Smolensk, November 10, the hundred thousand effective men who left Moscow with Napoleon had been reduced in numbers to thirty thousand. Nine days later, only eight thousand men stood in line by their standards. In the frightful passage of the Beresina (November 26–29), 20,000 lives were lost; and Napoleon, on December 4, left his army and fled, wrapped in furs and under an assumed name, through Germany to France. It was near the end of the year when the remnant of the Grand Army, worn out, and wrapped in rags or straw, reached the Prussian frontier. It is estimated that 125,000 men were lost in battle, 48 generals, 3000 officers, and 190,000 men were taken prisoners by the Russians, and 132,000 were

starved or frozen during the retreat. Only 1000 men entered Prussia in military order, followed by a rabble of 20,000; but the whole body then dispersed, carrying their typhus and camp fevers in every direction.

§ 21. Stein was with the Emperor Alexander in St. Petersburg. It was largely due to him that the burning of Moscow produced no panic at the court, that Napoleon's proposals of peace were not regarded, and that Alexander persisted in his resolution to make the struggle one of extermination. He now hastened, in company with E. M. Arndt, the German author, across the snow-fields of Livonia and Lithuania to the frontiers of Germany, resolved to press to the utmost every means of warring against Napoleon.

§ 22. York, who held his corps of Prussians as much aloof from the French as possible, and was at heart Napoleon's bitter foe, was fully understood by the Russians. Even while he was before Riga, the Russians strove to hold secret communications with him, and to separate him from the French; and they kept up these efforts afterward. York acted with caution toward both Russians and French, and merely kept up intercourse with the former, without committing himself. He thus received early tidings of the ruin of the Grand Army. When the severe winter came on, Macdonald also retreated from Courland, the French in advance, the Prussians, in two divisions, under Massenbach and York, bringing up the rear. These were soon surrounded by the victorious Russians, and Generals Diebitsch and Wittgenstein renewed their proposals to York to abandon the French. Prussians in the Russian service, Clausewitz among them, acted as mediators. York was prudent enough to wish his conduct to seem forced; and was glad when his corps was cut off from the French, and indignant when the opportunity was offered to rejoin them. Finally, he made a convention at Tauroggen, December 30, 1812, by which he agreed not to act with the French, but to occupy quarters to be assigned him by the Russians in the province of East Prussia, in strict neutrality, until the king should decide to accept or reject the convention. The Prussian soldiers greeted their Russian friends with delight, and with a sense that the new year, 1813, was full of promise.

§ 23. York had acted without authority and in ignorance

of the king's purpose, since he had no definite instructions to meet the circumstances in which he was placed. He wrote to the king: "I lay my head cheerfully at your majesty's feet, if I have erred; and assure your majesty that I shall await the ball on the hillock as calmly as on the battle-field, where I have grown gray." But he added also: "Now or never is the moment to embrace freedom, independence, and greatness. In your majesty's decision lies the world's fate." York had but done what millions thought and wished. The Russians crossed the frontier of Prussia as the public enemies of that country, Napoleon's ally; but they were every where welcomed as liberators. The Prussian corps could no longer look on in idle neutrality. York, bent on "giving the king his own free will," resumed his place as governor-general of East Prussia, and on January 5, 1813, following the Russians, entered Königsberg, amid the universal rejoicing of the people. A few days later Stein also arrived there.

§ 24. No commands had been received from the king. Frederick William III. had constantly cherished the wish to break the French yoke, and the great defeat in Russia strengthened his hopes. But in the helplessness of Prussia he could only hope to do this with the help of Russia and Austria. York's act, in saving the heart of the army, was welcome to the king; but it was a sore embarrassment to him that it was known to have been dictated by political rather than by military considerations. The king in his capital, among the French and overshadowed by Napoleon's ascendancy, could but reject York's convention, and declare him superseded. The French journals were already clamorous against "York's treason," and it was in fact this convention which at once and finally freed Prussia as far as the Oder from Napoleon's power. It was natural to expect that Napoleon would take vengeance for York's conduct upon the king and upon all Prussia. Extreme prudence was necessary on all sides. Hardenberg endeavored to satisfy the emperor by representing the military preparations of Prussia as designed to aid him. Major Natzmer was sent by the king to Murat at Königsberg to announce the removal of York, and then to York himself avowedly with the same tidings. The Russians, of course, would not permit him to

pass. He then laid aside his uniform and fulfilled his secret errand, going to Czar Alexander at Wilna to offer him the alliance of Prussia as soon as he should cross the Vistula. But York learned his removal only through the newspapers, and retained his command; nor was General Kleist, who had been designated to succeed him, willing to assume the place.

§ 25. In the province of East Prussia, which was a genuine product of German colonization, there was now aroused a general patriotic enthusiasm among all classes of the people, which spread like fire throughout Prussia and Germany. The province was impoverished by the long continuance of the war; it was exhausted by the passing armies of 1812; and the harvest had failed. But the people brought their voluntary contributions, and the young men leaped to arms. Stein, with his one great object in view, made a pretense of taking possession of the province as dictator in the name of Russia, in order to levy the means of war and to collect the revenues. But the patriotic sense of the Prussians revolted at this, and Stein and York quarreled bitterly. Schön, the chief president of the province, and Auerswald and Dohna acted as mediators, and at length Stein yielded, seeing that the people of the province were in earnest and needed no compulsion. He went to Breslau, but not until he had called together the provincial estates, who in this emergency assembled, in the name of the king, but without awaiting the king's summons (February 5-8). They resolved to prepare all the forces of the province for war, to call the whole people to arms, to form a militia and a national guard, also a regiment of national cavalry, to be maintained by voluntary contributions. All these forces were put under the command of York as governor-general. As Arndt describes it: "The young men and boys in their sixteenth and seventeenth years, hardly strong enough yet to bear arms, left the gymnasium, eager to learn the management of horses and of guns, reciting hymns of Tyrtæus and verses from Klopstock's 'Hermannsschlacht,' while fathers and mothers looked on with folded hands engaged in silent prayer." York made a stirring speech to the States at parting and was wildly cheered. "Reserve your applause," he replied, "till I ask it on the field of battle."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE NEW BIRTH OF GERMAN PATRIOTISM ; THE WAR OF FREEDOM BEGINS, 1813.

§ 1. Effects in Prussia of the Russian Campaign. § 2. Frederick William III. in Breslau. § 3. Treaty of Kalisch. § 4. The People Armed. § 5. The Prussian Armies. § 6. The Popular Zeal. § 7. The Poets ; Theodore Körner. § 8. Arndt, Rückert, Schenkendorf. § 9. Hamburg Occupied by the Russians. § 10. Delay of the Allies ; Saxony Adheres to Napoleon. § 11. Delays of the Russians and Prussians. § 12. Napoleon's Preparations ; Battle of Gross-Görschen. § 13. Retreat of the Allies ; Battle of Bautzen. § 14. Armistice of Pleisswitz. § 15. The Prussians Zealous for War. § 16. Diplomacy of Metternich. § 17. Treaty of Reichenbach. Austria Joins the Allies. § 18. The Armies of the Coalition.

§ 1. As early as December 20 the magnitude of the disaster which had befallen the Grand Army was known to the court at Berlin ; and the king, whose first care was to save the Prussian troops from the general wreck, sent dispatches to York, authorizing him to act as he might find necessary for their rescue. Before the end of the same month the foremost of the fugitive officers, generals, and marshals of the French army began to pass through the city in flight, and the news of the unparalleled calamity which had befallen the expedition went before them through North Germany and Europe. The long-suppressed hatred of the Germans for their oppressors suddenly broke forth with terrible energy. The people sang of the overthrow of Napoleon as the ancient Hebrews did of that of Sennacherib. The king and Hardenberg, who could overlook the entire situation, were in need of all their caution. A misstep by them might finally ruin Prussia, and they dared not follow the popular cry. Berlin and Spandau still had French garrisons, as had Hamburg and Magdeburg, not far away. Exciting rumors spread that the French were about to seize the king as a prisoner, to be a hostage for the quiet of the people, and desperate measures were said to have been devised to meet such an emergency.

§ 2. All hearts were relieved to learn that in the night of January 22 the king had gone from Potsdam to Breslau, where he was beyond the reach of the enemy. This was the first indication the patriot party obtained of the king's desire to be free from French dictation. In silence, but hastily, Frederick William III. went to this faithful city, which was safe from a surprise by the French, and accessible to Russia and Austria. He was received with delight by the citizens, and was now at least in no danger of being seized as a hostage by some French general. Personally, however, the king still regarded himself as bound in honor by his treaties of alliance with France; and he would doubtless have maintained them, had the whole power of his government been able to resist the impetuous, universal resolve of the Prussian people to achieve independence. It was this that extorted from him the memorable call to arms of February 3, 1813. This paper was signed by Hardenberg—not by the king: it set forth, in a few simple words, that the state was in danger, and called for the formation of a volunteer corps of chasseurs, as a school for the training of officers. The enemy to be met was not named in the proclamation. But the people could interpret it in but one way. The educated young men flocked to the standards; the universities closed their lecture-halls; the higher classes of the gymnasia were emptied, and the exercise-rooms became drill-rooms. In Berlin, nine thousand volunteers were registered in three days. Men and boys came together; even the offices of state seemed to be deserted. In short, a fervor of patriotism broke forth throughout Prussia, as if a power that had compressed and concealed it long had been suddenly removed—an outbreak of popular military enthusiasm never surpassed but in the United States in 1861. "Germany is up," wrote young Theodore Körner to his father, March 10; "the Prussian eagle arouses in all hearts the hope of German freedom. My muse sighs for her fatherland; let me be her worthy disciple. Yes, my dear father, I too must be a soldier; and I am ready to cast aside the multiplied gifts of fortune to win a fatherland, if it be with my blood."

§ 3. This enthusiasm animated even the lowest classes of the people. Citizens and peasants alike in Prussia had experi-

enced so much abuse and oppression that their rage against the French knew no bounds. Kutusoff and, in advance of his army, the Emperor Alexander now drew near Silesia and Breslau, passing through the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, which the French abandoned. The old friendship of the two monarchs was renewed, and at Kalisch, on February 28, a treaty was concluded for the restoration of the independence of Europe. Prussia was to be restored to its position in 1806. Russia took possession of Poland, including that part which had been Prussian. The force brought by Russia to the aid of Prussia was small, having suffered terribly in the campaign of 1812. Prussia conceded much more than Russia, but in the enthusiasm of the hour the Germans made no close calculation. On March 11 King Frederick William published a royal edict doing justice to General York, and declaring him free from blame in his convention with Diebitsch. On March 15 Frederick William conducted Alexander as his guest into Breslau, where he was welcomed with tears of joy and shouts of applause by the whole people. Two days later, March 17, 1813, appeared the call of Frederick William III., addressed, "To my people." Its substance was as follows: "My faithful people, and indeed all Germans, need no account of the causes of the war which now begins. They are open before the eyes of Europe. Men of Brandenburg, Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania, and Lithuania! You know what you have suffered for these seven years. You know what your sad doom will be if this war do not end in success. Remember your past: remember the Great Elector and the Great Frederick! Even small nations have fought with great powers in such a cause as this. Remember the heroic Swiss and Netherlanders. This is the last and decisive struggle which we undergo for our existence, our independence, our prosperity. There is no escape for us but an honorable peace or a glorious death. Even this you would meet calmly, for honor's sake, since the Prussian and the German can not survive his honor. But we have a right to be confident. God and our firm purpose will give victory to our righteous cause, and a secure and glorious peace will bring back to us the time of our prosperity."

§ 4. On the same day the king announced to his people

the formation of the militia and the national guard throughout Prussia. The order of "the Iron Cross" was founded March 10, the birthday of the late Queen Louisa, as a badge of honor for valor in this sacred war. On March 25, 1813, the Russian general Kutusoff, in Kalisch, addressed a call to the German people upon crossing the boundary, in which he declared that the Russians came as liberators to break the power of an ambitious conqueror, that henceforth the people and their rulers might live in freedom, in their own territories and under their own laws. All Germans were summoned to embrace the sacred cause of their country and of humanity. German princes who should now adhere to the foe were threatened with the loss of their lands, and free constitutions and the restoration of the German Empire were promised as the fruit of the coming struggle.

Frederick William III. was the first German king who ever threw himself thus in confidence upon his people; and they nobly answered his call and his trust. The kingdom of Prussia had not at that time more than 5,000,000 of inhabitants, yet by the summons of 1813 it had an army of 271,000 men, or one soldier to every eighteen of the people. No civilized nation has ever done more.

§ 5. Four armies were collected: one under York in East Prussia, one under Bülow in West Prussia, and others in Pomerania and Silesia. The French still held the fortresses, especially Dantzic, and had 20,000 men in Berlin. But York and Bülow, with the Russian general Wittgenstein, marched directly to Berlin. On February 20, 1813, the first Cossacks ventured into the streets of the capital. On March 4 the French voluntarily left the city, which was growing dangerous to them, and withdrew to Magdeburg, and the same day Wittgenstein's vanguard entered. On March 17 York, now restored by the king to all his dignities, made his entry amid the popular acclamations with 18,000 men, all zealous soldiers of Prussian independence.

§ 6. Clothing, food, and arms were still wanting. But the people rivaled one another in their gifts. Those who had no money brought what goods they had. Brides gave their wedding-rings, and young girls their hair. Women sent their husbands, sons, and lovers, and it was a disgrace to remain



behind. The Princess Marianne of Hesse-Homburg, with eight other princesses of the royal house, took the lead of the society for the care of the wounded. The religious feelings of the people revived, and all hearts turned to the war as a religious war—a true crusade.

§ 7. Nor could the fervor of the movement be confined to Prussia: it spread rapidly through all Germany. German poetry had been nearly silent since Schiller's death, but it now suddenly awoke to new productiveness. Theodore Körner, son of a friend of Schiller, born in 1791, sang as he fought, with patriotic fire, in the war for freedom, to which he gave his life. His art was inspired with longing for a fatherland. He entered as a volunteer Lützow's cavalry, in which he served beside Jahn, master of the German Turners, and Friesen, and many other young men of genius and character. The foreboding of death, which characterizes his poetry, was fulfilled, and, like Friesen, he was missing in the triumphal march homeward. Körner fell at Gadebusch, in Mecklenburg, August 26, 1813; Friesen, during the winter campaign in France.

§ 8. Another poet of the time was the manly Ernest Maurice Arndt (born 1769, died 1860), Stein's faithful companion in Russia. He vigorously encouraged the war spirit as well as the patriotic sentiments of the people. Frederick Rückert, too (born 1789, died 1866), then a youth, helped to swell the storm with fervent appeals against the wrongs Germany had suffered. Schenkendorf (born 1783, died 1819) not only poured out melodious verses, but, though he had the use of but one arm, went like Körner to the fight. As in the time of the Reformation, so now, the spirited poetry of the day went through the land, kindling the zeal of the whole people. They became conscious of what they had forgotten for six hundred years—their national existence, their common life as a people. As early as February, 1814, men from the states of the Rhine League, and among the noblest of those lands, declared themselves Germans, and embraced the cause of their country against the oppressor.

§ 9. Hamburg had been annexed to the French Empire in 1810; but at the beginning of the great popular movement in North Germany the old German city was agitated. Its

people had been terribly oppressed. The French, failing to subdue them by the usual severities, evacuated the city. A few days afterward, on March 18, a body of Cossacks under the bold cavalry general Tettenborn entered, and were received with delight by the people, who thought themselves freed forever. Soon afterward Russian troops under Dörnberg crossed the Elbe. On April 2 a battle took place at Lüneburg, in which the French general Morand was killed and the city taken.

§ 10. The people of all North Germany were now on the alert, through Hanover, Westphalia, and Bremen, to the very borders of Holland. It was an unfortunate error of the allies not to carry the war west of the Elbe at once. Supported by the patriotic rage of the injured people, they might have expelled Jerome, intimidated the princes of the Confederacy of the Rhine, and opened the war on the banks of that river. But Prussia was not yet ready, and the real weakness of Russia showed itself more and more. The generals, too, were dilatory, and did not rise to the spirit of the people. These districts, though fully aroused, were left to the foe, and his agents, Davoust and Vandamme, were ready to crush out and punish every effort for patriotic action. The princes of the Rhine League were bound more closely than ever to Napoleon, and hastened to his standard again. Thus the war began in the heart of Germany, and not on the frontier, and once more German was arrayed against German. The situation of Saxony was peculiarly distressing. The king and the people had long clung to the conqueror, but now the general movement of the nation took strong hold upon their feelings. In imitation of York, General Thielemann attempted, by a bold and independent stroke of his own, to force the king to embrace the cause of the allies. But all such efforts failed. The King, Frederick Augustus, was an honorable man, and much beloved by his people; but he could not rise to the greatness of this emergency. He fled from his capital to the crown domains, and then to Regensburg and Prague, hoping to induce Bavaria and Austria to join Saxony in an alliance of neutrality, while he rejected the friendly approaches of the Northern monarchs. On the other hand, Napoleon afterward gave him his choice to decide for France

within six hours, or to forfeit his crown; and he embraced the cause of "his great ally."

§ 11. On April 22 the allies made their formal entrance into Dresden, while Davoust retired, blowing up the fine bridge over the Elbe. But the fortresses of Wittenberg and Torgau were not taken. The delay was due to the commanders, especially to Kutusoff, the Russian general-in-chief, who really thought it enough for Russia if Poland could be occupied and reclaimed, and had no desire to advance into Germany. He died at Bunzlau on April 29; and Count Wittgenstein was made commander of the Russian troops; but still the allies moved slowly. The Prussians murmured with impatience. York advanced from Berlin toward the Elbe. But he, too, was subordinate to Wittgenstein. His cool judgment, however, with the fiery valor of his 12,000 Prussians, won the first victory of the campaign. At Möckern, near Burg, he met the troops of Eugene, the viceroy, which had crossed from Magdeburg to the right bank of the Elbe. The French battalions were crushed by the Prussian charges; the patriotic fervor of the people displaying itself with power on the battle-field. Wittgenstein now crossed the river, and scouting-parties of Prussians swept the Thuringian district; but there was still no proper readiness to meet Napoleon.

§ 12. Napoleon organized a new army, with all his usual quickness and energy. The Senate voted him a new conscription of 350,000 men from exhausted France. He also collected the forces of the Rhine Confederacy, and at the end of April was on the Saale, with about 125,000 men, only 5000 of whom were cavalry. The allies had but 50,000 Russians and 40,000 Prussians to meet him, all under Wittgenstein as commander-in-chief. Several smaller conflicts tested the troops, before a general engagement was brought on. At Merseburg, part of the French army attacked a body of York's troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lobethal, on April 29, and met a heroic resistance to their passage of the Saale; while other columns marched from Weissenfels into the plain near Lützen, where Gustavus Adolphus was slain in 1632. Here, on the broad, level stretch of lowland, cut up by ditches and in many places marshy, was fought the first great battle of the year, May 2, 1813. Napoleon's army was marching,

corps by corps, on its way to Leipsic, where the enemy was supposed to be, when the allies fell upon his right flank. The allies had but 69,000 men, the French 102,000; but the former were much superior in cavalry and artillery, and the attack, planned by Scharnhorst, promised a splendid success. The fight was obstinate and bloody, especially around the village of Gross-Görschen, which the Prussians finally held. But through negligence the Russian reserve was not brought up, and the cavalry were scarcely used at all. The fury of the fight fell entirely upon the Prussians. The decisive moment of victory was lost by Wittgenstein's fault, and Napoleon succeeded in gaining time gradually to gather superior numbers in front of the allies, and to extend his line beyond them. Thus the day closed, the Prussians expecting to renew the conflict in the morning. But during the night the Emperor Alexander persuaded the King of Prussia, sorely against his wishes, of the necessity of retreating. The result was not a defeat of the allies, whose losses were far less than those of the French; but since they withdrew, they left to Napoleon the moral weight of the first victory in the campaign. The Prussian volunteer army had behaved with surprising valor and constancy, and the retreat was made without the loss of a wagon or a gun. The French gained nothing but a bloody and dearly bought battle-field. But the effect in Europe was great. Napoleon was now again secure of the Rhine Confederation for a time, and to his admirers again appeared invincible.

§ 13. Saxony was now open to the French. The allies retired behind the Elbe, and Napoleon entered Dresden. The German army was depressed, but not dispirited. Its leaders saw that another battle was necessary to support their hopes and energies. A strong position was taken up, behind the steep hills along the upper waters of the Spree, at Bautzen, to check the advance of Napoleon, who was bringing on 148,000 men against 96,000 of the allies. Here a battle of extraordinary obstinacy and fierceness was fought for two days, on May 20 and 21. Again Napoleon won the field, though at a frightful cost, his loss being 20,000, and that of the allies but 12,000. His success was attributed to errors in the disposition of the allied forces, under the orders of the

Czar. Here, too, the Prussians commanded the admiration of friends and foes by their uniform and steadfast bravery. Nor did the French take any prisoners or standards or guns. The allies simply continued their retreat in perfect order. The French entered Silesia, and occupied Breslau June 1. But Napoleon was growing weaker, while the strength of the allies was increasing. At Hainau, on May 26, a dash of Prussian cavalry took four hundred French prisoners and eighteen pieces of artillery, and did much to inspirit the allied army. Blücher and Gneisenau were now confident that another battle must result in victory. Nor was it doubted that, after one successful battle, Austria would join the cause of the allies. But the Russians now began to think of a retreat beyond the Oder, or even into Poland. In that case the Prussians could only go into the mountain region and the country of Glatz. The campaign had begun well, but all its results were in peril.

§ 14. Napoleon now sought an armistice. He had suffered heavy losses, and his preparations were not complete. He had hopes of new triumphs, too, by statecraft. On the first day of battle at Bautzen he sent an envoy to Alexander, to try again the arts which he had used at Tilsit, and to detach him from Prussia by large promises. But Alexander was faithful to his ally, and would not receive the envoy. Napoleon also had hopes from Austria, and if he could win its support, his triumph was assured. He offered an armistice to Alexander, who would only accept it together with Prussia, and it was concluded at Pleisswitz, near Jauer, on June 4. The hostile armies were to be separated by a strip of neutral territory. It was first proclaimed for seven weeks, and afterward extended to August 17.

§ 15. The one fear of all patriotic Germans now was lest the armistice should lead to a peace, with their chains but half removed. War was the cry of every class of the people in Prussia, nor was the government idle. The Prussian army was rapidly made complete, and Scharnhorst's regulations bore rich fruit. The militia came up from all the old provinces, and reinforced the regiments of the line. Supplies were collected and forwarded in abundance. New Russian detachments slowly marched out from the vast wastes of the

empire. Napoleon strengthened his exhausted army, too, and again brought it up to 350,000 men. Meanwhile both parties strove to secure a decisive preponderance by alliances, or at least to make certain the neutrality of other states.

§ 16. Austria had taken no part in the struggle; and did not, like Prussia, regard it as a sacred war of emancipation. The people of Austria shared to some extent the national patriotic impulse, and even the emperor's brothers were influenced by it. But the enthusiasm of 1809 had died out, under the terrible disappointments which it met, and could not now be revived. Francis I., though Napoleon was now his son-in-law, still cherished a personal antipathy to him. But he shrank in terror before the popular fervor which fired the masses in North Germany, regarding it as Jacobinism and the beginning of revolution. Metternich was an admirer of Napoleon, and dreaded the ascendancy of Russia, if France were humbled. He had no German patriotism, but was full of diplomatic cunning. From the first he saw that this was Austria's opportunity, holding the balance of power in the conflict, and sure to be courted by both parties. His one purpose was to gain the greatest possible advantage from this situation. His first step, when Napoleon's embarrassments began, was to "suspend" the French alliance of 1812, and to offer the mediation of Austria; which he finally tendered as an armed mediation, giving it much of the force of a threat to Napoleon. The opportunity was a most favorable one, not only to regain what Austria had lost, but to acquire a great position and commanding dignity in Europe. The Emperor Francis came to Bohemia, and the allied monarchs made haste to offer their friendship, and endeavored to win him to their cause by the prospect of the complete restoration of his former possessions and power. After the unsuccessful battle of Lützen, Scharnhorst, though wounded, hastened for this purpose to Prague, then to Vienna, and back again. His exertions and agitation aggravated the effects of a wound that had seemed slight, and he died on June 28. About the same time Francis I. sent Metternich to Napoleon at Dresden. He demanded at that time scarcely more for Austria than the restoration of part of

the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, the abandonment by Napoleon of his annexations in North Germany made in 1810, and the extension of Prussia again to the Elbe. But Napoleon did not listen even to these modest demands, which would have left Germany in fetters. He dared not yield any thing he had acquired, lest such a display of weakness should lead to the dissolution of his whole empire. Nothing was decided on but a congress at Prague, in which Russia and Prussia, as well as France and Austria, should consult together as to terms of peace. Even this concession would not have been made by Napoleon but that, on the very morning of the day (June 30) on which the convention was signed, he received by express an account of the battle of Vittoria, in which Wellington destroyed the French power in the Spanish peninsula. But Russia and Prussia were still resolute in their determination to free Germany from the sway of France, and Austria was so far in sympathy with them that, in view of Napoleon's obstinate purpose, no approach to a permanent peace was possible.

§ 17. While the negotiations went on at Prague, another congress, of a more practical character, was held at Reichenbach, where Alexander and Frederick William had their headquarters. England was represented here, and joined the alliance. The English armies had been uninterruptedly at war with France, and were already approaching the Pyrenees in Spain. Count Münster represented England, and as the price of the alliance obtained the assurance that Hanover should not merely be restored, with its original boundaries, to the British crown, but should be increased by Hildesheim and East Friesland, formerly possessions of Prussia—a dear price to pay for subsidies to Prussia, which during the whole war amounted to scarcely \$3,200,000. Austria, too, declared at Reichenbach that, if Napoleon should reject the terms of peace offered at Prague, it would join the alliance. Bernadotte, the Crown-Prince of Sweden, adhered to the allies, and obtained the promise of Norway, then belonging to Denmark. Thus all the powers, except Prussia, took care beforehand to secure to themselves the profits of victory; but Prussia was fighting for existence, and though it was really to bear the brunt of the war, beyond any of the other powers, it secured

by victory far less gain than glory. On the night of August 10, rockets at Prague signaled the fact that Napoleon had rejected the mediation of Austria, and that Francis I. would thenceforth be a member of the coalition; and the great news was taken up and carried onward by bonfires from summit to summit of the Bohemian mountains. The Czar and the Prussian king watched anxiously, in a barn at Trachenberg, until after midnight, when the signal was seen; and the whole Silesian army broke out into expressions of joy and hope, friends embracing with tears, groups of soldiers shouting, and salvos of artillery rolling among the hills. On August 12 Austria declared war against France.

§ 18. Thus, before the armistice closed, the fifth coalition of the European powers against Napoleon was completed, by his own want of wisdom in not yielding at the proper time. Prussia now placed in the field 270,000 men, Austria 260,000, and Russia 250,000. But these huge armies were not concentrated, nor even in readiness, when hostilities began again. The Swedish force was trifling, and the British troops were in Spain under Wellington, while Napoleon was bringing every man he could reach into Germany. But at this time there were actually 530,000 men in arms against Napoleon, while he could command about 440,000, a difference in force which was fully compensated for by the fact that the alliance had many heads, while Napoleon was the sole commander of all his troops and resources. The allies now had three armies :

1. The Army of the North, under Bernadotte, composed of 35,000 Prussians, troops of the line and militia, under Generals Bülow and Tauenzien; of 12,000 Russian veterans, under Woronzoff and Winzegerode; 25,000 Hanoverians, 24,000 Swedes, and about 6000 German troops in the English service. The subordination of the Prussian generals to a foreign commander, who was inferior to them at least in zeal, was against Gneisenau's protest. Bernadotte was a burden to the cause. He was but half-hearted in it, being unwilling to embitter the French against him, and eager only for the interests of Sweden and his own ambition. Including a detached corps of 20,000, which guarded Hamburg, this army contained more than 120,000 men.



2. The Army of Silesia, containing the veteran survivors of the Russian campaign, was raised during the armistice to 160,000, but nearly half of them were sent into Bohemia in August to reinforce the Austrian army. Something more than 80,000 were left under Blücher; 50,000 Russian troops, under Generals Sacken and Langeron, and York's corps of more than 30,000 Prussians. In place of Scharnhorst, Gneisenau was now at Blücher's side as chief of staff, and remained there, rendering eminent services, until the war ended at Waterloo.

3. The Army of Bohemia, or the main body, was commanded by the three monarchs in person, with the Austrian Field-marshal Schwarzenberg as general-in-chief, a man of noble character and skillful in diplomacy, but by no means a great military genius. The whole body of the Austrian troops, now ready, 120,000 strong, were with this army, besides Russians and Prussians, including the royal guard of both countries. After the arrival of the 80,000 troops from Silesia, it numbered about 230,000, among them 40,000 cavalry of extraordinary efficiency. It lay north of Prague toward the frontier of Saxony, watching the passes of the mountains.

Thus a great semicircle, drawn through Berlin, Breslau, and Prague, enveloped Napoleon on the north, east, and south, while he lay at the centre, in Dresden, seemingly disposed to await attack. It was originally designed that the Army of Bohemia should march against him, while the other armies should maintain an expectant attitude; but that, upon an attack by Napoleon upon any of the three armies, the other two should at once threaten his rear.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE EMANCIPATION OF GERMANY; NAPOLEON DRIVEN BEYOND THE RHINE.

§ 1. Renewal of Hostilities; Battle of Grossbeeren. § 2. Girard Defeated at Hagelberg. § 3. Battle of the Katzbach. § 4. General Attack on Dresden Repulsed. § 5. Vandamme Defeated at Kulm. § 6. Napoleon's Difficult Position. § 7. Battle of Dennewitz. § 8. Napoleon's Hesitation; Bavaria Abandons him. § 9. Junction of Blücher and Bernadotte. § 10. Napoleon Marches to Leipsic. § 11. The Allied Armies Surround him. §§ 12, 13. The First Day of the Battle of Leipsic. § 14. The Second Day; Rest and Negotiations. § 15. The Third Day; Napoleon Defeated. § 16. The French Flight from Leipsic. § 17. Napoleon's Retreat to the Rhine. § 18. Immediate Results of the Victory. § 19. Political Confusion in Germany. § 20. Fruitless Negotiations.

§ 1. HOSTILITIES were renewed at the end of the armistice, and, indeed, somewhat sooner. For Lützow's corps, attempting to cross the Elbe to occupy the position assigned it by the armistice, was attacked, June 13, by Wirtemberg troops, under the command of the French general Fournier, at Kitzen, and nearly destroyed. In return, the allies refused to carry out their agreement to supply the French garrisons upon the Oder with provisions, and Blücher made use of the same pretext to seize upon Breslau, in the neutral territory between the armies, before the expiration of the truce. The main army of the allies immediately advanced toward Dresden, across the Erz-Gebirge, while the Northern army, under Bernadotte, quietly awaited the expected movement of Napoleon toward Berlin.

For the French emperor steadily kept in view throughout this campaign the capture of the Prussian capital; and his first step now was to send northward, for this purpose, three army corps, with Arrighi's cavalry, under Oudinot. South of Berlin there is a broad swampy district, difficult to pass. General Bülow's purpose was to hold and defend the passes. But Bernadotte, who was commander-in-chief, thought it better to undertake the defense on the heights

just south of the city, known as the Kreuzberg and Hasenheide, and afterward even built a bridge across the Spree, below Berlin, intending to give up the city to the enemy. "What is Berlin?" said he, in answer to Bülow's earnest remonstrances; "only a city." But it was the capital and heart of Prussia, and Bülow declared that his bones might bleach before Berlin, but he would never cross that bridge. The Crown-Prince Bernadotte was compelled, on the approach of Oudinot with 80,000 French, at least to make a semblance of holding the heights south of the city. But he delayed until the enemy had time to cross the swamps, and even attempted to draw back Tauenzien's corps close to the city. But the Prussian generals paid more regard to their own patriotism than to Bernadotte's orders. Tauenzien held his position, and Bülow resolved to attack the French. On August 23 they advanced in three columns through the wood at the northern end of which is the village of Grossbeeren, within ten miles of Berlin. If they could seize this village, they would have but an open, sandy plain between them and the capital, and could fight a battle with all the advantages of their numbers. But they were divided. Bertrand marched on the right, meeting Tauenzien; Regnier, in the centre, came upon Grossbeeren; and Oudinot held the left. The village of Grossbeeren was the key of the situation, and was taken by the Saxons of Regnier's corps. But Bülow made a resolute attack on them. His Pomeranian militia reversed their muskets, which had become wet in the long rain, and wielded them as clubs, and after a fierce struggle the village was retaken, and Regnier's corps scattered. Oudinot came up too late to help. Bernadotte did nothing to support Bülow; but the battle was won and the capital saved by the Prussians, though Bernadotte claimed the honor of the day. Oudinot retreated, and was not pursued. This victory had a vast influence in encouraging the German people. Despondency gave way to cheerfulness in Berlin, and the citizens renewed their activity in supplying the troops and in caring for the wounded. A number of Saxon prisoners had been taken, and many of them now begged to be received into the German army. But the absurdity of the system by which rank and honors were distributed was never

more conspicuous than when the three allied monarchs conferred on the Crown-Prince of Sweden their highest orders of warlike merit "for his victory at Grossbeeren."

§ 2. Napoleon had ordered General Girard with 12,000 men to move toward Berlin from Magdeburg, to support Oudinot. On the way, Girard heard of the defeat at Grossbeeren. While hesitating what course to take, he was suddenly attacked in the rear at Hagelberg, on August 27, by an equal force of Prussians under General Hirschfeld of the Army of the North, almost all of them militia of the electoral marches. The issue was for a time doubtful, the raw Prussian troops wavering. But at length the battalions made a general charge, storming the enemy's positions with the bayonet, not firing a shot, and, supported by Czernitcheff's Cossacks, threw the French back into the village, and there clubbed them with their muskets. Nearly the whole division was destroyed; the streets, the public square, and the pool were filled with corpses. Only some 1800 men escaped. The fierce passions of the Prussian common soldiers were never displayed with more energy than in this affair, whose results were of the highest importance. Davoust also was on the march from Hamburg through Mecklenburg, against the Army of the North, and a corps of observation under Wallmoden was detached against him. But on hearing of the defeats at Grossbeeren and Hagelberg, he retreated, to become again the scourge of Hamburg. A small detachment of his troops had a skirmish with the rangers of Lützow at Gadebusch, in which Theodore Körner, the minstrel of the war, was killed.

§ 3. On August 26, three days after the victory at Grossbeeren, Blücher, with the Army of Silesia, defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach, near Liegnitz. A number of swift mountain torrents run down the slope of the Riesen-Gebirge to the Oder, cutting with steep ravines the broad plateau over which runs the main road from Breslau to Dresden, by way of Liegnitz, Löwenberg, and Görlitz. Blücher occupied the neutral strip of territory, including Liegnitz, before the armistice ended. He then set off at once to attack Ney, who lay opposite his lines, and pressed him back. Napoleon, thinking himself safe for some days from any attack by the Army of

Bohemia, hastened up with reinforcements, in hope of forcing Blücher into an engagement, and thus brought 150,000 men together. But Blücher avoided a battle, in accordance with his plan, and fell back behind the Katzbach, the branch of the Oder on which Liegnitz stands. His operations involved a series of difficult marches and countermarches, under heavy rains, and caused much murmuring, especially at York's head-quarters. But the result vindicated his wisdom. Napoleon was now called away by the necessity of protecting Dresden. Macdonald retained the corps of Ney and Lauriston, and Sebastiani's cavalry, in all about 80,000 men. Macdonald advanced, but was surprised by meeting Blücher, who also was advancing to attack him. Blücher learned, while about to move against the French, that they had carelessly begun to cross the ravines of the swollen Katzbach and Neisse. He took up a strong position east of these rivers, and the armies came together in a hand to hand fight, during a heavy rain, which concealed the field from the view even of the commanders. The superior passion and bodily strength of the Prussians soon decided the day. The French were thrown into confused flight, and hurled back upon the ravine of the Neisse and into the swollen flood. The victory was complete, and its results were too great to be understood at once, even by the conquerors. The Russian general Sacken supported the Prussians admirably. On receiving the order to attack, he said, "Report to the general—Hurrah!" In compliment to him, the battle was named that of the Katzbach, on which was his position (August 26). The Russian general Langeron, who occupied a singularly strong position, abruptly refused to take part in the battle. This victory was won close to the ancient "Wahlstatt" where the Mongol invaders had been checked nearly six centuries before; and from this place Blücher took his title of "Prince of Wahlstatt." The most cordial understanding was immediately restored between him and his generals, especially York, and the enemy was pursued with vigor toward Saxony. In this battle the allies captured 103 guns and 18,000 prisoners.

§ 4. But the main army met with no such good fortune in its attempt on Dresden. South of this city lies a broad plain, bounded by a torrent which breaks from the mountains at

Pirna on one side, and by the spurs of the Erz-Gebirge on the other. In this plain meet the roads which cross the mountains from Bohemia, by which the Bohemian army entered Saxony, while Napoleon, not expecting its approach so soon, was still in Silesia. The allies expected to find the French near Leipsic, and lost time by a detour to the left, to the rear of Dresden. Yet the French were surprised, and prompt and resolute action might still have given Dresden to Schwarzenberg, before Napoleon could return from his fruitless movement against Blücher. But delays were made, until he had time to return and concentrate his forces in Dresden. On August 26 the allied forces made an attack with superior numbers, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The next day Napoleon drove back the right wing of the allies from the main road at Pirna, while Vandamme, with another corps, crossed the Elbe at Königstein, apparently in order to occupy the high-road to Bohemia. The allies found themselves forced to retreat under great difficulties: either to regain that high-road (from Pirna to Teplitz) by following wretched cross-roads, or to cross the almost impassable mountain ridge. The battle had been on an enormous scale, and the allies had lost 30,000 men. The moral effect of the defeat would probably have broken up the alliance, or at least have decided the campaign, but for the great successes of Grossbeeren and Dennewitz. As it was, the armies on both sides were left in positions of great difficulty, which called for the ablest generalship. Napoleon was still threatened on all sides by superior forces, which needed only a little time to recover their tone and again continue their operations. On the other hand, the main army of the allies was beaten and dispirited; and might perhaps have been broken up and scattered if Napoleon had now acted with the same promptness and energy which he showed at Jena.

§ 5. But Napoleon did not follow up his victory with vigor. He seems to have been in poor health, or at least much depressed by the tidings from his marshals before Berlin and in Silesia. He returned from Pirna to Dresden, and recalled two corps which had been ordered to pursue the allies along the high-roads. Only Vandamme's corps continued to advance, according to Napoleon's orders, and in the confident

expectation that he would send the Young Guard from Pirna to support it. But the emperor seems to have forgotten it. Vandamme, while descending the heights, on August 29, came upon the Russians, under General Ostermann and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg. Every thing depended on keeping control of the mouths of the mountain passes, by which alone the retreat of the great allied army could be made. King Frederick William III. made every exertion to animate the troops. The Russians, only 15,000 in number, held out at Culm all day against the attack of twice their number. The valor of the Russian guard under Ostermann, whose left arm was carried away by a ball, and the skill of Eugene, proved successful, and they stood firm until large reinforcements arrived. On the next day, August 30, Vandamme again attacked them, not suspecting that their force had been doubled. General Kleist, with a Prussian army corps, now arrived, and was ordered by the king to hasten to the valley of Tep-litz. But he was delayed by the bad roads, and hearing of the movement of Vandamme, and perceiving his opportunity, he boldly crossed to the great highway at Nollendorf, in the rear of the French, and thus cut off their only line of retreat. He now determined to move down upon the French position. But by this time Vandamme's lines were broken by the overwhelming attack of the allies on their left and front; and they came in full retreat upon Kleist. Now ensued a scene of desperate conflict rarely equaled in the annals of war. But the condition of the French was desperate. Between the two armies, Vandamme's corps was destroyed or dispersed. Their commander and 7000 men were taken prisoners. The loss of the French in the two days at Culm was 18,000 men; that of the allies less than 5,000. Kleist's prompt and vigorous movement had decided the extent of the victory; and the king afterward, in memory of this achievement, conferred on him the name Von Nollendorf. Vandamme was himself captured and sent as a prisoner into the heart of Russia.

§ 6. Thus Napoleon's victory at Dresden was neutralized by the misfortunes of his generals. It was not until September that he could make a further demonstration toward Bohemia against the main army. His victory at Dresden

had the effect of checking the advance of the armies of the North and of Silesia, and it dispirited the allied monarchs. When Napoleon seemed about to move into Bohemia, it was demanded that Blücher should abandon his victorious advance toward the Elbe, and bring most of the Army of Silesia over the mountains to reinforce the Bohemian army. Blücher, however, knew that this would be a serious error; that Napoleon was already caught in a net; and that, if he should move against any one of the three armies, the others had but to advance and threaten his rear in order to check him. Blücher was as shrewd as he was brave, and made the victory of Dennewitz, of which the monarchs as yet were probably ignorant, his excuse for neglecting the order, since that battle had entirely changed the situation.

§ 7. The Army of the North had been nearly idle since the battle of Grossbeeren. The Prussian generals were extremely indignant against Bernadotte, whose slowness and inaction were intolerable to them. It took them, under his orders, a fortnight to advance as far as a good footman could march in a day. They then unexpectedly met a new French army advancing against them from a fortified camp at Wittenberg. Napoleon had now assigned to Marshal Ney—"the bravest of the brave"—the work of beating "the Cossack hordes and the poor militia," and taking Berlin. Under him were Oudinot, Regnier, Bertrand, and Arrighi, with 70,000 men. On September 6 Tauenzien met their superior forces at Jüterbogk, but sustained himself valiantly through a perilous fight. Bernadotte was but two hours' march away, but as usual disregarded Bülow's request to bring aid. But Bülow himself brought up his corps on the right, and took the brunt of the battle, extending it through the villages south of Jüterbogk, of which Dennewitz was the centre. The Prussians took these villages by storm, and when evening came their victory was complete, though Bernadotte had not stretched out a hand to help them. The final stroke, by which the day was decided, was the advance of Borstell's Prussian brigade of reserves, at the last moment, contrary to Bernadotte's orders. Thus 50,000 Prussians alone defeated a much larger number of the enemy, and Bülow bore the name of Dennewitz afterward in honor of his victory. Ney reported



to his master that he was entirely defeated. Napoleon unwisely ascribed his defeat entirely to the Saxons, who fought well that day for him, but for the last time. By his reproaches he entirely alienated the people from him. The French loss in this battle was 10,000 killed and wounded, and 10,000 prisoners, besides 80 guns. The Prussians lost in killed and wounded more than 5000.

§ 8. Thus five victories had been won by the allies in a fortnight, compensating fully for the loss of the battle of Dresden. The way to the Elbe lay open to the Army of the North. But Bernadotte continued to move with extreme slowness. Bülow and Tauenzien seriously proposed to Blücher to leave the Swedish prince, whom they openly denounced as a traitor. Blücher approached the Elbe across the Lausitz from Bohemia, and it would have been easy to cross the river and unite the two armies, threatening Napoleon's rear, and making Dresden untenable for him. Napoleon advanced in vain against Blücher to Bausitz. The Prussian general wisely avoided a battle. Then the emperor turned against the Army of Bohemia, but it was too strong in its position in the valley of Teplitz, with the mountains in its rear, to be attacked. Then again he moved toward Blücher, but again failed to bring about an action. At this time public opinion throughout Europe was undergoing a rapid change, and Napoleon's name was losing its magic. The near prospect of his fall made the nations he had oppressed eager and impatient for it, and his German allies and subjects lost all regard and hope for his cause. On October 8 the Bavarian plenipotentiary, General Wrede, concluded a treaty with Austria at Ried, by the terms of which Bavaria left Napoleon and joined the allies. This important defection, though it had been for some weeks expected, was felt by the French emperor as a severe blow to his prospects.

§ 9. Napoleon's circle of movement around Dresden began to be narrowed. The Russian reserves under Benningsen, 57,000 strong, were also advancing through Silesia toward Bohemia. Blücher was therefore not needed in Bohemia, and he pressed forward vigorously to cross the Elbe. His army advanced along the right bank of the Black Elster to its mouth above Wittenberg. On the opposite bank of the

Elbe, in the bend of the stream, stands the village of Wartenburg, and just at the bend Blücher built two bridges of boats without opposition. On October 3 York's corps crossed the river. But now on the west side, among the thickets and swamps before the village, arose a furious struggle with a body of 20,000 French, Italians, and Germans of the Rhine League under Bertrand. York displayed eminent patience, coolness, and judgment, and won a decided victory out of a great danger. Bernadotte, though with much hesitation, also crossed the Elbe at the mouth of the Mulde, and the army of the North and of Silesia were thus united in Napoleon's rear.

§ 10. It was now evident that the successes of these armies had brought the French into extreme danger, and the allied sovereigns resolved upon a concerted attack. Leipsic was designated as the point at which the armies should combine. Napoleon could no longer hold Dresden, lest he should be cut off from France by a vastly superior force. The partisan corps of the allies were also growing bolder and more active far in Napoleon's rear, and on October 1 Czernicheff drove Jerome out of Cassel and proclaimed the Kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. This was the work of a handful of Cossacks, without infantry and artillery; but though Jerome soon returned, the moral effect of this sudden and easy overthrow of one of Napoleon's military kingdoms was immense. On October 7 Napoleon left Dresden, and marched to the Mulde. Blücher's forces were arrayed along both sides of this stream, below Düben. But he quietly and successfully retired, on perceiving Napoleon's purpose to attack him, and moved westward to the Saale, in order to draw after him Bernadotte and the Northern army. The plan was successful, and the united armies took up a position behind the Saale, extending from Merseburg to Alsleben, Bernadotte occupying the northern end of the line next to the Elbe. Napoleon, disappointed in his first effort, now formed a plan whose boldness astonished both friend and foe. He resolved to cross the Elbe, to seize Berlin and the Marches, now uncovered, and thus, supported by his fortresses of Magdeburg, Stettin, Dantzic, and Hamburg, where he still had bodies of troops and magazines, to give the war an entirely new aspect. But

the murmurs of his worn-out troops, and even of his generals, compelled him to abandon this plan, which was desperate, but might have been effectual. The suggestion of it terrified Bernadotte, whose province of Lower Pomerania would be threatened, and he would have withdrawn in headlong haste across the Elbe had not Blücher persisted in detaining him. Napoleon now resolved to march against the Bohemian army at Leipsic. On October 14, on approaching the city from the north, he heard cannon-shots on the opposite side. It was the advance guard of the main army, which was descending from the Erz-Gebirge range, after a sharp but indecisive cavalry battle with Murat at the village of Liebertwolkwitz, south of Dresden.

§ 11. In the broad, thickly settled plains around Leipsic, the armies of Europe now assembled for the final and decisive conflict. Napoleon's command included Portuguese, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and large contingents of Germans from the Rhine League, as well as the flower of the French youth; while the allies brought against him Cossacks and Calmucks, Swedes and Magyars, besides all the resources of Prussian patriotism and Austrian discipline. Never since the awful struggle at Chalons, which saved Western civilization from Attila, had there been a strife so well deserving the name of "the battle of the nations." West of the city of Leipsic runs the Pleisse, and flows into the Elster on the northwest side. Above their junction, the two streams run for some distance near one another, inclosing a sharp angle of swampy land. The great highway to Lindenau from Leipsic crosses the Elster, and then runs southwesterly to Lützen and Weissenfels. South of the city and east of the Pleisse lie a number of villages, of which Wachau, Liebertwolkwitz, and Probstheida, nearer the city, were important points during the battle. The little river Partha approaches the city on the east, and then runs north, reaching the Elster at Gohlis. Napoleon occupied the villages north, east, and south of the city, in a small circle around it. The allied commanders eagerly sought to bring up the army of the North and of Silesia. The latter was still at Halle, but came forward in haste, while Bernadotte made pretexts for delay.

§ 12. On October 16, York, with 21,000 men of Blücher's

army, stood at noon before the village of M $\ddot{u}$ ckern, northwest of the city, which was held by the French. Schwarzenberg thought himself strong enough to make an attack from the south. The main gap in the allied lines on the east, where Bernadotte's Army of the North and Benningsen's reserves were to stand, was not yet closed. Napoleon had an opportunity to concentrate his troops to the number of 100,000, and to fall upon 60,000 of the allies on the south side, making sure of a decided victory. His opportunity was the greater, since Schwarzenberg had thrown a very strong body of Austrians into the angle between the Elster and the Plei $\ddot{s}$ e to attack the village of Konnewitz, which was successfully defended by Poniatowski; and these troops could not easily bring help to the main body. Such a cannonade as had never been heard before was kept up on both sides from the early morning. The Austrians, Russians, and Prussians fought with extreme resolution for the possession of the villages of Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz, the former of which was three times taken and lost again. At noon Napoleon seemed sure of victory. In order to give the final, decisive stroke, he formed a mass of 8000 cavalry; but their charge failed, the allies held their ground, and then their first reinforcements came up. Napoleon in vain awaited his marshals Marmont and Ney, who were held fast by the Army of Silesia, which was making an attack at M $\ddot{u}$ ckern. A final charge of infantry also broke upon the growing lines of the allies; so that the day of Wachau closed without a victory for Napoleon.

§ 13. At the same time his marshals were defeated at M $\ddot{u}$ ckern by York, whose attack there saved the allies at Wachau from a great danger. Napoleon had not expected the Army of Silesia to reach that point so soon. But Bl $\ddot{u}$ cher marched up rapidly from Halle, and while he, with Sacken and Langeron, moved to the left, York, with his Prussians, took the direct road to Schkenditz and Leipsic. At M $\ddot{u}$ ckern, near the city, he found Marmont's corps, 20,000 strong, under orders from Napoleon to march to Wachau. York, who was stronger only in cavalry, attacked it, and one of the hardest village fights of the war took place around M $\ddot{u}$ ckern. Every house or wall was used as a defense by one side or

the other. The issue was long in doubt; but a cavalry charge of York on the heights left of the village proved decisive. The Prussian corps was reduced almost one half, but its valor decided the result both there and at Wachau. Had Bernadotte been prompt, Leipsic might perhaps have been seized from the north on that day.

§ 14. October 17 was Sunday, and the armies rested. Every hour brought up fresh troops for the allies, whose circle around Leipsic grew every where stronger. Napoleon's best and only chance, in a military point of view, would have been to press hard upon the allies on the south, before they could recover from the failure of their attack of the 16th. But he had often escaped from dangers by bold diplomacy, and hoped to do so now. He sent the Austrian general Merveldt, a prisoner of war, to his father-in-law, Francis I., and offered to accept the conditions which he had rejected at Prague. He reminded Francis of their relationship, and of the untrustworthiness of his Russian allies, who had failed to support him the day before, and strove to detach him from the allied cause by promises. But no answer was returned. The precious day was lost; while Blücher, never quiet, pressed close to the city from the northeast, and Bernadotte placed his army in line.

§ 15. On October 18, the decisive day of the battle of the nations at Leipsic, Napoleon still had about 150,000 men, while the allies had 300,000. On the evening of the 17th, still receiving no answer from the Austrian emperor, he began his preparations for a retreat. But he did not move in time. He contracted his lines, reaching now from the Pleisse to Probstheida, forming an angle there, and thence in a curve to the north end of Leipsic. The allies assailed him on every side. The thunder of the heavy artillery, a thousand guns on each side, rolled without intermission from the early dawn. An Austrian army corps under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg attacked Poniatowski, between the Elster and the Pleisse, without a decisive result. But the main struggle took place further to the right, around Probstheida and Liebertwolkwitz. Here, under the eyes of the monarchs, Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, led by Barclay, Kleist, and Wittgenstein, vied with each other and with the heroic

French in valor, charging the angle of Napoleon's lines, while Napoleon himself, not far away, close to a windmill that was pierced with balls, and to a watchfire on which the earth was at times scattered by shots that fell near it, was conducting the movements of his men. Under successive charges and retreats, the corpses here were piled up in long ridges. If the allies could break through at this point, Napoleon was lost; but his guards knew this, and fought in a spirit worthy of their fame. Probstheida was still held by them, while about noon Benningsen passed through the villages of Holzhausen, Zuckelhausen, and Baalsdorf nearly to Leipsic. A little while afterward, Bülow led part of the Army of the North forward by way of Taucha and Paunsdorf. At the same time, part of the Saxon artillery and infantry, about 4000 strong, with 38 guns, came out of the French line of battle, and joined the Austrians, defying their general, Zeschau, who remained behind. Normann, with 600 men of Wirtemberg, came over somewhat earlier. Bernadotte, who was to attack from the north, had delayed as usual; and, when pressed by his allies, demanded 30,000 men from the Army of Silésia before he would advance. Blücher did not hesitate to take his place under this foreigner, though himself the oldest and most successful general in the allied armies, and thus took from Bernadotte every pretext for delay. But he did not follow the circuitous route by the bridge of Taucha which Bernadotte prescribed for him, but forded the Partha, though his troops sank to the middle in water, and made a direct attack on the village of Schönfeld, which was bravely defended by Marmont. A fierce contest was maintained here and in the burning villages on both sides until evening. Bülow advanced beside Blücher from Paunsdorf, and forced his way almost into Leipsic, on the north-east side. Napoleon narrowly escaped seeing his triangle broken into, both from north and south, and his retreat from the corner at Probstheida cut off. When evening fell upon the vast battle-field strewn with the dead and wounded victims of his ambition, his fall was decided. Schwarzenberg brought the news of the victory to the three monarchs, who together fell on their knees to thank God. It was dark night when Napoleon returned to Leipsic. The retreat had already begun, and was continued all night by moonlight.

§ 16. On the morning of October 19 the allies attacked Leipsic on every side. Napoleon struggled only to secure his retreat. Bülow's rangers and the Königsberg battalion forced their way into the city at noon, two hours after the emperor had left, and while the French were still in slow retreat through the streets. The confusion of the defeated army now became universal, and in the flight the emperor himself found it difficult to make his way through. In the panic the bridge over the Elster was prematurely blown up, leaving behind nearly 20,000 men and 200 guns in the hands of the allies. Poniatowski, whom Napoleon had made a marshal on the battle-field, attempted to cross the Elster with his horse, but was carried away by the current and drowned. Regnier and Lauriston were taken. Alexander and Frederick William III. entered Leipsic the same day, amid the acclamations of the people. The King of Saxony was sent as a prisoner to Berlin. A shout of triumph went through all Germany over this great deliverance. But it was dearly bought. The thousands of wounded were wasted by fever, hunger, and exposure, and means of caring for so many were wanting. The losses of the French during the three days of battle were more than 50,000 men killed and wounded; and 250 cannon, and 30,000 men, with 21 generals, fell into the hands of the allies. The losses of the allies were 42,590 men killed and wounded.

§ 17. Napoleon, having about 100,000 men left, continued his flight to the Rhine with little annoyance; for the pursuit of the allies was slow. York's corps alone was thrown upon his flank, by way of Merseburg, and overtook him, first at the passage of the Unstrutt at Freiburg, and afterward near Eisenach; yet it inflicted no great loss upon the French. It was not until he reached the Main that he met with serious resistance. On October 8 Bavaria had abandoned Napoleon and the Rhine Confederacy, binding itself to Austria and the allies by the treaty of Ried. By this treaty Austria guaranteed to Bavaria the frontiers granted it by Napoleon, except the Tyrol, for which a compensation was to be made elsewhere, and recognized its entire independence, so that the German Empire could not be reconstituted after the peace. This treaty gave a sort of assurance to all the states of the Rhine

Confederacy that they would be treated with consideration. Bavaria now strove to wipe out the remembrance of its long humiliation by a bold dash against its late French master. At Hanau, General Wrede attempted to check "the wounded lion." But Napoleon gathered his last strength, and broke through the Bavarian lines, though with heavy loss (October 30 and 31). He then crossed the Rhine, while the remnants of his grand army slowly and by various routes came to its eastern bank.

§ 18. Immediately after the battle of Leipsic, Bülow marched to North Germany, to occupy the territories west of the Elbe which had been taken from Prussia. The Kingdom of Westphalia went to pieces at once; for on October 26 King Jerome fled from Cassel, never to return. Before the year ended the Elector of Hesse, the Duke of Oldenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick, the heroes of 1809, were welcomed back to their capitals by their people. Bülow took possession of Minden, Münster, and East Friesland. Dantzic, however, under the French general Rapp, held out until January 1, 1814. The cruel Davoust still occupied Hamburg, where, in order not to run short of supplies in the winter, he drove out 25,000 of the poor inhabitants into cold and hunger. He at length set up the standard of the Bourbons, and capitulated on easy terms, May 31, 1814. All the other fortresses fell in the spring of 1814. Bernadotte, after the battle of Leipsic, marched against the King of Denmark, took possession of Schleswig and Holstein, and extorted from him the Peace of Kiel, January 15, 1814, by which Sweden obtained Norway in exchange for Lower Pomerania and Rügen.

§ 19. The Rhine now separated France from its enemies. There had as yet been hardly a thought given to the recovery of any German territory beyond that river. Even Körner in his songs thinks only of reaching the Rhine. Ernest Maurice Arndt was the first to cry out expressly that "the Rhine is a German river, not a German boundary." All was still confusion in regard to the future constitution of the German nation. Patriotic men were loath to consent that the princes who had formed Napoleon's Rhine Confederation should enjoy in quiet the rewards they had obtained from him, and should hereafter have that independent sovereignty which they had



never had under the ancient empire, and much less under Napoleon's "protectorate." There was still little practical insight into the statesmanship needed for the day, and a superstitious longing prevailed in most minds for the restoration of the empire in its old form. But Austria itself had made this impossible, by guaranteeing to Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and the rest of the principal members of the league, the independent sovereignty which Napoleon had promised them. A central authority was established, indeed, for the control in war of the armies of these states, and for the conduct of their military affairs in common, and was placed in the hands of Stein. But he found among them much opposition to the cause, especially in Wirtemberg, where the king, Frederick, was deeply dissatisfied with the defection of his troops at Leipsic, and afterward actually wrote to Napoleon that he hoped soon again to come under his victorious banner.

§ 20. Frankfort-on-the-Main was now the place of meeting of the three great allied monarchs. Hither came princes to secure their territories; generals to denounce the princes who had fought against their country; and, above all, diplomatists, who were now to take the control of events. Napoleon's ambassador, St. Aignan, here received from the Emperor Francis II. the offer of terms which would have been most ruinous to Germany, by which France was to remain entire in its "natural boundaries," the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine. Napoleon, blind to his own weakness, persisted in demanding also Holland and Italy. Stein and Blücher took the lead in insisting on the prosecution of the war, and their influence, sustained by the voices of all German patriots, prevailed. Stein persuaded the Czar Alexander to consent, and the Czar prevailed on Frederick William III. Austria had gained its objects, and yielded only with extreme reluctance to the demand for a continuance of the war. Thus, at the end of 1813, it was fully determined to cross the Rhine, and to carry the war into France.

## · CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON AND THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

§ 1. Germany United against France. § 2. The Invasion of France. § 3. Strength of the Armies. § 4. Success and Slow Advance of the Allies. § 5. Napoleon's Five Days of Victory. § 6. Negotiations. The Quadruple Alliance. § 7. Napoleon Defeated at Laon. § 8. The Advance to Paris. § 9. The Bourbons Restored. § 10. Festivals in Paris and London. The Bourbon Policy. § 11. Congress at Vienna. Return of Napoleon. § 12. Europe Arms against him. § 13. Prussia's Preparations. § 14. The Campaign Opens in Belgium. § 15. The Battle of Ligny. § 16. Blücher's March to Join Wellington. § 17. Battle of Waterloo. § 18. The Second Peace of Paris. § 19. Napoleon Sent to St. Helena. § 20. Principles of the Congress of Vienna. § 21. Its Decisions Concerning Austria. § 22. Its Grants to Prussia. § 23. The Gains of Bavaria and Hanover. § 24. The German Confederation Founded. § 25. Effect of the War on German Patriotism. The "Holy Alliance."

§ 1. THE patriotic zeal of the German people for their fatherland rapidly extended through the states of the Rhine Confederacy; and the hereditary princes who had been most zealous in the service of Napoleon, one and all, except the King of Saxony, were speedily brought into the alliance for emancipation. For the first time in six hundred years the whole of Germany now united in one national enterprise, the war against Napoleon. But the fervor of the popular feeling met with no adequate appreciation or guidance among their rulers and commanders, and was often chilled or neutralized by jealousies, divisions, and delays in high places. The nation had no national organization or unity, and it therefore achieved no brilliant results—nothing worthy of the destinies it had at stake. The immediate work before it was indeed accomplished: Napoleon was overthrown; but this was done in spite of errors and the conflicts of rival interests, through the efficiency of individual commanders and the overwhelming superiority of forces, and was not the achievement of any worthy national organization.

§ 2. More than half a million of men now stood ready to invade France. The allied monarchs issued a proclamation at Frankfort (December 1, 1813), declaring that their war was against Napoleon alone, and not against the French people; that they had no designs of conquest, but were compelled by Napoleon's threatening conscription to invade France; that they would however guarantee to that country an extension greater than it had enjoyed under the kings, and desired to see it "great, strong, and happy;" wishing only to destroy the preponderance which Napoleon had arrogated to himself in Europe. At the beginning of the year 1814 Schwarzenberg was already on his slow march through Switzerland toward France, while Bülow was engaged in besieging and taking the fortresses in the Netherlands. Blücher's forces, the former Army of Silesia, with Generals York, Sacken, and Langeron, crossed the Rhine at Caub at midnight of December 31st, 1813, and entered France. It was the fourteen-hundredth anniversary of the night in which the Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians crossed the same river at the same place, an event which Gibbon regards as "the fall of the Roman Empire in the countries beyond the Alps;" and the German invasion now signalized the fall of the mightiest empire of the modern world. This army advanced rapidly up the Moselle, through Lorraine, to the Marne and Aube. The great army under Schwarzenberg, composed of the choicest troops of the three powers, with the contingent of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, and accompanied by the monarchs and the diplomatists, slowly advanced to the plateau of Langres, from which the rivers Seine, Aube, and Marne flow down toward the plain on which Paris stands, and from which several great highways run to Paris along these three streams. Here at the beginning of February a partial junction was made with Blücher's army, which came from the northeast, and then took the lead in the advance. Napoleon had not expected an invasion of France before spring. He was taken by surprise, and was unprepared. A few weeks would have been enough to enter Paris.

§ 3. During this advance it was necessary to leave detachments before the fortresses passed, and the allies had a

force of but 130,000 men on the march. Napoleon had, to oppose them, a nominal army of 200,000, but its effective force was scarcely half so large. His troops were mostly young soldiers, and many of them hated the service, and were ready to desert their standards at the first attack. The national enthusiasm of the French people was still a terror to Europe; but Napoleon had now crushed their freedom, and dared not throw himself upon them again. Thus he began the struggle with but weak resources. Yet at the headquarters at Langres there was still much discussion as to the propriety of an advance. Many voices were for peace, even those of King Frederick William and Hardenberg. The relationship of Napoleon to the court of Austria had an influence on the policy of that empire. But Alexander insisted on prosecuting the war. Precious time, however, was lost, and Napoleon was enabled to recruit his army afresh.

§ 4. At the end of January, 1814, Napoleon was at Chalons with his army, hoping to throw it between Blücher and Schwarzenberg. On January 29 he attacked Blücher at Brienne, on the Aube, but without a decisive result. By a singular freak of fortune, both commanders ran an imminent risk of capture. Blücher retreated a little way, toward Barsur-Aube, when Schwarzenberg joined him with heavy reinforcements; among them Bavarians under Wrede, and Württembergers under their patriotic crown-prince. But Blücher retained the command-in-chief. Napoleon, with about 40,000 men, was attacked on February 1 at La Rothière, by a force nearly twice as great, and was defeated, after a severe fight, in which the village was repeatedly taken and lost again by the allies. The French army was thrown into confusion, and France had not the resources to raise another. A vigorous advance of the allies at this time must have ended the war. But hesitation again seized upon the commanders. It was believed to be impossible to obtain food and forage for so large a body of troops, and on the day after the victory the army was divided. Only the restless and earnest Blücher was sent toward Paris by Arcis and Chalons, while Schwarzenberg and the royal head-quarters stood still, or crept slowly forward by way of Troyes.

§ 5. Blücher sent forward York on the great highway

through Epernay and Chateau Thierry, along the Marne; and Sacken on the left, on the lower highway, by way of Etages and Montmirail. Olsuwieff followed Sacken, and then came Blücher himself, supported by Kleist. It was supposed that the main army was advancing down the Seine, and the march was conducted negligently, without apprehension of danger. But Napoleon had gathered his forces, and quickly seized the opportunity. He fell upon the flank of the allies, on February 10, at Champaubert, captured Olsuwieff with two thousand men and sixteen guns, and took up a position between Sacken and Blücher. Sacken had reached Montmirail, where Napoleon next day attacked him (February 11). He was in extreme danger of destruction, when York came up, and took the brunt of Napoleon's attack. Under cover of his defense, the two corps, by a difficult cross-road, made their way to Chateau Thierry on the Marne, February 12, but with heavy loss of men and guns, especially in crossing the Marne. Napoleon believed that he had crippled York's forces, and swiftly turned upon Blücher, at Etages and Vau-champs (February 14), and drove him back with a loss of four thousand men. These five days of victory were among Napoleon's most brilliant achievements, and restored to him all his proud confidence in himself, besides reawaking the enthusiasm of the French for him. He led his Russian prisoners and the captured guns in triumph through the streets of Paris, and called on the people, who seemed ready to rise once more in his behalf. But he magnified his successes, and threw away his opportunity of making peace and retaining the empire of France.

§ 6. The Army of Silesia, which had been distinguished for its efficiency and activity, seemed to be destroyed. Napoleon now threw himself (February 18), with thirty thousand men, upon the advance guard of the main army, under Prince William of Wirtemberg, which was at Montereau, at the junction of the Seine and Yonne. This detachment was but ten thousand strong; and it was with difficulty that it escaped destruction, and fell back to Troyes. At Schwarzenberg's request, Blücher too came thither (February 19), having collected his troops in admirable order and spirits, so that there was again a force superior to the enemy. Yet

Schwarzenberg continued his retreat to Bar-sur-Aube and even to Chaumont. The weak-spirited among the Russians and Prussians, with the whole Austrian party, were now more clamorous than ever for peace. A Peace Congress met at Chatillon on February 5, where Napoleon was represented by a plenipotentiary, Caulincourt, his minister of foreign affairs. It was agreed that he should continue to be emperor of France, if he would accept the boundaries of 1792. But, fortunately for Europe, his military successes led him to make larger demands. The allies agreed that peace with him was impossible, and at Chaumont, March 1, the Quadruple Alliance was signed between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, by which they agreed to free Europe from Napoleon's oppression, and not to treat with him save in union. It was determined that the allied forces should again be divided: Blücher should march northward, take up the Russian corps of Winzingerode, and form a junction with Bülow, who should come to him from Holland; the main army would advance on the high-roads along the Marne and the Seine. Paris was the aim of both armies. Blücher and Bülow, together with the Russian corps, had a force of a hundred thousand men, which alone was superior to Napoleon's army. Blücher held the command, and pressed forward with energy.

§ 7. The troops of the main army were much dispirited by the continued retreat. The Russian and Prussian monarchs therefore insisted on a battle. On the night of February 27 Napoleon received the startling news that Blücher was advancing along the Marne toward Paris. He at once saw his danger and hastened in pursuit. On the same day, February 27, Marshal Oudinot, whom he had left behind, was attacked at Bar-sur-Aube by a force twice as great as his own, and was driven back with loss. Blücher marched down the Marne, spreading dismay on every side, and giving the lie to Napoleon's bulletins of victory. Marshals Marmont and Mortier rapidly retreated to Meaux, within twenty-five miles of Paris. But Blücher, eager to join Bülow before attacking the capital, turned away from the Marne to Aisne. Napoleon made all haste to overtake him before the junction, but in vain. On March 2 Blücher and Bülow met at Soissons. The best troops of the war were now together, led by the victors

of the Katzbach and Dennewitz. Napoleon came up swiftly, through Rheims, toward Laon, which the allies occupied just in time to anticipate him. Blücher was extremely ill, and the troops were led with less spirit and skill than before. Napoleon fell upon the Russians at Craonne, and defeated them after a bloody resistance. He then attacked Bülow with all his energy at Laon, March 9, but could not dislodge him. On the evening of the same day, Marmont's corps, which had been brought from Rheims to attack Bülow's left flank, was attacked in the darkness by York at the village of Athies, and nearly destroyed. By this brilliant achievement of York, forty-six cannon and two thousand five hundred prisoners were taken. But Napoleon continued the fight with restless energy throughout the next day and into the night. On March 11th he retired in the direction of Soissons, and on the 13th suddenly appeared before Rheims, where he surprised and destroyed the Russian corps of St. Priest. Rheims was the last town Napoleon ever took; and the affair exhibited his genius at its height. With an army that had been beaten in a hard-fought battle only two days before, he gained a decisive victory, in which his enemies lost at least three thousand five hundred men, and he less than a fourth of that number. After resting four days at Rheims, where he was reinforced by General Janson with six thousand men, he hastened to the Aube, and on March 20, with a force of about thirty thousand, attacked Schwarzenberg and the main army, of at least twice his strength, at Arcis-sur-Aube. But the attack was an utter failure, and only the negligence of the pursuit saved him from destruction. His resources were exhausted.

§ 8. The armies of Schwarzenberg and Blücher now marched upon Paris. The Peace Congress at Chatillon was abandoned. No further negotiations were held with Napoleon, whose deposition was determined on. He resolved on desperate measures. He attempted to fall upon the rear of the allies, so as to cut off their communications with Germany, and called on the people to rise in a war of extermination against the invaders. He still hoped that the allies would turn back from Paris to meet him. The allied sovereigns were surprised by the report of a Cossack spy: "The emperor

is retreating, not on Paris, but on Moscow." But under the urgent advice of Alexander of Russia their armies continued to advance steadily. At Fère Champenoise, between Vitry and La Ferté, on March 24, Marmont and Mortier made one more desperate effort at resistance. They were defeated with the loss of half their army, and the way to Paris was open. The allies reached the capital without further hinderance. The last battle was fought at the very barriers of Paris, where Marshals Mortier and Marmont occupied the heights with 30,000 men and 150 cannon (March 30). After one of the bloodiest struggles of the war, Montmartre was taken by storm, and in the evening the city capitulated.

§ 9. On March 31, 1814, after issuing a proclamation, promising, in the name of Europe, peace and good government to France, the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia made their entry into Paris at the head of 36,000 troops. The conduct of the soldiers was orderly and forbearing; no revenge was taken for the oppression they had suffered at home. When Napoleon learned that the allied armies would not turn eastward to follow him, he hastened to Fontainebleau, but it was too late to enter Paris. He now offered to abdicate in favor of his son. But all negotiations with him were refused until he made his abdication unconditional. He was soon deserted by nearly all his followers, and, in a fit of deep despondency, he attempted suicide by poison (April 12). Failing in this, he at length resolved to content himself with the sovereignty of the island of Elba, granted him by the allied monarchs. After long hesitation, the victors decided to restore the Bourbons to the throne of France. The fickle Parisians, indeed, who, after receiving the proclamation of the allies, welcomed their troops to the capital with wild applause, seemed now to desire the return of their former masters, and Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., who had been put to death, was brought back to the Tuileries as hereditary king. On his way through Southern France to embark for Elba, Napoleon was met by ever stronger proofs that the people of France were thoroughly alienated from him, and more than once his life was actually in peril from the fury of the mob. Only his conquerors treated him now with kindness, and it was in the disguise of their uniform that he escaped the vengeance of



his own people. The first Peace of Paris was signed May 30. France was restored to the boundaries of 1792, including, beyond the limits of 1789, only Nice, Savoy, and Avignon, and the German frontier towns of Saarlouis and Landau. A constitution was formed, securing the essential liberties of the people. No war contributions were levied, and the plundered treasures of art were not even taken back from Paris, save that the "Victory," or triumphal car, was restored to the Brandenburg Gate at Berlin. These terms of unparalleled moderation and generosity were secured for France mainly through the influence of the Emperor Alexander; and meanwhile, after continuous and wasting wars for a score of years, the troops of twenty nations rested quietly in Paris beside the discharged veterans of Napoleon.

§ 10. A grand review of the allied troops was held in Paris, May 20, by the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who in July following, on the invitation of the Prince Regent, visited England, and were received with suitable honors. Blücher, who attended them, was welcomed as a popular hero. In this visit, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, then a young officer of the Prussian army, was invited to take part, as the guest of an English nobleman, who observed that the youth was charmed by the beauty of an English lady, but was too poor to follow her to London. This accident led to the subsequent acquaintance of Leopold with the Princess Charlotte, whom he married, and through this connection with the British royal house brought him the offer of the crown of Greece, and made him King of Belgium. In consequence of his elevation, one of his nephews married a princess of Portugal, and rose to be regent and king of that country; and another married the Queen of Great Britain, and became the "father of her kings to be." In June, 1814, or as he called it, "the nineteenth year of our reign," King Louis XVIII. "granted" to the French people a new constitution, in itself, perhaps, as liberal as could exist side by side with an hereditary throne; but the manner of promulgating it was arrogant and offensive to the democrats. As if to secure the hostility of the army and of the military spirit among the people, and to make the contrast of their present humiliation with the "glories" of Napoleon's reign as impressive as pos-

sible, the government abolished the national flag and the imperial eagles, changed the numbers of the regiments and the titles of their officers, and sent the Old Guard out of Paris. The intellectual strength of the nation was similarly alienated from the new king by his restoration of the services and usages of the Roman Church, and of all the obsolete traditions of the ancient monarchy. In short, the Bourbon government prepared the way for Napoleon's return, by demonstrating the truth of his own sarcasm on their race, that "they learn nothing and forget nothing."

§ 11. In the autumn of 1814, princes, diplomatists, and generals assembled in large numbers in the Congress of Vienna, beginning November 18, to consult and determine upon a new arrangement of European affairs, and to distribute the enormous spoils of Napoleon's empire. As soon as the claims and demands of the several powers were heard, discords and jealousies, like those which had so much prolonged the campaign of 1814, broke out afresh. Russia demanded the whole of Poland; Prussia, the whole of Saxony. Talleyrand, in behalf of France, supported England and Austria in resisting these demands, and before the end of 1814 the breach grew so wide that both parties began active preparations for war. A secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was signed between England, France, and Austria, February 3, 1815, and Hanover, Bavaria, and Piedmont joined it soon afterward, all resolving to resist the aggrandizement of the Northern powers. Of these events, and of the general discontent in France with the new government, Napoleon at Elba was well informed, and they no doubt inspired him with a hope of returning to France. But Russia and Prussia withdrew a large part of their demands, and there was an immediate prospect of reconciling the differences in the Congress, when, on February 26, 1815, Napoleon ventured on the hazardous step of leaving Elba. On March 1 he landed on the French coast, near Antibes, east of Cannes. He had with him but 400 of his Old Guard, 400 infantry, 100 Polish lancers, and 25 guns. But the army and the people of France at once embraced his cause. Marshal Ney was sent against him, but at Lyons deserted to him; and on March 20 Napoleon was again in Paris, the Bourbons having fled.

§ 12. On the evening of March 5 the Empress of Austria entertained the monarchs of the Congress at her court with an exhibition of *tableaux vivants*, illustrating the history of the empire. While the party were gazing on a romantic scene, the first meeting of Maximilian I. and Mary of Burgundy—an event to which all the greatness of the house of Hapsburg may plausibly be ascribed—the news suddenly arrived that Napoleon had escaped from Elba. Three days later an Italian courier brought word that he had landed in France. The Congress of Vienna, for the time, disappeared; all Europe sprang to arms; and the eight allied powers, including Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and the French monarchy, put their ban upon Napoleon, declaring him the enemy of the public peace, and out of the protection of the law. Napoleon, indeed, offered the most ample assurances that he had no designs of conquest, but wished merely to rule France peaceably in the limits last assigned. But no confidence could be placed in his word. Armies were collected in haste. England first entered the field, sending out its troops from Antwerp through the newly formed kingdom of the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium). Wellington was their commander: he had already had much experience in fighting against Napoleon in Spain. Less than half his army were English and Scots, the rest were from the Netherlands, Hanover, Brunswick, and Nassau. Among his auxiliaries Frederick William of Brunswick was prominent. From his little territory of 1300 square miles he brought 6000 men, who were distinguished by a black uniform and the death's-head badge. Meanwhile the Vienna Congress reassembled without delay, and its deliberations and decisions were far more rapidly conducted than before Napoleon's return. But its most important service to mankind was doubtless that which is least remembered: the joint declaration of the European powers, obtained February 8, 1815, by the persistent efforts of England, of their abhorrence for the slave-trade, and their determination that it be suppressed. This was soon followed by treaties with different powers, putting an end to the traffic in their dominions.

§ 13. Of the Continental powers, Prussia was the first to be ready for war. Its newly formed province west of the

Rhine was threatened, and the few troops already there were rapidly reinforced. Blücher was placed in command, with Gneisenau to assist him. He had four army corps, under Pirch, Thielemann, Ziethen, and Bülow : in all about 150,000 men, most of them young troops, newly organized, and not well supplied. Behind these British and Prussian forces the great armies of the allied powers were gradually gathered ; while an Austrian army advanced into Italy against Murat, who was one of the chief conspirators for Napoleon's return.

§ 14. Napoleon's first act was to restore to his regiments their old numbers, associated with so many triumphs, and their imperial eagles, with all the ceremony and pomp he could devise. He also contrived successive and animating appeals to the people. His only chance of success against forces so overwhelming was to re-establish the belief in his invincibility by sudden victories. He could then be sure that his enemies would fall out with one another. As rapidly and quietly as possible he collected an army under cover of his northern fortresses. His Guards were transported from Paris to the frontier in carriages. Thus he found himself in the field, at the head of about 130,000 men, mostly veterans, well equipped and ready for battle, while he was still believed to be in Paris preparing to march. Wellington's quarters were scattered around Brussels ; but he supposed, though incorrectly, that he could concentrate his troops in twenty-two hours. His outposts were at Quatre-Bras, where the highway from Charleroi to Brussels crosses that from Nivelles to Namur. Blücher occupied Charleroi on the south, and his patrols ranged as far as Sollre on the Sambre ; but Bülow's corps was still in the rear, about Luttich and Namur. On June 14 the Prussian patrols observed the bivouac fires of a large army near at hand, and Blücher notified Wellington of it, but the duke still doubted the approach of the French. On June 15 the French began their attack with great energy, and drove the Prussians down the Sambre to Charleroi, which they took after a bloody fight. Napoleon then divided his army. With the largest part, about 72,000 men, he marched to the right against Blücher, and found him in battle array at the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, at noon of June 16. The Prussian forces, though Bülow had

not come up, amounted to 80,000. The rest of the French, under Ney, Jerome, and Erlon, pursued the direct road from Charleroi toward Brussels, and fell upon Wellington's troops at Quatre-Bras at the same time. In great haste, but with perfect coolness and order, Wellington collected his English, Scottish, and Hanoverian troops. Frederick William of Brunswick brought up his "black" troops, and fell, shot through the body, while striving to remedy some confusion which had arisen among them. Quatre-Bras was successfully defended, and the struggle here greatly relieved the Prussians at Ligny.

§ 15. At Ligny the battle between the Prussians and the French was carried on with fury, and charge after charge was made by Napoleon without securing possession of the villages. At length Napoleon, by a feint against St. Amand, entirely deceived the Prussians, whose reserves were brought into action. It was now late in the evening. Napoleon seized this opportunity to throw his collected strength against Blücher's centre at Ligny, and it gave way; the old Prussian commander himself was thrown down upon the field, and thousands of the French cavalry rode by without recognizing him, so that he escaped capture. The loss of the Prussians in this fierce fight was more than 15,000; that of the French less than half so many.

§ 16. But Napoleon thought his victory more complete than it was. On the next day he sent General Grouchy, with 34,000 men, along the road to Namur, in pursuit of the retreating Prussians; while he marched again to Quatre-Bras, with the main body of his troops, and along the highway to Brussels, by which Wellington had fallen back after the retreat of the Prussians. On the evening of June 17 both armies took up battle array before the wood of Soignies, near the estate called Belle-Alliance. Wellington had 67,000 troops, and Napoleon 72,000, the French being very superior in cavalry and artillery. But Blücher had promised to bring up his army to the field, including the fresh corps of Bülow. Blücher had undertaken an extraordinary feat—with a beaten army to be ready again for battle on the second day. With this in view, he did not follow the road to Namur, along which Ney was advancing to find him, but moved north-

ward by wretched byways; and concentrated his army, including Bülow's corps, at Wavre on the evening of June 17. The next morning he marched westward to join Wellington, according to his promise. Every thing depended on reaching the place in time. But the heavy rains had softened the ground, so that men, horses, and wagons sank deep in the soil. The general was every where present, exhorting, encouraging, and assisting. He had promised help to Wellington, and the cannon were roaring before him.

§ 17. Throughout this day, Sunday, June 18, a desperate struggle was going on at Belle-Alliance. Napoleon's plan of battle was admirable, and the charges of his columns had never been more terrible. The British troops held out with solid intrepidity, in close squares, which were constantly thinned by the enemy's grape-shot. On Wellington's extreme right a body of English, Nassau, and Brunswick troops defended Hougoumont against the repeated charges of the French. The British and Hanoverian infantry stood behind the ditches of the military road, which ran from west to east across the great Brussels highway, but retained barely half the strength they had in the morning. In front of them, the outpost of La Haye Sainte was lost, after a brave resistance by the German legion, and the left wing seemed ready to waver. Wellington was sorely pressed, and Napoleon still had a remnant of his Guards in reserve. At this moment fresh troops were seen coming up on the east, supposed at first by Napoleon's staff to be Grouchy's corps, which he eagerly looked for all day; but they proved to be Bülow's Prussians. The heroes of Leipsic were soon heard, and the bullets of the Prussian rangers whistled in Napoleon's ears. The farm-houses of La Belle-Alliance, which had been the French centre, formed the goal to which the allied troops pressed forward. Napoleon endeavored to secure his right flank by occupying the village of Planchenois with his reserves, but the movement was hotly resisted. He then formed all the troops within his reach into a formidable column, in order to break the British centre before the Prussians could attack him. But his left wing was sorely pressed by the Prussians, and this enabled Wellington to draw in his troops on that side and strengthen his centre, so that the grand

charge of the French went to pieces on the British squares. Wellington's cavalry followed up the flight of the French. At this time Bülow's troops seized the village of Planchenois. Then the French army broke into a rout, and as the Prussians in steadily growing numbers pressed upon their left, they scattered in wild confusion over the field, Napoleon in the midst of them. The Prussians undertook the pursuit, the British troops being worn out with fatigue, and were ordered by Gneisenau to carry it on "to the last breath of horse and man." In the evening twilight Wellington and Blücher met at Belle-Alliance, and exchanged congratulations on one of the greatest victories of modern times. It was purchased at a terrible loss of life; indeed, this three days' campaign in Belgium reduced the numbers of the armies engaged by more than seventy-five thousand men.

§ 18. The battle of Waterloo, or Belle-Alliance, destroyed Napoleon's hopes. His army was destroyed, scarce two companies of it remained together; and he could not raise another. With all speed he fled to Paris, and was the first man to bring to his capital the tidings of his own ruin. In eleven days more the British and Prussians stood again before Paris; and before they appeared the people had deserted Napoleon's cause, and extorted his abdication. The rest of the allied forces advanced into France, the monarchs entered Paris again, and a second Peace of Paris, November 20, 1815, ended the short but conclusive war. The princes, statesmen, and generals of Germany with one voice now demanded the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine, to secure the German frontier on the west, but all the rest of the allies opposed the demand. Great Britain and Russia were resolved that Germany should not be reinstated in its ancient power. France merely ceded Savoy and Nice to Sardinia, Saarbrücken and Saarlouis to Prussia, and Landau to Bavaria; and nearly all the works of art taken during former wars to the Paris museums and libraries were given back to their owners.

§ 19. Napoleon fled to Rochefort (July 7), intending to seek refuge in the United States; but being prevented by the English fleet, he notified Captain Maitland (July 13) that it was his purpose to retire to private life in England, and that he therefore surrendered himself to the British govern-

ment, and claimed its protection. Maitland simply promised to carry his prisoner to England, where the government should decide what to do, and not to surrender him to France. But the allies resolved that he should be regarded as the prisoner of the combined powers, and that measures should be taken by them to make it impossible for him again to disturb the peace of Europe. Napoleon was accordingly sent, under a special convention, signed August 2, to the island of St. Helena, in the Atlantic, where he arrived in October, 1815, and where he died, May 5, 1821. His remains were removed to France by the Government of July, and buried in pomp at the Invalides in Paris. No foreign monarch, not Attila, Gustavus Adolphus, nor Louis XIV., ever exercised so great an influence on the destinies of Germany. The wars against him deeply impressed the German people with a sense of their national interests and their united power; but with a sense, also, of their utter want of national unity.

§ 20. The great assembly of princes and ambassadors at Vienna, which met in the autumn of 1814, and was interrupted by Napoleon's return, carried on its work so rapidly during the campaign which followed, that its final act, or decree, for the new order of things in Europe was completed June 9, 1815, nine days before the battle of Waterloo. Its decisions covered questions of the highest moment to every civilized nation, and being promulgated with the aggregate force of the Great Powers pledged to carry them out, it formed an era in European politics scarcely second in importance to the Peace of Westphalia. The American reader will observe that this self-constituted tribunal of sovereigns assumed the absolute right to dispose, at its own will, of the people of Europe, assigning them, by nations, cities, and districts, to such rulers, governments, and political associations as pleased it. Nor was any pretense made of considering the wishes or the welfare of the people themselves. Kings and princes were to be satisfied according to the influence they could command in their favor, or the trouble they could make if disappointed. France was not divided, lest another revolution should overthrow the Bourbons and shake other thrones. No political union could be thought of for Germany, lest the petty sovereigns should have to acknowledge a superior



authority. Napoleon had indeed used the revolutionary zeal of France as his means of gaining power, and then abused that power by treating the people every where as his tools and his property; but the allies, who were enabled to overthrow the tyrant by the patriotic devotion of their people, at once committed the same crime. Nor was a statesman's voice heard in Europe to protest against the right of kings thus to traffic in the destinies of nations.

§ 21. The first great difficulty of the Congress, which nearly destroyed it, arose from the demand of Russia for the whole of the remnant of Poland, called the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw (§ 11). If this were yielded, the first principle of the Congress, the undoing of the injuries Napoleon had inflicted, would be defeated, unless ample compensation could be found elsewhere for the large tract of Poland which had been taken from Prussia by the Peace of Tilsit. The two Northern sovereigns agreed that Saxony should be used for this purpose, but neither Austria nor France would consent; and Talleyrand, who represented the restored Bourbon monarchy, was already second in influence to no man in the Congress, except Alexander. After tedious negotiations and threatening disputes, Russia consented to accept Poland without the province of Posen, which was restored to Prussia, and the latter power also received more than half of Saxony, nearly 8000 square miles of territory with 845,200 inhabitants, while the most populous portion, with a million and a quarter of people, was left to the Saxon king. Prussia also obtained the duchies of Jülich and Berg, on the Rhine, with the former possessions of the episcopal sees of Cologne and Trèves, and a number of smaller districts, which, together with Cleves, Meurs, and Guelders, formed the Rhine Province. Its old possessions in Westphalia were restored, together with the acquisitions made after the Peace of Luneville. The frontier of Prussia now ran obliquely across Germany from Tilsit to Saarbrücken. It lay in two great separate divisions, indeed, and its aggregate territory was not so large as it had been in 1795, much less than in 1806; but, on the other hand, it had lost the large Slavonic population it had held in the east, and was strictly a German state, and was thenceforth inseparably identified with the interests and the fate of Germany. Prus-

sia's direct share, therefore, in this distribution of the spoils of Europe seems small in view of its great sacrifices and sufferings during the Napoleonic wars, and of its magnificent contributions to the final result. But its moral gains by the victory, both in the national spirit of its own people and in the public opinion of the world, were far greater than those of any other Continental power. In the subsequent light of history, it is clear that the weak diplomacy of Prussia in the Congress, which failed to press its claims with the utmost effectiveness, was one of the most substantial instances of good fortune in the history of that fortunate kingdom. Had it then annexed Poland, Alsace, and Saxony, it may well be doubted whether Berlin would now be the capital of the German Empire.

§ 22. The Congress took away the Tyrol from Bavaria and restored it to Austria, with the Italian Tyrol, which Napoleon had given to Italy. Lombardy and Venice were annexed to the Hapsburg Empire, and the intimate relations of its court with the princes restored to power throughout Italy gave Austria a preponderance in the affairs of that peninsula which lasted forty years. Thus Austria was enabled to consolidate its strength, and to assume a position almost as commanding as it had held when the Holy Roman Empire in its hands was a reality. For the next generation, Metternich, the prime-minister of Austria, was the most influential man in Europe. Only one third of the dominions of the Hapsburgs, however, lay within Germany, and their empire continued to be less a German than a European power. It included people of many races, and was perpetually exposed to danger from the attempts of strange tribes to throw off the German supremacy. Indeed, liberal as was the apparent increase of importance given to Austria by the Congress, it was actually weakened in its position in Germany, being required to cede to Baden and Wirtemberg the ancient possessions of the Hapsburgs around Lake Constance, which Napoleon had assigned to those powers in 1805.

§ 23. Bavaria received from Austria, in the treaty of Ried (Chap. XXX., § 17), a guarantee of its territory; and now, in ceding the Tyrol to Austria, received in exchange the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Grand-Duchy

of Würzburg. It entered the new German League as a kingdom, the third state of Germany in power. Wirtemberg, Nassau, Baden, and Darmstadt retained the boundaries assigned by Napoleon.

Hanover was ably represented in the Congress by Count Münster, a friend of Stein and of Gneisenau, who had exercised in London an important influence in behalf of the cause of emancipation. But his views were contracted to the interests of his own small state. His aim was to prevent the aggrandizement of Prussia, and to set up instead a considerable power between the Elbe and the Rhine, such as had existed in the time of Henry the Lion. Supported by British influence, he succeeded in procuring the establishment in the north of a fifth kingdom, that of Hanover. The ancient possessions of the house of Hanover were increased by the addition of Hildesheim, Goslar, Lingen, and East Friesland, forming a state with a situation admirably adapted for a naval power, controlling the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but without the resources properly to improve its advantages. Built up at the expense of Prussia, and blocking the way of Prussia to the sea, this new kingdom could not escape coming into conflict in many ways with its more powerful neighbor. Another friend of Stein, Baron Gagern, who represented the house of Nassau-Orange, succeeded in securing the annexation of Lüttich to the new kingdom of the Netherlands, another artificial and temporary production of the Congress, although until 1794 Lüttich had belonged to the German Empire. The Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg was also given to this new kingdom.

§ 24. Other changes of no great moment were made in the political divisions of Germany. Of the free cities of the empire only four were restored, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. None of the petty principalities, counties, and baronies were re-established. Germany was made to consist of thirty-eight states, forming the German Confederation, which took the place of the old German Empire. It included the two great monarchies of Austria and Prussia, each of which, however, possessed land outside of Germany, and occupied also an independent European position; and, in addition, four kingdoms, one electorate, seven grand-duchies,

nine duchies, ten principalities, and four free cities. Each state was sovereign, save that the right to make war and to conclude treaties was given to the confederation, and all disputes between the states were to be referred to the Diet. Each state guaranteed to every other its territories, and pledged itself to protect and defend the confederation, and every member of it, if attacked. The citizen of each state might inherit or acquire property in any other, without being taxed more heavily than its own citizens. A force of 300,000 men was provided for, in contingents proportional to the population. Differences of religious faith were to work no differences in civil rights. This new constitution was adopted by the states of Germany at Vienna, June 8, 1815.

§ 24. The German Confederation did not fully satisfy the wishes of those princes and people who had looked for the re-establishment of the empire. A supreme court of national judicature and a supreme command of the national armies were still wanting. But the events of the war gave rise to an earnest and general patriotic feeling among the Germans, and to a common national consciousness, which took the place, to a great extent, of a closer political union. The Emperors Francis I. and Alexander, and King Frederick William III., executed at Paris, September 26, 1815, "the Holy Alliance," as it was called, by which, as representatives of the three great branches of the Christian Church—the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and the Protestant Churches—they bound themselves to treat one another in all matters as Christian brethren, and to govern their people according to Christian principles. They urgently invited all the monarchs of Europe, except the Pope and the Sultan, to join the alliance; and they all did so except the Prince Regent of England, who replied that he approved its principles, but could enter into no treaty save through the agency of responsible ministers.

## BOOK VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS TO THE PRESENT TIME,  
1815-1874.

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### CHAPTER XXXII.

THE PERIOD OF THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION, 1815-1865.

§ 1. Constitution of the Federal Diet; its Defects. § 2. General Prosperity under it. § 3. Progress of Liberalism. Policy of Austria. § 4. Promises of the Governments Broken. § 5. Slow Growth and Repression of Liberal Doctrines. § 6. Kotzebue Assassinated. Reaction. § 7. Constitutional Government in the several States. § 8. Effects of the French Revolution of 1830. § 9. Prussia after 1815. § 10. Its Rapid Growth. § 11. The German Zoll-Verein. § 12. Reign and Policy of Frederick William IV. § 13. Revolution of 1848. § 14. German Parliament at Frankfort. § 15. Progress of Reaction; the Revolts Suppressed. § 16. The War in Hungary. § 17. In Schleswig and Holstein. § 18. Prussia's Efforts for German Union Defeated. § 19. Triumph of the Austrian Policy. § 20. William I., Regent of Prussia. § 21. Austria Defeated in Italy. § 22. William I., King of Prussia. his Policy. § 23. Count Bismarck. § 24. Attempt of Austria to Reconstitute the Confederation in 1863. § 25. The War for Schleswig-Holstein, 1864. § 26. Success of the Austrian and Prussian Troops. § 27. The Duchies Ceded to the Two German Powers.

§ 1. OUR narrative from the fall of Napoleon to the present time must be restricted to a mere outline of the events which have been of capital importance to the German people. The new German Confederation, provided for by the Vienna Congress, assembled in a general Diet, composed of ambassadors or delegates from the thirty-nine independent German states, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, November 5, 1816. In this Diet the determination of questions arising in the ordinary course of business was by general vote: eleven of the largest states having one vote each, while several of the smaller states together had one; so that there were seventeen votes in all. But upon special questions of constitutional importance each

state had at least one vote, while Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover had four, the five states next in size three, Brunswick, Schwerin, and Nassau two each. This was called the "plenum," or full Diet. Thus the forty-two millions of people in Austria and Prussia had, in the plenum, less than one eighth, and in the ordinary Diet less than one seventh of the representation accorded to the twelve millions of Germans in the remaining states; while Prussia, with its eight millions of people, was exactly balanced in the vote by the little principalities of Lichtenstein, Waldeck, Schaumberg, and Lippe, with less than 225,000. This arrangement might have led to a rupture of the confederation had any question arisen upon which the interests of the larger were opposed to those of the smaller states. But the great European monarchies of Austria and Prussia held an ascendancy, entirely apart from the Diet, which the other states fully recognized, and controlled nearly the whole standing military force of the confederacy; and as each of them was ambitious for the primacy of Germany, the minor powers of the confederation rapidly ranged themselves on the one side or the other. Austria was made the permanent president of the confederation, but Prussia was the greatest and most progressive of the strictly German powers; and this fact brought it continually into greater prominence, as the best representative of the national idea.

§ 2. The jealousies and divisions growing out of these relations deprived Germany of its due weight in European affairs; and in international politics the confederacy proved to be almost as impotent as the empire which preceded it. But the new constitution preserved at least the internal peace of the nation; and for an entire generation after the battle of Waterloo not a company of foreign troops was seen, nor a skirmish fought, on the soil of Germany, which had so long been the battle-field of Christendom. It was during the half-century after 1815, indeed, that the devastation and poverty consequent upon the Thirty-Years' War may be said to have disappeared. The people had rest; the rewards of industry began to seem secure; the food of the peasants became sufficient in quantity and improved in quality; population increased rapidly, but not so rapidly as the general comfort,

prosperity, and intelligence. For the first time in a number of generations the necessities of physical existence ceased to be the engrossing care of the peasantry, and the people had an opportunity to feel their need of a free political activity. Under the influence of a common language and literature, a consciousness of national unity began to extend among the Germans, and gradually grew to the strength which it now manifests, as one of the most influential forces in shaping the destinies of Europe.

§ 3. The war of liberation gave an impulse of free political thought in Germany, which for a short time promised important results. The students of the universities, especially, were strongly influenced by the more moderate forms of the doctrines of the French Revolution; and were convinced that no real progress could be made toward self-government by the people until the national unity of Germany should be secured. But all agitation in this direction was regarded by the hereditary monarchs as rebellious, and the Holy Alliance of sovereigns and the German Confederation were alike used as means for suppressing the spirit of liberty. Austria was foremost in this work. An aggregate of nations, brought together by the accident of a common ruling house, held together by a standing army, but with no principle of unity whatever, the existence of this empire was war alike against the growth of a national consciousness and against popular freedom. For a generation after 1815 the policy of Austria was controlled by Prince Metternich, who saw the preservation of his government inseparably bound up with the order of things established by the Peace of Paris and the Congress of Vienna. An able and dexterous diplomatist, and the vigilant enemy of free institutions, he was able during this long period to wield a vast power, beyond the limits of Austria, and indeed throughout Europe, for the suppression of liberal thought. Within the empire, this policy was pursued so successfully that political stagnation was the result. The energies and vast resources of the people were turned to luxury and waste during the life of Francis I, who died March 2, 1835; and, indeed, nearly to the same extent under his weak son and successor, Ferdinand I, who abdicated the crown in 1848.

§ 4. It can not be said that any express assurance was given by the German sovereigns, during the national struggle against Napoleon, that more liberal institutions should be granted upon the overthrow of his ascendancy. But the expectation of such a change was a large part of the inspiration of the people in this war, especially in Prussia; and a royal decree, published in Berlin May 25, 1815, three weeks before the battle of Waterloo, proclaimed that a representation of the people should be formed—a national assembly should sit in Berlin, under a constitution to be formed by a council or committee of all the provinces. It was in accordance, too, with the general and just expectations of the people that the Federal Act constituting the confederation, adopted June 8, declared that “there shall be assemblies of the estates in every state.” Ten days later came Waterloo, and the promises made by the sovereigns in their hour of trouble were forgotten. The Prussian government took the lead in this breach of faith. At the beginning of 1816 it suppressed, by cabinet order, the *Rhenish Mercury*, a democratic journal, which had exercised a wide influence in arousing the people against Napoleon, and which now demanded the fulfillment of the royal promise. In the following year the Diet resolved to assume the duty of guaranteeing the internal order of the several states—that is, at the call of each sovereign, of protecting him against revolutionary acts of his own people; and this measure, together with the rigid censorship of the press, seemed to complete the destruction of the liberal movement. In spite of the demands and remonstrances of popular leaders, like Arndt, Görres, and Jahn, all of whom had been eminent in the great national effort of 1813, the Prussian government took no step toward redeeming its pledge to the people until compelled by the Revolution of 1848; for the Constitution of the Provincial Estates, by the edict of June 5, 1823, gave the people a mere pretense of representation, and no real share in the government of the kingdom. The government of Prussia, indeed, during this period, was characterized by extraordinary wisdom, and by a degree of insight into the real needs of the people rarely approached by an absolute monarchy. The last relics of feudal slavery were destroyed, the education of the people promoted, multitudes



of ancient restrictions were removed from trade, and all was done that kings can do to make a people contented, so that for many years they scarcely seemed to feel their need of greater freedom.

§ 5. Thus suppressed at home, the spirit of German liberalism found occupation in extending sympathy and aid to every cause, among other nations, which claimed to be that of freedom. In 1820 Spain and Italy began to be agitated by movements of the people against their despotic rulers, and the influence of these events was deeply felt in Germany. In 1821 the Greeks attempted to throw off the Turkish yoke, and their cause excited the utmost enthusiasm among the Germans, in whose affections the freedom of foreigners seemed to take the place of their own. Metternich labored to silence every voice that was raised against despotism, and this policy was efficiently seconded by the whole influence of "the Holy Alliance" throughout Europe. Every effort or aspiration for change in the direction of increased freedom was met by a cry of alarm lest the scenes of the French Revolution be renewed; and the social ban which fell upon all advocates of reform was often more potent for repression than the political agencies of the governments.

§ 6. In 1819 the cause of reaction was greatly strengthened by a shocking crime committed in the name of freedom. Augustus von Kotzebue, the famous dramatist, a native of Weimar, who had been for many years in the service and confidence of the Czar Alexander of Russia, returned to Germany in 1816, and took up his residence in Mannheim, whence he sent to St. Petersburg constant reports upon the politics, statistics, finances, and state of society in Germany, while he published many satirical and contemptuous attacks upon the spirit and aims of the patriotic party. His conduct was denounced; he lost the respect of all honorable men, and brought upon himself the fierce hatred of the patriots as "a Russian spy." On March 23, 1819, a student of Jena, Charles Sand, came to Mannheim, entered Kotzebue's house, stabbed him to the heart, and then, proclaiming the deed in the streets, thanked God for the privilege of thus serving his country, and attempted to kill himself. Failing in this, he was imprisoned, tried, and on May 20, 1820, was beheaded.

Numbers of students from Heidelberg attended the execution, and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. The murder of Kotzebue produced the wildest excitement, and the evident sympathy felt for the assassin seriously alarmed the German governments. But even Sand's heroic death could not destroy the horror with which the sober public mind regarded assassination, and the reaction against the revolutionary party was strong and general. The Diet of the Confederacy at Frankfort, September 20, 1819, adopted what were called "The Carlsbad Resolutions," destroying the freedom of the press, establishing commissions of investigation to suppress all political agitation, placing the universities under government supervision, and requiring every state, great and small, to enforce these provisions. On May 15, 1820, the ministers of the German states in Vienna unanimously agreed upon the famous "Final Act," defining the objects and powers of the confederacy, so as to secure to the great military states the means of compelling all the smaller states to join them in suppressing every movement in favor of liberal institutions. French armies suppressed the revolt in Spain, and Austrian armies that in Italy—the Austrians marching in triumph the whole length of the peninsula. Successive congresses of princes and diplomatists—at Aix in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laybach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822—took measures against the revolutionary movements in Europe, and fairly converted "the Holy Alliance" into a conspiracy of the great powers for the oppression of the people.

§ 7. A serious opposition to the system of Metternich grew up gradually among the smaller states of Germany. The Final Act of the confederation at Vienna had renewed the promise made in the original constitution of 1815, that "states," or representative assemblies, should be established in every country. While Austria and Prussia delayed the fulfillment of this pledge, the smaller powers carried it out. Weimar was the first to do so in 1816, Charles Augustus still being the grand-duke. Then followed Nassau, Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden (in 1818), and afterward nearly all the states. Some of the monarchs in these countries were men of ability, and at the same time friends of the people. Such were King William I. of Wirtemberg (1819–1864), and

especially King Lewis I. of Bavaria (1825-1848). These and several of the princes of still smaller states were inclined to accept a constitutional form of government, and thus they gradually formed a sort of opposition to the great military monarchies. The people began to look upon the smaller territories as more free, and to regard the great powers as the obstacles to freedom, compelling the rest to their own will. These smaller states had belonged to the Rhine Confederacy, retained something of their regard for Napoleon and for France, and sympathized with the vigorous French opposition to the Bourbons. A strong party grew up in Germany with decidedly liberal views as to the power and duties of government, but with sympathies and aims which were rather abstract and universal than national, and found a field for its activity in the constitutional politics of the states themselves. It was especially in Southern and Western Germany that this liberal party acquired a controlling influence.

§ 8. Under these circumstances, the July Revolution in France, which resulted in making Louis Philippe "King of the French" (August 9, 1830), naturally produced an intense excitement in Germany, and especially in the smaller states. The countries bordering on the Rhine, such as Baden, Darmstadt, and the Bavarian Palatinate, were agitated in the highest degree. On May 27, 1832, a festival was held at the castle of Hambach, in the Palatinate, at which, under the pretext of celebrating the anniversary of the Bavarian constitution, an assembly of thirty thousand men was collected to consider means for the emancipation of Germany; and the ancient black, red, and gold colors of the empire were adopted as the standard of the free German nation. Great enthusiasm was shown; but the movement was soon suppressed by Bavarian troops. On April 3, 1833, a body of fifty-one young men, mostly students, made a mad attempt to obtain possession of the city of Frankfort and of the members of the Diet, but were easily put down by the city battalion. As early as September 6, 1830, disturbances broke out in Brunswick, and the arbitrary Duke Charles, son of Frederick William who was killed at Quatre-Bras, was driven out, and his brother William called to the throne. In Cassel, in January, 1831, the people extorted from the elector a liberal constitu-

tion. The agitation in Saxony was mainly directed against the Roman Catholic tendencies of the king. Metternich used all the power of the confederation to suppress the disturbances throughout Germany, and external quiet was soon restored. In Hanover, in 1833, after various popular disturbances lasting two years, a reconciliation was brought about by the Duke of Cambridge, the king's brother, and a liberal constitution was established. King William died in 1837, and since females were excluded from the succession in Hanover, the crown was separated from that of England, and went to the Duke of Cumberland, Ernest Augustus, the head of the Tory party in England. As soon as he landed in Hanover the constitution was overthrown, and seven of the ablest professors at Göttingen, among them the brothers Grimm, and Professors Gervinus and Ewald, who protested against the act, were banished, with no effect but general dissatisfaction among the German people.

§ 9. By the final Peace of Paris, and the new distribution of territory after it, Prussia acquired, in the Rhine province and a great part of Westphalia, a population which was strange to the Prussians, and which was prejudiced against its rigid and paternal system of government. It was a difficult task to incorporate these territories with the kingdom, and one for which many years of peace and good order were essential. King Frederick William III. (1797-1840) was a man well adapted to this work. He had suffered with his people and triumphed with them, and had won their affection and confidence. His best days were those which came after 1815. In the direct, practical, and economical administration of affairs he resembled Frederick William I. The people of the old Prussian provinces were sincerely attached to his family and government, and for many years were not affected by the revolutionary and liberal movements of the time. But the praise deserved by his internal administration (§ 6) can not be extended to his foreign policy. Like Frederick William I., he was much less successful in his management of international affairs. He was closely bound to Russia and Austria by inclination, as well as by the terms of the Holy Alliance; and the influence of the Czar Alexander and of Metternich was so potent with him as to be a hinderance to

the natural development of Prussia. Hence men like Stein, Schön, Gneisenau, and Humboldt, sincere and able patriots, fell into the background, and failed to accomplish the work they might have done for Prussia; while others, like Arndt and Schleiermacher, were maligned and persecuted by their enemies. Thus the whole influence of the government was exerted, all the more efficiently that it was wielded without violence or rashness, to check the growth of liberal principles, and to prevent the development of a free and vigorous political life among the people. As a necessary result, neither the king nor the people had the spirit and confidence to assume their proper position as the leaders of Germany.

§ 10. Prussia was steadily growing in resources and power. The consolidation of the people in one nation went on rapidly. Trade and industry, agriculture and manufactures, were fostered. It was regarded as a necessity, in order to maintain the place of the nation in Europe, to keep up a standing army in full efficiency, even in time of peace. The military organization of the war for freedom, with the universal liability to military service, was therefore retained. But the greatest and most persistent efforts were also made for the intellectual progress of the people. The popular schools of Prussia became models for other nations to imitate. The higher education was also encouraged. The old universities were fostered; that at Berlin was greatly increased in resources and efficiency, and a new one was founded at Bonn. The capital city was adorned with handsome buildings and rich collections of works of art. Without interference in religious belief, a religious spirit was encouraged by the government, and, as a testimonial of reconciliation between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, the Evangelical Union was founded, through the king's influence, at the third centennial celebration of the Reformation in 1817.

§ 11. Perhaps the most important act of the Prussian government, in view of its ultimate results, was its effort to bring into unity the trade and commerce of all Germany. Austria was prevented from uniting with the other states by the peculiar interests of its extra-German territories; but the rest of Germany, under the guidance of Prussia and Bavaria, united, during the years from 1828 to 1834, in the "Zoli-

Verein," or customs-union. While the German Confederation acted in some respects as a check to national development, this union actually produced a common national interest in all matters of material prosperity; and Prussia, which took the lead in 1818 by abolishing all duties upon transit through its own territories, became the acknowledged head of the union. Austria was already jealous of Prussia, and regarded this union as "the first breach in the work of 1815;" and it was really the first independent act of Prussia, and one which, though not startling in its character at the time, has proved momentous in its results. As the general activity and prosperity of the commercial classes throughout the states of this union were developed under it, it became obviously impossible to dissolve it. For commercial purposes, Germany was now a unit, and the products of the nation soon began to compete on equal terms with those of other nations in the markets of the world. The merchant navy of Germany rose again, and became the third in extent in the world—only excelled by those of the United States and of Great Britain. The inventions of steamships and locomotive engines were speedily adopted by the Germans; lines of railroad were built throughout their country, filling with new activity old avenues of trade, and reviving in prosperity and wealth decayed and almost abandoned cities. The free citizens of the centres of trade left far behind them the richest days of the Middle Ages in their busy life with its comforts and luxuries. The rapid growth of such places as Cologne, Breslau, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and Berlin astonished all Europe. It was no longer the capitals of princes alone that were distinguished for splendor and wealth. The prosperity of the cities was rivaled by that of the agricultural districts. The peasant was inspired to greater exertion by the possession of his own land, and his increased resources brought with them more knowledge and culture. Poetry, indeed, declined, but the fine arts reached a splendid development. In North Germany, Berlin was the centre of artistic productiveness, and here Frederick William III., and still more earnestly Frederick William IV., fostered the arts, bringing together men of genius like Rauch, Cornelius, and Schinckel. In South Germany, at Munich, under King Lewis

and his successor Maximilian II. (1848-1864), Schwanthaler and Klenze formed a famous and influential school. Science, too, made wonderful strides, especially the natural sciences and history, in which Germany continues to lead the world.

§ 12. On June 7, 1840, Frederick William III. died, amid the sincere sorrow of his people. His son and successor, Frederick William IV. (1840-1861), was a man of rich endowments and high culture. He had taken part in his youth in the great struggle of the nation for independence, and his education had been conducted with care by eminent men. He was justly admired for his remarkable powers as an orator; his views and aims were not limited to Prussia, but he was truly a patriotic German, and wished for the free development of popular life, rather than for the rigid maintenance of old institutions. When his father established the Provincial Estates, the young prince zealously desired the formation of a national states-general; and applied for advice to Stein, who had retired to private life, and was at work on his own estate, collecting the materials of ancient German history. The first acts of his government, after his accession, showed his sincerity and his desire for progress. Men who had been proscribed for political offenses were restored to office, even from prison. At the same time he attempted to modify the constitution of the German Confederation, though it was his desire, not to use violence, but to act in harmony with Austria and the other states. In 1840 he insisted, through Radowitz, his ambassador at Vienna, that a reconstitution of the confederation was absolutely necessary, and was properly demanded by the nation. In 1845 he renewed his efforts in Vienna. But he met with opposition, not only there and at St. Petersburg, but among his own ministers. Meanwhile a party had arisen in Prussia which was impatient for a sudden change, and unwilling to await the peaceful development of the constitution under the king's own guidance. On February 3, 1847, by royal patent, the united Diet of the monarchy was summoned. But the revolutionary party was not satisfied with the rights and powers assigned to its members, and the agitation increased. Religious excitement, resulting from the effort of some Roman Catholics in 1845 to establish

a German Catholic Church, added to the political disturbance; and a number of violent writers stirred up the people still more by their tracts and pamphlets.

§ 13. In February, 1848, the people of Paris drove Louis Philippe from the throne, and declared a republic. This event greatly increased the ferment in Germany. In March began a general movement of the people, first in the smaller German states in the west, and then rapidly extending eastward, demanding, one after another, freer constitutions, liberty of the press, the right to bear arms, and other popular reforms. The various governments yielded to the storm, appointing ministers from the liberal party (afterward called "March cabinets"), and making large concessions to the people. Thus in Wirtemberg, Darmstadt, Nassau, Hesse, and even in little Sigmaringen, there was a sudden change in the government. In Bavaria, King Lewis had made himself unpopular, of late years, by yielding to the influence of a Spanish woman, Lola Montez, whom he made Countess of Lansfeld, and in spite of his tried patriotism and long services to the people, he was compelled to abdicate (March 20), and his son, Maximilian II., ascended the throne. Hanover and Saxony were thrown into disorder by the news from Paris; but the kings resisted obstinately until Berlin and Vienna were seized by the revolution, when they too yielded to the popular demand. The rapid success of the movement encouraged the patriotic party, and the cry spread throughout Germany for national unity, with a representation of the people in the Diet of the confederation. Nor did this revolution stop, like that of 1830, at the frontiers of the great states. On the night of March 13 Metternich was overthrown by a popular insurrection, and he fled from Vienna, and afterward to England. On March 18, after similar outbreaks at Berlin, the king yielded to the wishes of the radical party, and issued a proclamation, promising to strive for the union of Germany in one federal state, and for the freedom of the press throughout the nation.

§ 14. The German liberals entertained great hopes from the work of a National Parliament, or General Assembly, formed of representatives chosen by the people, which met at Frankfort on May 10. But the revolutionary spirit was too ea-



ger to await any peaceful action. Vienna was for a time controlled by a body of students and laborers. In the Austrian Diet the different nations quarreled bitterly; and the revolt of Italy and Hungary, and the agitation among the Slavonic peoples, threatened the empire with dissolution. In Berlin the power was held all summer by a bold but unintelligent body of revolutionists, who completely overshadowed the Prussian National Diet. In Frankfort there were terrible riots in September, under the very eyes of the National Parliament, which threatened scenes like those of the darkest days of terror in Paris.

§ 15. The ruling democracy seemed to forget that the foundations of the old order, and especially the standing armies, were still not destroyed. The quiet people of the nation were filled with horror by the extravagance and violence of the revolution, and began to fear for their property and their homes. But the governments meanwhile quietly gathered their forces. In the Austrian dominions, Marshal Radetzky put down the Italian insurrection, and Prince Windischgrätz the democracy of Vienna, after a bloody fight for the possession of the city (October 31). The Emperor Ferdinand had already abdicated, and his nephew, Francis Joseph I., became emperor at the age of eighteen. On March 4, 1849, a new constitution was decreed by the government, and Austria became a constitutional monarchy. In Prussia, General Wrangel occupied Berlin in November, 1848, without a battle; and the National Assembly was dissolved. The constitution promulgated December 5, 1848, through the ministry of Count Brandenburg and Manteffel, was quietly accepted by the people. In the German National Assembly, a moderate party, led by Gagern, Dahlmann, and others, carried on a difficult contest against the radical and revolutionary party, until they finally succeeded, in accordance with the great change which was going on in the popular mind, in electing King Frederick William IV. of Prussia emperor of Germany. The imperial crown was tendered to the king by a formal deputation, April 3, 1849; but he declined it, and spoke of the constitution adopted by that body as a project not yet established, but to be submitted for final action to the several governments of Germany. This decision disappoint-

ed many even of those who were not revolutionists, but it was justified by the event. The rejection of the imperial constitution by the states was made the occasion, however, for new disturbances, which became alarming in Dresden, in Baden, and in the Palatinate, during the spring of 1849; and were only suppressed by Prussian troops under Prince William of Prussia. The German National Assembly dwindled to a mere remnant, the representatives of the larger states, beginning with Austria, withdrawing successively; and it finally came to an end at Stuttgart, June 18, 1849, in utter neglect and obscurity.

§ 16. The revolt of Hungary was conducted with far more skill and persistency than the revolutionary movement in any of the German states. The Magyars were thoroughly organized, and their plans had long been made for securing the separation of their ancient kingdom from Austria. For this purpose they took advantage of the democratic spirit of the time, and proclaimed a republic; securing also the alliance and aid of the Italian democrats, who, under Mazzini, undertook to keep the Austrian government busy in Italy. During the early months of 1849 the Hungarians were successful, and on April 14, 1849, when Louis Kossuth, the chief manager of the plot, and the ablest statesman among them, was proclaimed President, the house of Hapsburg had been driven from the land, and the republican armies were two hundred thousand strong. But in May the young emperor, Francis Joseph, personally appealed to the Czar Nicholas at Warsaw; a vast Russian army was at once sent into Hungary to support the Austrians, and Görgey, the Magyar commander, after a feeble resistance, surrendered his army and the cause, August 13, 1849, only two days after accepting from Kossuth and the ministry the office of Dictator. Kossuth, Bem, and other Hungarian leaders escaped into exile; but many of their prominent generals and politicians were put to death as traitors by Haynau, the Austrian commander-in-chief.

§ 17. The war in Schleswig and Holstein fills a sad chapter in the history of this period. These two duchies had long been annexed to the crown of Denmark; but there was now a prospect that the ancient Danish dynasty would soon die out. The German population hoped, in that case, to form an

independent sovereignty of their own under a duke of the Augustenburg line, and so to come into closer connection with Germany. But in 1846 the "open letter" of King Christian VIII. announced that, in the event anticipated, these duchies must still remain united to Denmark. Serious discontent was shown; and did not subside when, on January 23, 1848, Christian's successor, Frederick VII., proclaimed a common constitution for Denmark and the duchies. During the general agitation of 1848, the Schleswig-Holstein people revolted and formed a provisional government, which began a war for independence against Denmark, assisted by volunteers from all parts of Germany. At first the Danes were victorious; but finally the troops of the German Confederation entered the country, defeated the Danes at Schleswig on April 23, and expelled them from the duchies. The Germans had no fleet with which to follow up and complete their victory, and they invaded Jutland to exact compensation for the injury the Danes were doing at sea to German trade. But England and Russia assumed an attitude so threatening that Prussia, which from the first had but little zeal in the war, agreed to the armistice of Malmö. In the spring of 1849 the people of Schleswig and Holstein renewed the war, supported by contingents of German troops. Their army, under the Prussian General Barin, crossed the frontier of Jutland, defeated the Danes at Kolding, and pursued them to the very fortifications of Fredericia. But the Prussians and the rest of the Germans hesitated to advance farther for diplomatic reasons, and when they entered Jutland carried on the war without any vigor, while the troops of Schleswig-Holstein suffered a heavy blow before Fredericia from a sally of the Danes. By an armistice then concluded in Berlin, Schleswig was separated from Holstein, and placed under a council presided over by an Englishman. A peace with Denmark was concluded by Prussia in the name of the German Confederation; but in 1850 the people of Holstein rejected it, and renewed the war, relying on their own strength. They were defeated at Idstadt, July 24 and 25, after an obstinate fight, but still resolved not to submit. But the great German powers ordered that hostilities should cease, and Austrian troops crossed the Elbe to disarm the duchies and surrender them

to Denmark. By the London Protocol of 1852, a new ordinance of succession was provided, under which the Danish monarchy, at the death of Frederick VII., should go without division to Prince Christian of Glücksburg, who was selected by King Frederick as his heir. But neither the Germans in the duchies nor the public opinion of Germany at large ever acquiesced in the union of these districts with Denmark.

§ 18. Frederick William IV. still, through all the storms of the revolution, cherished his plan for reforming the German Confederation. Before the bloody outbreak at Berlin on March 18, 1848, he declared, "Germany, from a confederation of states, must become a federal state." But he declined the imperial throne, and in the spring of 1849 suppressed the revolution in Saxony and in all North Germany with Prussian troops. At this time a fruitless attempt was made, in the "league of the three kings" of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, to provide a centre around which all the smaller German states might gather, apart from Austria. But after the suppression of the revolt, Austria, stronger than ever, and now guided by the shrewd, audacious Schwarzenberg, endeavored to supplant the influence of Prussia in Germany. Prussia still sought to bring about a union in some form, if only with the smaller states, and for this purpose, under Radowitz's advice, called a National Parliament to meet at Erfurt in March, 1850, to form a new imperial constitution. But Austria called on the South German governments to renew the Federal Diet. Some of the princes adhered to Prussia; but the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, with the majority, including Hanover and Saxony, followed Austria. It was even proposed that all the countries of the Austrian Empire should be admitted to the German Confederation and to the Zoll-Verein, so that Austria should have an indisputable ascendancy. Schwarzenberg aimed above all else to humiliate Prussia. In the Electorate of Hesse the people and their representatives were engaged in a peaceful and constitutional struggle against arbitrary acts of the elector and his minister, Hassenpflug. Austria and the renewed confederation, to whose protection the elector appealed, supported him, and Austrian troops entered Hesse in November, 1850. Prussia, on the other hand, occupied Cassel, and seemed to be resolved

on resistance to Austria. The struggle promised to be a decisive one for the leadership in Germany. Austria concentrated Slavonic troops in Bohemia, and Bavarians marched with Austrians against Hesse. The army of Prussia was put on a war footing. Count Brandenburg, the Prussian minister, went to Warsaw in order to prevail on the Czar Nicholas to aid with his influence the efforts of Prussia. But the Czar's threatening declarations made it impossible for Prussia to take any further steps. Brandenburg died immediately after this journey, and his successor, the more facile *Manteuffel*, went to Olmütz to meet *Schwarzenberg*, only to yield to him in every thing. Civil war was avoided, and Prussia's influence, for the time, sacrificed to that of Austria, under the dictation of the Czar. The suppression of the Hessian popular movement, and the delivery of Schleswig-Holstein to the Danes, followed. King Frederick William IV. abandoned his plans for Germany, and the Federal Diet was renewed (1851).

§ 19. Austrian influence was again in the ascendant in Germany, and was unscrupulously used for purposes which recalled the times of Ferdinand II. The Austrian constitution was abolished, and every German monarch who undertook reactionary measures was sure of support from Austria and the confederation. The power of Rome and of the Jesuits was restored. At the same time, Austria maintained a defiant and hostile tone toward Prussia, strove to bind to itself the smaller states, and even to weaken and dissolve the *Zoll-Verein*, the last bond of German union left in Prussia's hand. The people of the smaller German states seemed indifferent to these jealousies of the great powers. Prussia took no part in the war of France and England against Russia (1853-1856), having no reason for hostility to that empire. Austria finally joined the Western powers, and its threatening attitude hastened Russia's consent to humiliating terms of peace. Prussia was now checked in the career of growth and progress in which it had been moving from the accession of Frederick William IV. The constitution, indeed, was not overthrown, but the people were full of suspicion and discontent. The disgrace of the surrender at Olmütz was felt as a second Jena.

§ 20. In October, 1857, King Frederick William IV. fell hopelessly ill, his sensitive mind being shattered by the excitements and conflicts of the last ten years. His brother, William, assumed the government as regent, at first temporarily, and then as a permanent office (October 9, 1858). William I. was born March 22, 1797. His infancy saw Prussia's strength as left by Frederick the Great; while a boy, he witnessed the overthrow of the monarchy and its humiliation; and he shared, as a youth, in the new birth of the country and the war for freedom. His health in early life was feeble, and it was not until after the battle of Leipsic that his father, Frederick William III., consented to take him to the army. He won at Bar-sur-Aube the order of the Iron Cross, and entered Paris with the allied monarchs. He embraced the life of a soldier with great zeal, and fulfilled its duties faithfully. He was rapidly advanced by his father to the higher grades of military rank, and was made commander-in-chief by his brother, Frederick William IV. In 1848 he suffered with his family; but in 1849 he again took command of the army, and put down the revolution in Baden. After the moral defeat of Prussia by Austria, he lived in princely retirement at Coblenz.

§ 21. On assuming the regency, he dismissed the Manteuffel ministry, and summoned a new one under Prince Hohenzollern and Count Auerswald. This act pleased the people, who cordially sustained it in their elections of members of the House of Deputies. The regent declared, "Prussia is ready every where to protect the right," and the people of Prussia and of Germany believed that he meant especially the right of the people who had been abandoned—those of Schleswig-Holstein and of Hesse. The occasion for action soon came. In 1859 arose a dispute between Austria and Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia. Opinions in Germany were divided; large numbers looked on distracted and oppressed Italy as an image of Germany, and wished it free and united. But when Sardinia made an alliance with Napoleon III., and the French armies crossed the Alps, the danger from French ambition seemed paramount, and against such a foe Austria was again a German power. Then Austria assumed to drag Prussia into the war as a vassal state, and Prussia, no long-

er the helpless power that submitted at Olmütz, refused to obey. Then came the defeats of Magenta (June 4, 1859) and Solferino (June 24), and Prussia declared its willingness to assist Austria, and placed its army on a war footing. But the prince regent demanded that, if a war of the confederacy were to be waged, he should have the command of all the troops. Austria did not consent, but the Emperor Francis Joseph made peace with France, ceding Lombardy to Italy (the Peace of Villa-Franca, July 11, 1859). Prussia was then widely blamed for having left Austria without help.

§ 22. On January 2, 1861, Frederick William IV. died, and William I. became king. Austria had shown its determination at all hazards to keep Prussia from controlling Germany. Prussia resolved to obtain the leadership; and the king immediately upon his accession began a thorough reorganization of the army, to which he gave the most minute and constant personal attention. The army was still to be "the people in arms;" and, for this purpose, its numbers were increased, and the period of active service in the reserve lengthened, while that in the Landwehr was shortened. In the Diet there was insuperable opposition to this plan. Prussia had been engaged in no great war for many years, having in 1850 yielded before the contest came to blows. It seemed to the people that an increase of the army was not necessary, unless in case of actual war. The cost of the reorganization would be a burden, and perhaps the old militia would be lowered in efficiency. The Diet, which held over from 1858, voted the necessary supplies only provisionally and for one year. But the reorganization could not, as the government held, be either postponed or rashly hurried through; and the Diet which assembled in 1861, with a democratic majority, would not sanction the outlay already made upon it. Thus arose the "constitutional struggle," which grew more fierce from year to year. The ministry retired, and Von der Heydt formed a new one, which remained until the autumn of 1862. Before his formal coronation (October, 1861), indeed, King William was claimed by the liberal party as a friend of their principles. But at that time he boldly proclaimed the traditional assumptions of his family, saying to the assembled states: "The sovereigns of Prussia receive their

crown from God, so that it is sacred and inviolable. You are called together as advisers of the crown." These rash words seemed to many enlightened men a threat against the constitution, and greatly embittered the opposition of the liberals even to wise and patriotic plans formed by the government.

§ 23. The ministry failed to obtain the approval of the deputies; the people, upon the dissolution of the house, only increased the majority of the opposition, and yet the king was persistent. At length he recalled Bismarck, the ambassador in Paris, and placed him at the head of the ministry. Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (born April 1, 1815) distinguished himself in the Prussian National Assembly of 1848, and in the chamber of 1849, as a leader of the conservative party, then favorable to Austria and to Manteuffel. He was delegate to the Federal Diet in Frankfort in 1851, when Austria under Schwarzenberg treated Prussia with overbearing rudeness; and from that time Bismarck steadily labored to relieve his country from its humiliating position. His experience as ambassador in Russia and France gave him a profound insight into European politics; and his abilities made him respected at home and feared at Vienna. On entering the ministry, he wished to be on good terms with the House of Deputies. But his early devotion to absolutism was remembered against him, and his appointment was regarded with alarm, as a new proof of the reactionary purposes of the court. In the legislative body he was met by utter distrust; and since he proceeded to carry out the king's purpose of reorganizing the army, the contest only grew more bitter during 1862 and the two following years.

§ 24. Austria improved the time, while Prussia was distracted by the constitutional conflict, to increase its influence in Germany, and showed a willingness to take into its own hand the reorganization of the confederation. Almost all the German princes assembled, upon Austria's invitation, in the congress at Frankfort, in August, 1863. It was here declared that there must be, in addition to a house of princes, a house of deputies or delegates, selected by the legislative houses of the several states, one third by the upper or hereditary house in each state, and two thirds by the popular



house. The executive power was to be in the hands of a directory of princes, under the presidency of Austria. But the King of Prussia took no part in the congress, and refused to accept a plan which would subordinate his country to Austria. It was also rejected by Baden, Weimar, and three of the smaller states, and came to nothing. Bismarck openly advised the Austrian minister, Rechberg, to transfer the centre of Austrian power to Hungary, outside of Germany; while Austria endeavored by every means to irritate the other German states against Prussia. A resort to arms seemed imminent, when a temporary reconciliation was produced by an emergency in Schleswig-Holstein.

§ 25. King Frederick VII. of Denmark died suddenly, November 15, 1863. According to the London protocol of 1852, Prince Christian of Glücksburg was to succeed to the entire possessions of the Danish crown as Christian IX. Frederick VII. had himself adopted a national constitution, incorporating Schleswig with the Danish monarchy. But Christian IX. hesitated to approve it. He signed it, however, under the pressure of a revolutionary movement in Copenhagen, which threatened his crown. Most of the smaller German states had refused to ratify the London protocol, and now appealed to the ancient settlement of the inheritance, which was violated by the selection of Christian IX. as king. When the incorporation of Schleswig in the monarchy was determined on, the German Confederation, on September 19, 1863, decreed "federal execution" in behalf of Holstein, and in December, 1863, 12,000 Saxon and Hanoverian troops entered that duchy. But the Bund could do nothing for Schleswig, which was not a member of it. The German people in general earnestly demanded the final emancipation of the duchies from Denmark. But the two great powers, without which nothing could be accomplished, were in an embarrassing position. Prussia was resolved to act for the relief of the duchies, but was bound by the London protocol, and could not obey the popular cry, and declare for the hereditary rights of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, without challenging all Europe to arms. Austria had once disarmed Schleswig-Holstein, and had no interest in its people; but was not ready to permit Prussia to gain influence and power by form-

ing closer relations with the duchies. But by deserting them, it would have lost the favor of the German people. Austria therefore chose to follow the lead of Prussia, so as to watch its movements.

§ 26. Prussia however could protest, though not against the accession of Christian IX., yet against the incorporation of Schleswig in Denmark; and Bismarck at the same time declared that the first cannon-shot fired would destroy the obligation of the London protocol. This was a doctrine which Great Britain could not accept; and as it had joined the other powers in guaranteeing the personal union of the duchies with Denmark, it now encouraged the Danes, and assumed a threatening attitude toward the smaller German states. But when it became evident that war was inevitable, the ministry of Lord Palmerston quietly withdrew from the controversy, leaving the Danes to stand alone, and made to Europe the pitiful explanation that the guarantee of the London protocol was not the individual guarantee of England, but was made jointly by the great powers, so that no one of them was bound to enforce it save jointly with others! This event justly injured England's influence in Europe. Prussia and Austria now sent 45,000 men into Holstein, Marshal Wrangel and Prince Frederick Charles commanding the Prussians, and Gablentz the Austrians. The Danes were commanded to evacuate Schleswig. Upon their refusal, the allies entered this duchy also. The Austrians advanced against the Dannewerk, a fortification nearly fifty miles long, extending across Southern Schleswig from the waters of the Schlei on the east to the marshes on the west, and thus defending the entire peninsula. The Prussians moved eastward, and at night during a snow-storm crossed the Schlei at Arnis, February 2, 1864, compelling the Danish general to abandon the Dannewerk to the Austrians, who then pursued the Danes, and defeated them in a bloody battle at Oeversee. The Danes retreated northward beyond Flensburg, and behind the Düppel fortifications. These fortifications extend across the peninsula which separates the bay of Flensburg on the south from the Alsen Sound on the north and east, and defend the passage to the island of Alsen and the city of Sonderburg. They were strong, both by nature and

by art, and well adapted to protect the Danes against the superior force of the Prussians. The regular siege was undertaken by Prince Frederick Charles. On April 18 all was ready for an assault, and the Prussians stormed the fortifications, and behind them captured the defenses of the two bridges to Alsen, though at the cost of 70 officers and 1200 men killed.

§ 27. Meanwhile the Austrians and the Prussian Guard invaded Jutland, and began to bombard Fredericia; but the Danes, after the fall of their intrenchments of Düppel, evacuated the city. In an engagement at Rügen the Prussian fleet successfully resisted a superior naval force of the Danes. England was now striving to mediate, and invited the five great powers to a conference at London. An armistice was agreed on from May 12 to June 26, and it was proposed to divide Schleswig according to the nationality of the people; but the Danes refused, and the war was renewed. Early on the morning of June 29, the Prussians, under Herwarth von Bittenfeld, by a masterly movement, crossed to the island of Alsen, and took it. The allied troops passed the Lymfiord and marched to the extreme point of Jutland. Denmark finally accepted a peace, the preliminaries of which were determined at Vienna, August 1, and which was finally signed October 30, 1864. The King of Denmark ceded all his claims upon the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia.



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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE WAR OF 1866 AND THE NORTH GERMAN BUND, 1866-1871.

§ 1. Schleswig-Holstein and the Claims of Prussia. § 2. The Gastein Convention, August 14, 1865. Prussian Plan of a Federal State. § 3. Preparations for War. Alliance with Italy. § 4. The Diet Broken up. § 5. Prussia Invades Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse. § 6. Proclamations of the Hostile Monarchs. § 7. The Campaign against the King of Hanover. § 8. The Prussians Occupy Saxony and Enter Bohemia. § 9. Battles of Trautenau and Nachod. § 10. Prussian Successes in Bohemia. Both Armies Concentrate near Sudowa. § 11. Battle of Königgrätz. § 12. Cession of Venetia to France. § 13. Prussian Advance. Armistice and Preliminaries of Peace. §§ 14, 15. Campaign of Falkenstein on the Main. § 16. Continued by Manteuffel. § 17. Peace between Prussia and the Smaller States of Germany. § 18. Attitude of France and Russia. § 19. The North German Confederation of 1867. § 20. Progress of National Union in Germany. § 21. Three Years of Peace. § 22. The Royal Family of Prussia. § 23. Prince Frederick Charles. § 24. Other German Princes in the Army. § 25. Bismarck, Moltke, and Von Roon. § 26. Steinmetz and Falkenstein. § 27. Other Prussian Generals.

§ 1. THE joint enterprise of the two great German powers, in wresting Schleswig and Holstein from Danish rule, was no sooner triumphantly completed than all the old jealousies and disputes broke out with renewed violence between these powers, and among the minor states of the confederation. At the beginning of the invasion, indeed, the Germans seemed to be working for the common purpose of placing Prince Frederick of Augustenburg on the ducal throne. He followed the invading army to Holstein as a sovereign; and the people, now well assured that Denmark could not again reduce them to subjection, welcomed him with delight. The whole German people, too, seemed to acquiesce in the prospect of his accession. In the London conference, Bismarck himself proclaimed that Germany held the duchies in trust for their hereditary prince, and recommended the union of them under him. But when the success of the German alliance was complete, the plans and claims of Prussia took a bolder

form. Austria, and some of the smaller states, had expected to establish in Schleswig-Holstein a new member of the confederation on the northern frontier of Prussia, strong enough, when influenced and supported by them, seriously to embarrass the aspiring monarchy. The course of Prince Frederick himself showed that he would be no friend to the reconstitution of Germany under Prussian primacy. The bold demand was therefore made from Berlin that the troops of Schleswig-Holstein should be incorporated with the army of Prussia; that the foreign relations of the duchies should be subjected to the control of the same power; also that the federal fortress of Rendsburg, the port of Kiel, and the control of the canal to be built across the peninsula, should be given to Prussia. Prince Frederick strove to escape from these hard conditions. But on February 22, 1865, Prussia openly made the same demands of Austria, the two powers holding Schleswig-Holstein in joint possession, and even insisted that a "temporary" cession of the duchies should be made to Prince Frederick. Austria then, by a declaration of March 5, closed the negotiations. Prince Frederick decisively rejected the Prussian demands, and began at his court in Kiel to prepare for resistance. Prussia persisted in its requirements; the smaller states of the German Confederation took the part of Austria and of the prince, and civil war in Germany seemed inevitable, although the decisive policy of Bismarck failed to receive the support even of the Prussian House of Deputies, and the aggressive minister himself became the object of fierce denunciation among the people.

§ 2. But the threatened storm was once more averted. At a personal interview between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, the Gastein Convention of August 14, 1865, was adopted, by which Prussia obtained Lauenburg absolutely on payment of an indemnity in money to Austria; and the two duchies were to be governed, Schleswig by Prussia, and Holstein by Austria, without forfeiture by either power of its joint claim to both. Bismarck was made a count for his diplomatic conduct of these affairs. But the agreement at Gastein only postponed the struggle. The party of the Prince of Augustenburg, to which Austria inclined, continued to press its claims. Prussia resolved to

enforce its demands upon the duchies, and to insist on the incorporation with itself of other states of Germany, at least in their military organization. Austria threatened to hand over the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein entirely to the confederation, which was sure to decide against Prussia. On March 16, 1866, Austria called on the courts which were entirely under its influence, especially Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Darmstadt, to set themselves in readiness for war. Prussia was already prepared, and went to work at once with energy to reconstitute the whole German Confederation. On March 24 the Prussian government sent a circular letter to all the German courts, in which it said: "Prussia, by its situation, its German character, and the German patriotism of its rulers, is required to seek its own security within the limits of Germany. For this purpose a reformation of the entire confederation is essential. If Prussia is not confident of Germany, its situation imperils it beyond most other states in Europe. But the fate of Prussia ultimately involves that of Germany, and if Prussia's strength were broken, the share of Germany in European politics would be but a passive one. The German Confederation, in its present form, exposed to danger on every side, will fail in its purpose, and nothing can then save Germany from the fate of Poland." The letter also demanded from each government a reply, distinctly announcing how far Prussia might rely upon its support if attacked by Austria, and called for the assembling of a German Parliament, to be chosen by general election.

§ 3. This great plan, which had been the aim of Prussian politics for twenty-five years, met with the most bitter opposition. Austria vigorously prepared for war. The smaller German states, including Hanover and Hesse, regarded their sovereignty as in danger. Even in Prussia the successes of 1864 and 1865 had not silenced the opposition, and the policy of the government was loudly denounced in the House of Deputies, in numerous public meetings, and in nearly all the daily journals. Indeed, the opposition included by far the greater part of the intelligence and patriotism then engaged in political life. For the government associated its energetic foreign policy with continued usurpations of power at home, and went ever further in its infractions of the constitution



and its arbitrary treatment of the liberal orators and press. But no opposition weakened its resolve. Italy had not been made "free from the Alps to the Adriatic" by the war of 1859, and Prussia formed an alliance with that state against Austria, by a secret treaty signed April 8, 1866. It was no secret, however, that the Italian government would join Prussia in case of war with Austria; for the prospect of such a war was enough to fire the whole peninsula with zeal for the emancipation of Venetia, and the government could not have resisted the movement. Austria handed over the Schleswig-Holstein question to the confederation; and Prussia immediately declared the Gastein Convention broken, and sent an army of 20,000 men into Holstein. Austria summoned the "States" of Holstein (June 5, 1866), but Prussian troops took possession of the legislative hall (June 7), and abolished the government of the duchy. Gablentz, who had but 3800 Austrians in Holstein, was commanded to avoid a conflict; but Austria called together the German Confederation, and Prussia at once proclaimed its new constitution for the confederation (June 10), excluding Austria from Germany, and providing for the rest a union similar to that afterward adopted by the North German Confederation. The people of South Germany especially became highly embittered against Prussia, while the Prussians themselves sadly and soberly looked forward to a civil war. There was no enthusiasm among the people, a large majority of them regarded the policy of the government as aggressive, and preferred peace. It was not until the issue was clearly drawn upon the question of the national unity of Germany that public opinion condoned and acquiesced in the measures of Bismarck.

§ 4. On June 11 Austria proposed in the confederation to put its troops on a war footing against Prussia; and Prussia replied that if the proposition were adopted, it would regard the confederation as dissolved. On June 14 the motion, modified so as to include only the troops which were neither Austrian nor Prussian, was declared adopted by nine votes against six, although some of the votes counted in the majority were disputed. The Prussian ambassador at once protested, declared the confederation dissolved by its unconstitutional proceedings, and offered the new constitution pro-

posed by Prussia as the basis of a new league with all the states which would accept it. With Prussia, the states of Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Weimar, Coburg-Gotha, Altenburg, Bremen, and some others, withdrew from the Diet; while Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Saxony, Darmstadt, and even—though under compulsion—Baden, took up arms. But Austria and its allies reckoned too much on the unreadiness of the Prussian government and the backwardness of its people. The Prussian “nation in arms,” as it was justly called by the king himself, entered the field reluctantly, indeed, and very few of the soldiers themselves approved the policy of their rulers which forced the conflict; but when once the war was upon them, all political differences among them were forgotten. The very first movements of troops were accompanied by a proclamation, declaring that the cause for which Prussia took up arms was that of the union of Germany, and the establishment of a Parliament representing the German nation. And from that time all the patriotic energy of which the nation was capable was thrown into the war.

§ 5. On June 15 Prussia demanded of Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse that they should at once restore their armies to a peace standard, remain neutral, and send representatives to a German Parliament, on penalty of forfeiting their independence. King George V. of Hanover, after some hesitation, followed his personal inclinations, and adhered to Austria. Frederick William, Elector of Hesse, obstinately pursued the same course, in direct opposition to his own estates, which refused, by a vote of 35 to 11, to grant any supplies for the war. The Saxon minister, Beust, was the most zealous enemy of Prussia. Thus all these governments rejected the ultimatum, and the next morning, June 16, Prussia invaded the lands of all. The Austrians evacuated Holstein early in June. General Manteuffel now crossed the Elbe, Vogel von Falkenstein advanced from Westphalia, and on June 17 General Göben's division occupied the city of Hanover. General Beyer, from the Rhine province, entered Hesse, on June 19 occupied Cassel, and took prisoner the elector, who still rejected all terms of accommodation. The Hessian troops escaped southward, and joined the eighth army corps of the confederation. King George collected his army in haste at

Göttingen, but neglected to secure his retreat southward through Hesse. General Beyer cut off the way to Cassel; so that the king resolved to retire through Thuringia to join the Bavarians. He marched, with his 18,000 men, by Heiligenstadt to Mühlhausen, but with such delays that General Falkenstein was able to throw troops from Cassel between him and Eisenach. Beyer then moved toward Eisenach, whither also Göben's division came from Göttingen by railway; and five battalions of Manteuffel's troops were sent forward to Gotha by way of Magdeburg. General Flies, with about 8500 infantry and only 300 cavalry, was sent forward as the advance guard to check the march of the Hanoverians.

§ 6. This general advance of the Prussian armies gave pause to diplomacy, and began the war. On the day after it began, June 17, the Emperor Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Austria, declaring that his government had offered no provocation to Prussia and Italy; but that these powers had united in a resolute effort to humiliate and divide the empire. He explained his refusal to submit to the proposed Paris Congress of powers the question of ceding a part of his territory; and threw the blame of the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel, and of the schism in the confederation, wholly upon the ambition of Prussia. This dignified and forcible state paper was well received at the time by neutral nations. On June 18 King William of Prussia also published a manifesto to the nation. He declared that the Fatherland was in danger; that he had sought friendly relations with Austria, but its princes could not forget they had once ruled Germany, and treated the rapid growth of Prussia as that of a hostile rival; that its policy was to weaken and dishonor Prussia; that for this purpose it had induced its allies in the confederation to violate the constitution. The king referred to his own policy in organizing the army, which he had adopted years before in anticipation of this crisis, and pointed with pride and confidence to his people in arms. Explaining that every effort had been made, in common with England, France, and Russia, to find a peaceful solution of the questions at issue, and had been defeated by Austria, he appealed to God and the people to hold him blameless for the war. The proclamation concluded with the promise, in

case of victory, to reconstitute the loosely formed confederation of the German states in a firmer and more beneficial union. The proclamation gave clear expression to the policy of German unity; and as it became clearer every day that Prussia adopted this policy sincerely, and not as a mere pretext, so the cause of Prussia in the war steadily gained moral strength and sympathy, both throughout Germany and wherever in other countries the welfare of Germany was desired.

§ 7. The Hanover troops on June 22 were at Mühlhausen, and might then have escaped easily by way of Eisenach. But upon a rumor that the passes in that direction were guarded, they resolved to retreat by Gotha; and therefore marched to Langensalza, June 23. Here King George expected the Bavarians to come to his rescue by way of Eisenach. In order to gain time, negotiations with Berlin, by way of Gotha, were renewed, and on June 25 an armistice for twenty-four hours was signed. The next day King William offered an honorable capitulation, and an alliance on the terms proposed by Prussia June 10, guaranteeing the independence of Hanover. But once more King George refused, and the refusal cost him his crown. He returned to Langensalza, and took up a strong position behind the Unstrutt. General Flies, with the Prussian advance guard, pursued him, under orders to watch him closely, but to make no attack. But on June 27, the general, unable to restrain his zeal, made a general charge with his inferior forces, and was repulsed with heavy loss. Even on that night the Hanoverians might have escaped through Gotha. But during the night Falkenstein took possession of this road, while Manteuffel appeared at Heiligenstadt in their rear. They were now surrounded by constantly increasing bodies of troops, and nothing could be hoped even from the Bavarian army. On June 29 King George surrendered his entire army. The troops were sent home; the king himself and the crown-prince repaired to Vienna.

§ 8. The Prussians invaded Saxony with the same promptness and efficiency. On June 18 they occupied Dresden, and on the next day Leipsic. The Saxon troops marched southward to join the Austrians in Bohemia, where, under cover

of the mountains, a host of mingled Germans, Magyars, Slaves, and even, on compulsion, Italians, was gathering under the command of Benedek. It consisted of seven army corps, two of which were commanded by the Archdukes Ernest and Leopold, and another by Gablentz, and contained in all about 230,000 men, besides the 23,000 Saxons who now joined them. But they were by no means ready for battle. It had been expected that they would assume the offensive, overrun Silesia, occupy Dresden, and threaten Berlin. But instead of this the Prussians entered Bohemia, although foreign newspapers reminded them of the great Frederick's reverse at Colin, and compared Bohemia to the lion's den, into which many footprints led, while none returned. The Prussians were somewhat more numerous than the Austrians, there being more than 250,000 in their main army, which was also better armed and far better supplied than the Austrian. It formed in two bodies: the first, under Prince Frederick Charles, advanced through Saxony, and from the neighborhood of Görlitz and Reichenbach; the second, under the Crown-Prince Frederick William, from Silesia and Glatz. The former included the second, third, fourth, and eighth army corps, from Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Rhine province. The troops from the Rhine, forming the left wing, and called the Army of the Elbe, were under Herwarth von Bittenfeld. The crown-prince had the corps of Guards, and the first, fifth, and sixth army corps, from Prussia, Posen, and Silesia. The Prussian armies advanced over the difficult mountain paths, and wound through long, narrow valleys, in four separate columns. But they met no enemy there. Benedek awaited them where these roads enter the plain.

§ 9. On Wednesday, June 27, a day of fasting and prayer was observed throughout Prussia. This was the day on which the bloody strife began, the day of the battle of Langensalza in the west, and of those of Trautenau and Nachod far in the east. Here, at the foot of the mountains of Glatz, the Austrians made a vigorous effort to check the Prussians, and to drive them back into the mountain passes. The first army corps, on entering Trautenau, was attacked by firing from all the houses. On passing beyond, it met and repulsed the

corps of Gablentz. But the Austrians appeared in the front in strength, and General Bonin was compelled to retreat to the frontier toward Liebenau. At Nachod, the crown-prince and General Steinmetz led their troops down, and, after a brilliant fight, routed the Austrians, taking 2500 prisoners. On June 28 they advanced to Skalitz, which was captured after another bloody struggle, in which Steinmetz won new laurels. On the 29th the Aupa was crossed, the Austrians still disputing the way, and Gradlitz, in the valley of the Elbe, was reached. Here another battle was fought the next day, after which the Austrians retired within range of the guns of their fortress of Josephstadt. Meanwhile the Prussian Guard recovered what had been lost at Trautenau. On the 28th, about 3 o'clock in the morning, they fell upon and routed the corps of Gablentz in their bivouacs, taking about 5000 prisoners. The road as far as Königinhof was strewn with the wounded, with knapsacks, arms, and wagons, and crowded with fugitives. In this battle a number of Austrian soldiers gave themselves up as prisoners of war, merely in order to get food, their supplies being distributed irregularly, and the country bare around them. These two victories enabled the Guards to join Steinmetz, uniting the entire second army, a movement which the Austrians had striven to prevent. On the 29th Königinhof was captured. On the same day the news of victory was spread through the kingdom: Count Bismarck, who had been so long maligned, suddenly became the idol of the people. That night the king hastened to the seat of war.

§ 10. The first army, under Prince Frederick Charles, advanced into Bohemia by way of Zittau and Reichenberg; and the Army of the Elbe, under Bittenfeld, was still farther west. The latter force found the enemy first on the 27th at Hünérwasser, and on the 28th at Turnau and Münchengrätz; while the main body met with the first serious resistance on the 28th at Liebenau and Podol. By these battles they secured the union of the two armies before Münchengrätz. The bloody battle of Gitschin, June 29, then brought these forces into direct co-operation with the second army under the crown-prince and Steinmetz. The next day the king appeared in the camp; and the whole of the united forces stood

before the surprised enemy, who were concentrated near the fortress of Königgrätz. The terrible effects of Dreyse's invention, the needle-gun, contributed to this series of victories; but they would have been impossible but for the remarkable intelligence, discipline, and steadfastness of the Prussian soldiers. The persistency of the king and his government in carrying out the reorganization of the army, in spite of the opposition, was now rewarded with general approval; and Von Roon, the minister of war, and Baron von Moltke, the chief of staff, shared the honors of the victories with the king, the generals, and the soldiers. All Christendom turned with breathless attention to the Bohemian village of Sadowa, around which were gathered the greatest hosts which had ever met upon a battle-field among civilized men—on each side a quarter of a million of well-armed soldiers, to decide by force the destiny of Central Europe.

§ 11. The Elbe, where it flows southward by the fortress of Königgrätz, is already a large stream. Some miles west of it, a tributary, the Bistritz, flows also southward, almost parallel with it. East of the latter river the ground is undulating, forming a series of heights, crowned with little villages. It is also cut by a number of ravines, and is sprinkled with patches of woodland. Here stood the Austrian army under Benedek. Their position had been carefully strengthened by every means in their power. Its defect was that the Elbe was behind, and made retreat difficult and perilous, in case of defeat. For this and other reasons, Prince Frederick Charles, who was at Horzitz, opposite them, on the evening of July 2, believed that Benedek would attack the Prussians on the next day, before the entire second army, under the crown-prince, who was then at Königinhof, could be brought up. He therefore hastened to Gitschin, just before midnight, to the king, who was about going to rest. A council of war was held at once, and they resolved to anticipate the attack of the enemy. To do this successfully it was necessary that the crown-prince, who was still many miles away, should be able to make an attack on the left at the right time on the morrow. The order was sent him through the rainy night by an adjutant. Herwarth, with the Army of the Elbe, was placed at the extreme right, at

Nechanitz. The first army, forming the centre, was to seize Sadowa, and hold it, not permitting the enemy to break through, until the crown-prince should come up, which he was expected to do at two o'clock in the afternoon. Thus the order of battle resembled that at Waterloo fifty-one years before. It was Thursday, July 3, 1866. The oppressive heat of the last days of June had been followed by heavy rains, so that the ground was soft and the marching toilsome. Before eight o'clock the king was on his horse; and at that hour the Prussian attack began along the whole line, from Nechanitz almost to Bürglitz. It was a bloody and terrible struggle, which continued until noon without intermission; and then in many parts of the field the artillery had exhausted its ammunition, and had resorted to the reserve stores; and yet no ground was gained. Eager glances were directed to the left, such as Wellington had cast in search of Blücher. At length the second army came, with a speed which was wonderful in view of the difficulties surmounted; and amid the general thunder of cannon, the sound of new batteries on the enemy's right was the first announcement of the arrival of the crown-prince. It was two o'clock. The forward movement was now made vigorously along the whole line, but most efficiently of all on the northeast, where the fresh Guards, and the men of Silesia, Posen, and Prussia, stood. They pressed on from village to village, aiming especially at Chlum, the key to the position. Here General Hiller of Gärtringen fell, among many brave men. The Austrian army began to be thrown into confusion, and streamed in disordered masses back toward the Elbe. The evening sun broke through the clouds, lighting up in the distance the towers of Königgrätz, toward which both fugitives and pursuers hastened. The king, who had shared all the labors and trials of the day with the soldiers, was now surrounded by joyful throngs, who showed in every way their attachment to him; while the old song, "Now all thank God," resounded over the field of battle, as it had long ago at Leuthen.

§ 12. This great defeat brought the Austrian monarchy into serious peril. The decisive campaign had lasted but seven days. The day after the battle, Gablentz, whom King William, in the Schleswig campaign, had learned to respect, came



to negotiate for an armistice; but on July 4 the news was received that the Emperor of Austria, immediately upon learning the extent of the reverse, had ceded Venetia by telegraph to the Emperor of the French. It was for Venetia that Italy was contending in alliance with Prussia. Before the war began, Napoleon III. advised Austria to cede the Italian province to Victor Emanuel voluntarily, or in exchange for a sum of money, so as to detach Italy from the alliance against it. The pride of the imperial court had rejected this advice, and had undertaken the double war. Against the Italians the Austrians had been victorious. The volunteers under Garibaldi made no headway in the Tyrol, nor the Italian army against the famous "Quadrilateral;" indeed, the Archduke Albert defeated them at Custozza, June 24, and the Austrian fleet was victorious in a sea-fight at Lissa, July 20. But upon the defeat at Königgrätz the emperor suddenly formed the resolution to place Venetia at the disposal of Napoleon III. The object was to secure France as an ally, and to prevent the union of Germany under Prussia; or, at least, to quiet Italy by the cession of Venetia, which in any case must be made at last, and so set all the Austrian troops at liberty to hasten to the defense of Vienna. But these hopes were not fulfilled. Napoleon, indeed, accepted the cession, so that the Austrians could evacuate the fortresses and withdraw many of their troops to the capital. But Italy was faithful to its alliance, nor did Napoleon attempt to interfere, save by peaceful mediation. Meanwhile this act of Austria produced the most unfavorable impression in Germany, where the enemies of Prussia had continually held up Venetia as a bulwark of the confederation against France, and praised the Austrian monarchy for its patriotic service to Germany in defending this possession. But the appeal of Austria to Napoleon as an arbiter in the affairs of Germany, though it was welcomed by the French with enthusiasm and triumph, deeply offended all German patriots.

§ 13. The Prussians advanced, and approached Vienna almost without opposition. The crown-prince, with the second army, went to Olmütz, and near that city gained the victory of Tobitschau, July 15, cutting off part of the Austrian troops from the capital. Prince Frederick Charles and

the first army, accompanied by the king, went to Brünn; while the Army of the Elbe pursued the most direct course to Vienna, through Iglau and Znaym. The Prussian forces were brought together again north of Vienna, in full view of that city, which was defended only by the Danube, and by earthworks hastily thrown up at Florisdorf. An attack upon Vienna, and its capture, were expected daily. The king removed his head-quarters to Nikolsburg. But an armistice for five days was concluded on July 22, through the mediation of France. At the moment this was made known, the extreme left wing of the Prussians had passed over the Little Carpathians, cut off a body of Austrians at Blumenau, near Presburg, in Hungary, and was on the point of occupying that important city, and thus obtaining command of a bridge across the Danube, by which they could have reached the rear of Vienna. But the Austrians, at the beginning of the armistice, marched through the Prussian columns to Presburg. On July 26 the armistice was extended for four weeks, its terms including the preliminaries of peace. After several attempts by Napoleon to turn his mediation to the account of France, which met with no favor from either of the contending German powers, it was agreed that Austria should withdraw from the German Confederation, and accept the changes proposed by Prussia north of the Main—while Baden, Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Darmstadt should be free to form a Bund of their own—yielding to Prussia the exclusive right to occupy Schleswig-Holstein, for an indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers, paid by deducting it from the 40,000,000 which Austria agreed to pay to Prussia as the cost of the war. Prussia was further to be permitted to “round off” its frontiers by annexing the lands which had hitherto separated its eastern and western provinces, while the military incorporation of the armies of all North Germany with that of Prussia would give it, among the great powers, the weight of a consolidated state reaching to the Main. In consenting to these terms, Napoleon imagined that he was permanently dividing Germany into a North and a South, with Austria as the irconcilable enemy of Prussia. It was the fast-growing sentiment of nationality, unseen by him, that brought his scheme to naught.

§ 14. The Army of the Main, at first under Falkenstein, and afterward under Manteuffel, was as successful in the west as the troops in Bohemia. It numbered at first but 45,000 men, from all parts of the monarchy, though the Westphalians, forming the seventh corps, were in the majority; and it was opposed to a force twice as large. The enemy consisted of the eighth corps of the Federal army, 45,000 strong, including the soldiers of Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Frankfort, under Prince Alexander of Hesse-Darmstadt, and of the Bavarians, also about 45,000 strong, under the veteran Prince Charles, great-uncle of the young king, who also held the command in chief over both corps. This army showed its want of resolute leadership in its failure to succor the Hanoverians. It was expected to march westward from Bamberg to Eisenach, in the Thuringian forest, but had scarcely reached Hildburghausen and Meiningen when King George surrendered. On hearing of this, the Bavarian commander resumed his original plan of uniting with the eighth corps, so as to be an overmatch for the Prussians. The junction, at first designed to take place near Fulda, was then arranged to be made farther north, at Hersfeld, and Prince Alexander was instructed accordingly. This plan required the Bavarians to move westward into Hesse, and on July 2 they began to march across the northern slope of the Rhön-Gebirge. On the same day Falkenstein with his forces, now called the Army of the Main, set out to move by Vacha to Hünfeld and up the great Frankfort highway. He reached Vacha, where the Bavarians made an unsuccessful attack at night on his left. Falkenstein then turned Göben's division to face the southeast, and on July 4, at Dermbach, it drove back the Bavarian posts; and Prince Charles, believing himself before Falkenstein's entire army, withdrew his troops toward the Saale in Franconia. For Prince Alexander, on hearing of the defeat at Königgrätz, had turned southward to Frankfort, both to cover that city, the capital of the confederation, and to protect the countries from which his troops came. Thus a junction of the two armies could only be effected upon a line farther south.

§ 15. Falkenstein meanwhile advanced to Hünfeld and Fulda without resistance. Not finding the eighth corps

there, he suddenly resolved to attack the Bavarians on his left. On July 8 he led his troops in two columns, by a bold and difficult march, over the steep Rhön-Gebirge, and came upon the right flank of the Bavarians, who were marching along the Franconian Saale to Gmünden, on the Main. Kissingen was attacked by Göben's division, July 10, and taken, though only after a brave and bloody resistance by the Bavarian general, Von der Tann, while Manteuffel was conducting the fight on the left at Hausen, and Bayer on the right at Hammelburg. The Bavarians retreated to Schweinfurt and Würzburg, and Falkenstein contented himself with a mere feint of pursuit, but hastened westward to Hanau, his principal object being to obtain possession of Frankfort. On his route he was met by Prince Alexander with the eighth corps, now really on his way to join the Bavarians. The division of Göben, again in the advance, had marched nearly sixty miles in two days, crossing the difficult Spessart, when, on the evening of July 13, it came upon the Hesse-Darmstadt troops of the eighth corps of the confederation. Though almost exhausted, they made an attack at Laufach, and drove the enemy back. On the next day, at Aschaffenburg, they came upon the entire force of the federal troops, but the Hessians and Austrians were defeated and the city taken before the Baden and Wirtemberg troops came upon the field. After these defeats the eighth corps retreated southward toward the Odenwald, abandoning Frankfort and Nassau; and Falkenstein, who entered Frankfort July 16, reported to the king: "The country north of the Main is at your majesty's feet."

§ 16. General Falkenstein was now recalled from Frankfort to be made governor in Bohemia, and was succeeded by General Manteuffel. The Federal troops accomplished their junction with the Bavarians, and might have advanced against the Prussians with a vast superiority of forces. But instead of this, Prince Charles kept the Bavarians in a strong position at Würzburg, and placed the eighth corps behind the Tauber, within reach of the most important territories from which the Federal troops had been collected. The united army was nearly 100,000 strong, while the Army of the Main now numbered about 60,000, and at the same time Frederick

Francis, Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg, was bringing up a reserve army of 21,000 men from Saxony into Bavaria. But it was too late for any further decisive movements. An armistice had already been concluded with Austria, and Prussia only needed to occupy a few prominent points among the hostile states of the confederacy as a guarantee for favorable terms of peace. On July 21 Manteuffel advanced from Frankfurt, and the next day reached Miltenberg, on the Main. On the 23d the division of General Flies met the Baden troops at Hundsheim, near Werthheim, and repulsed them with loss. The next day Manteuffel, with Göben's division, attacked the Wirtemberg troops at Tauberbischofsheim, while those of Beyer and Flies seized upon the passages across the river below, at Werbach and Werthheim. The South German troops fought with valor, but their movements displayed a sad want of combination and co-operation, so that they were attacked and defeated in detail. On the 24th, Prince Alexander strove to establish himself on the plateau between Würzburg and the Tauber, but the Bavarians, who were to support his left wing, came too late, and he was outflanked by Göben. He retreated, but the Bavarians received the attack at Helmstadt with great resolution; and when, on the 25th, their allies crossed the Main at Würzburg, they still fought valiantly to cover the retreat. The army of the South Germans was now at Würzburg, in the apex of the triangle formed here by the Main, and was in extreme peril. For besides Manteuffel in front of them, who on the 27th opened fire on the citadel of the city, the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg was approaching them in the rear, only five days' march distant.

§ 17. The truce accepted July 26 went into effect August 2. The citadel was given up to the Prussians as a guarantee; the eighth corps was dissolved, and the several contingents were ordered to their homes. Thus the war on the western side was ended. It was a deplorable civil contest among Germans themselves, but it taught some valuable lessons. The smaller states saw clearly how helpless individual valor is without some central controlling power which can govern and combine all for the achievement of one purpose. Thus this campaign may be regarded as one of the principal influences in bringing about the unity of Germany. Peace was

soon concluded at Berlin with the hostile states of the confederation, with some of them before August 23, when the Peace of Prague was signed with Austria. Saxony entered the new North German Bund, or confederation, under the presidency of Prussia; and that part of the Darmstadt territory which lay north of the Main did the same. Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort. On August 16 these annexations were announced to the Prussian Diet, and the royal patent for them was published October 3. Thus Prussia's hitherto divided territories were united and extended. The kingdom was directly increased by the accession of nearly 25,000 square miles of land, with a population of 4,285,700; but its influence and position in Europe were increased by this war in a proportion incomparably greater than its area. A vast change took place in the domestic policy of Prussia also. The king and the Diet were reconciled, and the government obtained an overwhelming vote of indemnity for all acts and expenditures which had gone beyond the authority and appropriations voted by the Chambers September 3, while a general amnesty was granted by the king for all political offenses.

§ 18. The successes of Prussia in the war had been a series of surprises to Europe; but its successes after the war, in healing the breach between it and the other German states, and preparing the way for a permanent national union, were still more startling and unexpected. The jealousy of France and of Russia was deeply stirred. On August 6 a note of the French cabinet was received in Berlin demanding the restoration of the French frontiers, as fixed by the first Peace of Paris, May 30, 1814, as a "compensation" to France for the recent aggrandizement of Prussia; that is to say, Napoleon must be allowed to dismember Belgium, and to take the Germans of Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, and Landau for his subjects, to restore the proportionate military strength of his empire. The Prussian cabinet, however, in view of the fact that Prussia at this time had 600,000 men under arms, while France could not easily concentrate half that number, rejected the proposition at once; and Napoleon, in view of the same fact, quietly acquiesced. He even labored, soon after,

to convince the Prussian court that his own disposition was friendly, but that public opinion in France had compelled him to make the demand. This diplomatic defeat weakened his influence in France, and that of France in Europe. Russia, at this time, proposed to the other great powers to take under their protection the princes of Germany who were dethroned by the Prussian annexations; but the plan was received coldly even by Austria and France, and rejected by England, which rejoiced in the growing power of Germany. General Manteuffel was sent by Prussia to St. Petersburg, where he succeeded in quieting the uneasiness of the court for the time.

§ 19. The great result of the war of 1866 was the North German Bund or confederation, formed under a plan proposed by the Prussian cabinet August 4, by the union of all the states north of the river Main, under the presidency of Prussia. On February 24, 1867, the North German Parliament, of representatives elected in each state, assembled in Berlin, to complete the constitution of this union. The work was pursued with zeal, and with a spirit of moderation and concession on all sides, and its conclusion was formally announced on April 17. All the military forces of the North German states were placed under the supreme command of Prussia, together with the diplomatic control of foreign affairs, the consular business, and the post-office and telegraphs. Provision was made for uniform laws regulating the possession of land, the coinage, and weights and measures. In other matters of internal administration, each state was left to itself. On August 13, 17, and 22, 1866, treaties of offensive and defensive alliance were made with Wirtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria, but they were not published until the middle of March following, when a military convention was signed also with Hesse-Darmstadt (March 17, 1867). At the adjournment of the North German Parliament, on April 17, the king announced that the time had come when "the German fatherland can maintain its peace, its rights, and its dignity with its united forces."

§ 20. The benefits which their new union was to confer on the German states were not long in showing themselves in every department of legislation, administration, and trade;

and attracted the recognition of foreign nations. The people of the districts annexed to Prussia in 1866 were so wisely governed that most of them soon became not mere subjects, but patriotic citizens of that kingdom. The states which had then taken up arms against Prussia rapidly forgot their enmity; and the whole German people soon began to regret that the Main had been suffered to limit the new union on the south. But the Southern states were closely bound to the Northern by their treaties of offensive and defensive alliance; and still more so by the Zoll-Verein, which was more firmly established than ever under the administration of a Customs Parliament of all the states. There was still a party of "Particularists" in South Germany, whose local prejudices and aims opposed the national policy of union; but its strength depended upon merely temporary interests, and it was not important enough to resist the overwhelming popular sentiment. In Prussia, and within the new confederation, the bitterness of the hostility formerly shown to the government now disappeared. Austria at first showed a disposition to continue its policy of resistance to Prussian ascendancy in Germany, and Beust, the late premier of Saxony, and long the foe of Prussia, was made chancellor of the empire; but the government gradually became more and more conciliatory.

§ 21. Thus confidence in the preservation of peace was gradually restored. At the great International Exhibition of the Arts in Paris, in the summer of 1867, King William of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander of Russia visited Paris as guests of Napoleon III. On December 8, 1869, the General Council of the Roman Catholic Church, summoned by Pope Pius IX., assembled at the Vatican, in Rome, and there proceeded, during the following year, to crown the work of the Council of Trent, and that of the Jesuits for the last three centuries, by declaring the infallibility of the pope. These events did much to divert public attention throughout Europe from international politics; but the final action of the council, July 18, 1870, was announced precisely at the outbreak of the war, so that it failed to receive the notice and consideration which it deserved.

§ 22. Germany was now once more, after many centuries



of distraction and feebleness, a great and recognized power in Europe. King William I. was an admirable head for the nation in its new life, inasmuch as he had the skill and personal disinterestedness to select and gather around the throne the ablest men in every department of administration; to protect them against envy and hostility, and to secure to them their full meed of popular appreciation. The Crown-Prince Frederick William also obtained a large measure of favor among the people, and became a source of strength to the throne. He was born October 18, 1831, the only son of William I., then Prince of Prussia, and Augusta, daughter of Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar; and unites the military genius of his father, and his faithful diligence in his public duties, with the devotion of his mother's family to the advancement of science and art. His high intelligence, complete education, and elevated character, with his military experience, and his popular social qualities, are regarded as fitting him admirably for the throne to which he is the heir. In 1858 he married the Princess Victoria of England.

§ 23. The king and the prince are supported on every side by a body of men of patriotism and genius, such as Germany has never before known since the days of the Reformation—among them many of the ruling princes of the land, and members of princely families. Among these are several who have acquired great military reputation; especially Prince Frederick Charles, the king's nephew, and since 1866 the favorite of the Prussian army. He was born March 20, 1828, and was a zealous soldier from his youth. In 1848 he served in Schleswig-Holstein; and in 1849 in Baden, against the revolution. After the reorganization of the army, in which he took an active part, he became commander of the third army corps, with which he distinguished himself in Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, at Arnis, Düppel, and Alsen. These achievements extended his fame throughout Germany; and it was greatly increased in 1866 by his services at Gitschin and Sadowa.

§ 24. Albert, the Crown-Prince of Saxony, but one month younger than Prince Frederick Charles, also won his first laurels in Schleswig-Holstein in 1849. In alliance with Austria, he served unsuccessfully, but with honor, in the campaign of

1866, and led his corps of Saxons in excellent order out of the general rout at Sadowa. After the formation of the North German Confederation, he became the faithful ally and friend of Prussia. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg, and Frederick Francis, Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, served in 1866 on the Prussian side. The last-named prince, born in 1823, and educated among citizens at Dresden, became regent of his own country in his nineteenth year, and was one of the earliest and most disinterested advocates of German union. Prince William of Baden, born in 1829, was educated in the Prussian army, and in 1863 left it with the rank of lieutenant-general. A patriotic and far-sighted prince, distinguished for his political services to his own country, he reformed the army of Baden, upon the Prussian system, immediately after the war of 1866. Prince Augustus of Wirtemberg, too, who had belonged to the Prussian army from the year 1831, showed by the faithful fulfillment of his duties as commander of the Guard, that he could subordinate family associations and ambition to the general welfare. These two South German princes were the foremost agents in securing the union of the Southern with the Northern states.

§ 25. But the great work of German regeneration was laid on other than princely shoulders. Count Otto von Bismarck was now made chancellor of the North German Confederation; and in this office gathered the great harvest for which he had been laboring throughout his public life. The people had learned to recognize in him the worthy successor of Baron Stein, the great statesman of the war of freedom against Napoleon. Bismarck has never been surpassed in practical ability as a statesman. His firmness of purpose; his inflexible, unalterable devotion to the will and plans of his sovereign; his invincible presence of mind and readiness in all emergencies; his boldness and far-sightedness, have made him the most influential minister in Europe. His power as an orator in the House of Deputies, and his personal qualities as a man of humor, of patriotism, and of broad sympathies, have made way for him to the hearts of the people, among whom a thousand stories are told illustrating his extraordinary character and ability. What Bismarck was in the state, that was Hell-

muth, Baron Moltke, in the army. Like Stein, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau, Moltke was a German before he was a Prussian. He was born October 26, 1800, in the city of Parchim, in Mecklenburg, and was educated in the military school at Copenhagen. In 1822 he left the service of Denmark for that of Prussia, visited the military academy at Berlin, and entered the army as a lieutenant in the eighth regiment of infantry. During the long peace he passed through hard trials, but steadily cultivated his genius as a soldier. His services upon the general staff, in 1832, opened before him a greater career. In 1835 and the three following years, he traveled through the Turkish dominions in Europe and Asia, diligently studying the science of war. By one promotion after another, he became, in 1858, chief of the general staff. When Napoleon made war on Austria, he planned a campaign in France; and when Austria prosecuted the war without Prussia, he went in person to the Austrian head-quarters, and wrote his classical work upon "The Italian Campaign of 1859." Up to this time Von Moltke was little known outside of military circles; but the Danish war of 1864, and above all the great struggle of 1866, afforded him an opportunity for exercising his wonderful powers in planning a campaign. The admirable combination of all parts of the army, with the precision of a great machine working for a single purpose, was Moltke's work. After that time he became the organizing head of the armies of the North German Confederacy. His cool, calm thoughtfulness; his power firmly to grasp the outlines of the situation, amid all confusing details, and to act with the most rapid boldness, yet always with the profoundest deliberation, distinguish him as the most eminent soldier in Europe. The minister of war, Albert von Roon, was also educated by hard and long experience. He was for many years active in the high-schools of the military art, and made a close and careful study of the auxiliary sciences, and especially of geography. He was charged by the king with the great work of reorganizing the army, and carried it out patiently, uninfluenced then by hatred and opposition, as afterward by general praise.

§ 26. Among the generals to whom independent commands were assigned, were two veterans, who confirmed the old

Prussian tradition that aged generals could inspire armies with youthful enthusiasm, and refuted the doctrine of the French Revolution that only young men could become great warriors. These were Steinmetz and Falkenstein. Steinmetz was born at Eisenach, December 27, 1796, of a family which had long given soldiers to the Prussian army. He was educated at the military school in Culm. Falkenstein was born January 5, 1795, in Silesia. Left an orphan when a child, he was destined by his uncle, the Bishop of Breslau, for the Church; but his own inclinations made him a soldier. Both served as officers in their early youth, under York and Blücher, in the war for German freedom, and both then devoted themselves to the patient and thorough study of military science. During the long peace, Steinmetz, like Von Roon, became teacher and conductor of a military school; while Falkenstein pursued the peaceful art of painting on glass. Both were old men when the war of 1866 called them to the important commands in which they made their fame.

§ 27. We can but mention the names of a few distinguished generals who added to the strength of the German army at this time. Among them was Fransecki (born 1807), who defended the wood of Benatek in the battle of Sadowa; Kirchbach (born 1809); Manteuffel, formerly governor of Schleswig, and Falkenstein's successor, in 1866, in command of the Army of the Main; Göben (born 1816), who first distinguished himself at Düppel and Alsen, and afterward in the Army of the Main; and Werder (born 1808), who served long in the general staff, and fought in Schleswig-Holstein, as well as at Gitschin and Königgrätz. As chiefs of Staff, Voigts-Rheetz (born 1809) in the first army, Blumenthal (born 1810) in the second army, and Sperling and Stiehle, did admirable service. In the Bavarian army, General Von der Tann (born 1815) attracted the attention of all Germany in Schleswig-Holstein, in 1848 and 1849; and showed great abilities afterward, which were confined and hampered, however, by the unfortunate political relations of Bavaria. All these examples of military genius served to indicate the strength with which Germany, if assailed by any foreign power, could defend its right to develop its own union in its own way.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE WAR OF 1870 TO THE SURRENDER OF SEDAN.

- § 1. Napoleon III. Relations of France with Prussia. § 2. The Luxemburg Question. § 3. The Army in France. § 4. Prince Hohenzollern and the Spanish Crown. France Declares War. § 5. French Plans and Preparations. § 6. Movements of the German Armies. § 7. Affair at Saarbrücken. § 8. The French Defeated at Weissenbourg. § 9. At Wörth. § 10. At Saarbrücken. § 11. Effect of the German Victories. § 12. Retreat of the French toward Chalons. § 13. They are Defeated at Courcelles. § 14. At Vionville and Mars la Tour. § 15. And again at Gravelotte. § 16. New Plans of Campaign on both Sides. § 17. MacMahon's March to Sedan. § 18. Battle and Capture of Sedan.

§ 1. FRANCE had been for nearly a century the land of revolutions. One government after another had been set up, only to fall when it lost, by any means, the favor of the mob; and the whole political and social system was shattered by the constant reorganizations to which it had been subjected. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, chosen president of the republic September 10, 1848, usurped the military dictatorship December 2, 1851, and the next year was declared emperor as Napoleon III. By the most unscrupulous means, and at the cost of constantly increasing taxes and debt, he maintained his power, and preserved order and peace at home for more than ten years. Manufactures and trade flourished; and the people, deprived of a free political life, devoted themselves more than ever to the pursuit of wealth and of pleasure. The government steadily appealed to the passions and the vanity of the mob, and undertook to satisfy them for the want of freedom by promising "glory," which seemed as necessary to them as bread. The brilliant success of the empire in the Crimean War (1853-1856) and in Italy (1859) satisfied the French that their master was the arbiter of Europe. But in later years fortune seemed to turn against Napoleon. During the great rebellion in the United States, he invaded Mexico, and set up a dependent empire under Maximilian, the brother of Francis Joseph of Austria; but was

compelled to withdraw, after sacrificing thousands of lives and millions of treasure, and to abandon Maximilian to the vengeance of the Mexicans, who put him to death June 9, 1867. The republican opposition in France began to gather strength. The French were surprised and alarmed by the victories of Prussia in 1866. Napoleon had reason to hope for a long civil war, which would exhaust Germany, or at least for a decided Austrian victory. In either case he might step upon the scene as the arbiter of the strife, demand cessions of territory on the Rhine, annex Belgium, and assume a protectorate over Germany. But the result was very different from this. Prussia was now in possession of a military strength beyond that which the first Napoleon ever wielded, and Germany was far more united and far stronger than it had ever been. Napoleon III. would have been too prudent of himself to attack Prussia; but the French people and the army were excited to the highest pitch by jealousy of German power and exploits; and some of their statesmen, such as Thiers, made it the burden of their attacks on the emperor that he had permitted Germany to become united. "Compensation for Sadowa" became a general cry. The French government very quietly and cautiously presented its claims for "compensation"—that is, for cessions of territory on the frontier of Germany—to reconcile France to the changes in Europe; but Prussia refused to recognize them. The loudest voices among the French called attention to the rapid growth and consolidation of the German power, while France remained stationary, and restlessly clamored for an assertion of the pre-eminence of their country.

§ 2. The Luxemburg question almost led to war in 1867. By the treaties of 1815 and 1839, the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg and part of the Dutch province of Limburg were placed under the sovereignty of the King of Holland, but remained members of the German Confederation. When the confederacy was dissolved in 1866, these districts lost their connection with Germany. The city of Luxemburg, a strong fortress of the confederation, was still occupied by Prussian troops. France demanded the evacuation of this fortress upon its frontier, and Napoleon began negotiations with the King of Holland for the annexation of Luxemburg to France.

In the press and the legislative assemblies of both nations the dispute was carried on warmly. It was agreed, however, that a European conference at London should settle the controversy; and the decision was that the fortress of Luxemburg should be evacuated by the Prussians and destroyed; and that the whole territory should remain under the sovereignty of the royal house of Holland, with its neutrality guaranteed by the European powers (May 11, 1867). It continued, however, to belong to the Zoll-Verein, so that its commercial interests were closely associated with those of Prussia.

§ 3. If the danger of war was avoided at this time, it was perhaps less because France was desirous of peace than because the reorganization of the French army was still incomplete; and it was not yet fully supplied with its new arm, the powerful Chassepot rifle, the superior of the needle-gun. But this reorganization was perfected during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, by Neil, the minister of war, and France was generally regarded as fully equal in strength to Prussia and the North German Confederacy. Under the pressure of the republican opposition, Napoleon meanwhile made large concessions to the parliamentary theory of government, with Olivier, hitherto a liberal, as his prime-minister; and obtained a *plebiscite*, or general vote of the people, approving his new policy and sustaining his government. The majority was a large one, and strengthened his position, though the negative votes, even in the army, were numerous enough to excite some apprehension.

§ 4. The year 1870 opened without any renewal of the uneasiness which had been recently felt as to the relations of the two countries. King William I. was at the baths of Ems in June, when the tidings came that the Spaniards, who had dethroned their queen, Isabella, in 1868, now offered their crown, through General Prim, president of the ministry, to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a descendant of the younger branch of the house of Hohenzollern, which had been separated for centuries from the elder branch, but had during the last two generations been in high favor at the Prussian court. In France this offer was regarded as a new effort for aggrandizement on the part of Prussia; and the Duc de Grammont, French minister of foreign affairs, at

once announced in the Chamber that France would never consent to such an extension of Prussian power. King William I., required by France to forbid the acceptance of the Spanish crown by Leopold, declined to do so, but showed a spirit of conciliation; and Leopold himself voluntarily withdrew his name from the candidacy, so that every ground for a dispute seemed to be removed. But Grammont declared the withdrawal of the prince a merely incidental matter, and demanded, through Count Benedetti, the French minister at Ems, that the King of Prussia should pledge himself never to support the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince for the crown of Spain; at the same time suggesting that a letter of apology from King William to the emperor would be the proper remedy for the wounded pride of the French people. The pride of the king and of the Prussian people was aroused by these demands, and Benedetti was politely dismissed. All Germany felt deeply the humiliation which had been offered to the king, and cried out that if France were bent on war, it should have war to the knife. King William hastily returned from Ems, and at Brandenburg, where Count Bismarck joined him, learned that Benedetti's dismissal had been received in France as an attack upon the national honor, and that the order to mobilize the army had already been given, while the Senate and the people had heard Grammont's warlike declarations with wild applause. The king and the crown-prince were welcomed in Berlin with enthusiasm, and the whole nation echoed the shouts of the people of the capital. On July 19 the Diet of the North German Confederation met, and zealously placed the military resources of the nation at the service of the government. On the same day the formal declaration of war by France was received in Berlin.

§ 5. "France is entirely ready," reported Marshal Le Bœuf, the minister of war; and Napoleon therefore consented to the war for which his ministers were so zealous. But he had in his control little more than 300,000 men, and his means of transportation were imperfect, so that even these could not be brought to the frontier at once. Napoleon knew that the Prussians alone could oppose him with 350,000 men, which the rest of Germany would increase to 550,000. But



his expectation was to be ready before the Germans; to cross the Rhine at Maxau with 250,000 men, and to compel the South German states either to join him or to remain neutral. After one victory, he expected to have Austria, Italy, and Denmark on his side, and even ventured to expect revolts in Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony. With this plan in view, he collected 100,000 men at Strasburg; the main army, which he was to command in person, 150,000 strong, assembled at Metz; and the reserve of 50,000 men, under Canrobert, held the fortified camp at Chalons. The army of Metz was then to join that of Strasburg, and they would cross the Rhine together. The emperor intrusted the regency to the Empress Eugenie, and on July 28 entered Metz with the prince imperial, then fourteen years of age. But he was far from finding all ready for the advance. The Germans were beforehand with him.

§ 6. The German leaders had long resolved upon the course to be pursued in case of a war with France. In the winter of 1868 and 1869, General Von Moltke drew up a memorial, showing that Napoleon's plan must probably be first to invade South Germany, and carefully detailing the method by which the Prussians or the Germans ought to meet and defeat his efforts. By concentrating the German troops in the Palatinate, they would be in a position to stop the enemy's advance by an attack upon his flank. Moltke's plan was pursued when the decisive moment came. A first army was formed under General Steinmetz, including Zastrow's corps, the seventh, from Westphalia, and Göben's, the eighth, from the Rhine province; which marched up from the Lower Rhine, and formed the left wing of the German forces. The second army, under Prince Frederick Charles, contained the corps of Guards, commanded by Prince Augustus of Wirtemberg; the third corps, from Brandenburg, under Alvensleben I.; the fourth corps, from Saxony, under Alvensleben II.; the ninth corps, from Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse, under Mannstein; the tenth, from Hanover, Brunswick, and Oldenburg, under Voigts-Rheetz; and the twelfth, from Saxony, under Albert, the crown-prince of that kingdom. This army was directed to observe the enemy, and to hold itself in readiness to march southward or westward. It assembled in the Palatr

nate, between the Rhine and the Nahe. South of it lay the third army, commanded by the Crown-Prince of Prussia. It included the fifth corps, under Kirchbach, from Posen and Silesia; the eleventh, from Hesse, Nassau, and Thuringia, under Bose; and the first and second Bavarian corps, under Von der Tann and Hartmann; with divisions from Wirtemberg and Baden. This army was destined for a direct attack in the south, and to hinder the advance of the enemy. Thus on August 2, 1870, 450,000 men stood ready in the narrow space between Trèves and Landau; while 100,000 more—the first corps of Prussians, under Manteuffel; the second, of Pomeranians, under Fransecki; and the sixth, of Silesians, under Tümpling—were on their way from the remote frontiers of the monarchy. To protect the coast against the French fleet and an invasion by sea, General Vogel von Falkenstein was made governor of the provinces on the North Sea and the Baltic. The troops under him were few, but were thought to be enough, strengthened as they were by the patriotic aid of the people, to prevent any invasion.

§ 7. The vigor and celerity of the German preparations were in strong contrast with the irresolution at the French head-quarters. But something must be done to appease the thirst of the Parisians for victory; and on August 2 Napoleon made an attack on Saarbrücken, where Colonel Pestel, with four squadrons and two battalions, made such a display that the place seemed to be occupied by large detachments. The little force withdrew before the advance of a considerable body of French troops, and Napoleon sent a victorious bulletin to the empress, reporting the "battle," and his son's "baptism of fire." But it was not yet determined whether MacMahon should march to Metz, or whether the Metz army should come to him to cross the Rhine. As soon as a movement was made in the latter direction, the German commanders saw their opportunity to carry out their long-studied plan of attack.

§ 8. On August 4, 1870, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, with the third army, advanced from Landau and Germersheim across the frontier, and attacked Douay's division of MacMahon's troops at Weissenburg. A severe fight took place around the ancient walls of this city, and upon the steep hill

—the Gaisberg—behind it. The French were compelled to retire, many prisoners were taken, and General Abel Douay was slain. This first success raised the confidence of the Germans every where, and the brave struggle which Prussians and Bavarians carried on side by side against the common foe cemented the union of these countries and of all Germany.

§ 9. MacMahon now in haste drew together his first corps and part of the seventh, Felix Douay's, from Upper Alsace; and tried in vain also to bring up the fifth corps, General Faily's, from the west. With the troops he had, he took up a position at Wörth, before the passes of the Vosges mountains, eleven miles south of Weissenburg, and west of the great road to Strasburg, on which the German army was advancing. But the army of the crown-prince did not give him time to collect all his forces. On August 6, Hartmann, with the second Bavarian corps, attacked the strong French lines on the heights, from the right; and this movement was followed by an attack along the whole line. The Germans pressed on, captured the village of Wörth, crossed the deep valley and the brook that flows through it, and charged the French line of battle, drawn up across the villages of Fröschweiler and Elsasshausen. The attack on these heights, and especially on the vineyards occupied by the Turcos and the Zouaves, was fierce and bloody work. But when the eleventh corps, and the Baden and Wirtemberg troops, began to outflank the French right, MacMahon resolved to retreat. The retreat soon became a rout. The marshal, to cover the rear, sent two fine regiments of cuirassiers against the Germans; but they fell literally in heaps under the fire of their assailants, and gave no protection to the breaking French lines. Part of the army turned southward, and reached Strasburg in the evening by railway, in terror and confusion. The remainder fled through Reichshofen and Niederbronn to the passes of the Vosges; nor could MacMahon again bring them into line on the east side of the mountains.

§ 10. On the same day, August 6, Lieutenant-General Kammecke led the fourteenth division, part of the seventh army corps, against the steep heights of Spicheren, near Saarbrücken, which were occupied by the entire second corps of the

French, under General Frossard. The attack resulted in a fight still more bloody than that in Alsace. The sound of the cannon brought up three other divisions, which hastened to take part in the battle. At length even cavalry and artillery were successfully taken up to the heights which at first the foot-soldier could scarcely climb. Frossard had declined the support of the third corps, under Bazaine, but he now retired to Forbach, beyond the frontier of Lorraine. MacMahon was not now able to join the main army of the French around Metz, so that the French commanders were compelled to endeavor to concentrate their forces farther in the rear, toward the Moselle. The campaign had opened successfully for the Germans, and the French invasion of Germany was for the time impossible; but the emperor's best troops were still in reserve, and the decisive conflict was yet to come.

§ 11. The first false bulletins of victory produced in Paris a tumult of wild enthusiasm, which made the sudden tidings of disaster doubly crushing to the spirits of the people. On the other hand, the fervor and hopefulness of the whole German people were excited to the highest pitch, though their feelings of triumph were tempered by the sight of the wounded, thousands of whom fell into their hands, and were sent to the Palatinate and to Baden, and then in widening circles through the nation, to be cared for.

§ 12. The Germans now made a general advance of all three of their armies into France. The third army had the greatest difficulties to overcome. In several columns, it rapidly marched through the difficult passes of the Vosges mountains, and on August 12 came into direct communication with the second army. Finding Nancy unoccupied in its front, it pursued its way toward Chalons, while the second army followed the main body of the French, now placed under Bazaine as commander-in-chief, toward Metz. It seemed to be the plan of the French to abandon the eastern part of France, except the strong fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, to collect their entire forces at Chalons, and then to retire to Paris, to fight a decisive battle under the walls of the capital. But for this purpose it was necessary that Bazaine should cross the Moselle at Metz as quickly as possible, and

make his way to Chalons by Verdun. This plan was defeated by the three great battles fought before Metz in the middle of August.

§ 13. On August 14, before Bazaine succeeded in leading his army through Metz to the left bank of the Moselle, the first German army overtook his rear guard at Courcelles, east of Metz. This compelled the third French corps to accept battle; and Bazaine sent back Ladmirault's corps, the fourth, to support it. But the Germans drove them under the very walls of Metz. This battle destroyed Bazaine's last opportunity to make his retreat good to Verdun, without exposure to flank attacks from the Germans.

§ 14. In the mean while the second army had crossed the Moselle with one corps, and moved southward opposite to Metz. Bazaine, still delayed by the necessity of getting his troops in order, undertook on the 16th to march to Verdun; but was attacked, on leaving Metz, by the third Prussian corps under General Alvensleben, and by some divisions of other corps, with such vigor that he supposed the entire second army to be in his front, and advanced all his forces to meet it. The Prussians occupied the village of St. Hilaire, on the west, on the road to Verdun, and the villages of Mars la Tour and Vionville, and held them obstinately throughout the succeeding struggles. Bazaine feared most for his left wing, and for his communications with Metz. On this side he gathered his strength for defense, and strove to turn the third corps, and especially Buddenbrock's division of Brandenburg troops. Here 33,000 men occupied the key of the situation, and held it against an army more than twice as large, through a fight of three hours, before the first reinforcement of 4600 men reached them, though meanwhile the enemy had brought up 57,000 fresh troops. At three o'clock, in the height of the battle, when the inequality of forces was greatest, there were actually 150,000 French engaged against 38,000 Germans. Nor were the additions made to this force by the arrival of the fourth and of the remainder of the tenth corps more than 31,000 men. But they held their ground. At the moment of greatest anxiety, General Alvensleben ordered a desperate charge by two regiments of cavalry, the seventh cuirassiers and the sixteenth uhlans: they

rode up to the batteries in front and took them; then fell upon columns of infantry and scattered them; then attacked a battery of mitrailleuses, when the French cavalry was hurled upon them, and they, in their fatigue, had to cut their way back along a pathway of blood. But half of them returned. A similar sacrifice was afterward made of the two regiments of dragoons of the Guard. These charges prevented the enemy from accomplishing his purpose, until fresh forces came up, and occupied the positions which had been taken at the beginning.

§ 15. This battle of Vionville, on August 16, was the essential preliminary of the decisive action of the 18th, and of the great catastrophe which followed. Bazaine gave up the attempt to march on that day toward Verdun. Nor did he venture to move the next day, though the northern roads, by Etain and Brieg, were still open to him. He preferred, after giving his troops a day of rest, to risk a decisive battle. On August 17, the entire first and second German armies reached the left bank of the Moselle, leaving only the first corps behind to observe Metz in the rear. Thus 200,000 Germans stood ready for the battle of Gravelotte, commanded by the king in person, with Prince Frederick Charles, Steinmetz, Moltke, Roon, and Bismarck at his side. It was not yet known whether Bazaine had not already taken the northern road by Etain, so that the left wing of the Germans was necessarily stretched out in that direction to stop him. The right wing was therefore drawn back as a reserve. But if he should be found in a strong position on the hills along the Moselle near Metz, it was intended to draw in the left wing to turn the right flank of the French. This proved to be the case. The armies exchanged the directions in which they faced, the Germans looking eastward, the French westward. This made the prospect for the defeated party the more terrible, and the fight the more desperate. The French, indeed, fought in these battles before Metz with a valor worthy of their fame. They occupied the edge of the plateau running westward before the forts of St. Quentin and Plappeville. Behind the abrupt ravine at Bois de Vaux, on the southwest, stood Frossard's second army corps; north of it, Le Bœuf, with the third corps, held the centre; still further north, behind

the lines of Armanvilliers, was Ladmiraalt, with the fourth corps; and farthest north, at St. Privat, Canrobert's corps, the sixth. The Guards formed the reserve, stationed behind the second and third corps, but too remote from the right wing to give it support. The French strengthened their position to the utmost, meaning to stand wholly on the defensive. Their batteries were placed upon the successive flats, behind the deep ravines across which the Germans must approach them. The lines of infantry, formed one above another, afforded the best possible opportunity for the fire of the Chassepot rifle. On the extreme right of the German army, behind the narrow ravine of Mance, was the seventh corps, with the eighth adjoining it on the north—both under General Steinmetz. Then came the ninth corps, opposite the French centre. The Guards and the twelfth corps formed the left wing, commanded by Prince Frederick Charles, with the third and tenth corps, which had suffered so much on the 16th, in reserve. The left wing was still far in the rear, and was engaged in wheeling to the right, to reach the enemy's front. At noon the ninth corps began an artillery fire upon the French centre at Armanvilliers. At the same time, the twenty-fifth division of infantry established itself in the wood of La Cusse, and maintained the position throughout the fight, though with heavy loss. But the seventh and eighth corps failed to secure a footing beyond the Mance ravine. About four o'clock the Guards took the village of Marie aux Chènes, and at five began from this point a charge upon St. Privat, the key of the enemy's position. Now came the decisive moment. But the troops were cut down in such numbers as they advanced across the open ground against the strong position in the village, that they were compelled to halt, until the Saxons (the twelfth corps), making a wide circuit, came in from the north, and joined the Guards, in the evening twilight, in storming the enemy's lines. The French (the sixth corps) were completely routed. At the same time a part of the Guards, with the ninth corps, made a victorious attack upon Armanvilliers. The second corps, too, advanced from Pont à Mousson through Gorze, and along the narrow causeway through the ravine of Mance, though they had just arrived from Germany, and now saw the enemy for the first

time, after a march of sixteen hours. They made good their position for the night beyond the ravine. The German loss in killed and wounded was 20,000; the French, though they fought in their intrenchments, and upon their own chosen ground, reckoned their loss at more than 12,000. But the great result of the day was that the French army was broken and defeated.

§ 16. Bazaine during the night withdrew his troops into Metz. The plan of escaping westward had utterly failed. Napoleon had left Metz on the 14th, and had joined MacMahon's army. The Germans at once resolved to lay siege to Metz, with the army of nearly 200,000 men shut up in it. The first army, and most of the second, under the command of Prince Frederick Charles—in all about 160,000 men—remained before Metz for this purpose. The rest of the army was destined to advance boldly upon the capital, attacking whatever hostile force might be found in the way. A fourth army, called the Army of the Maas, was made out of that part of the first and second armies not needed at Metz—the Guards, the fourth and twelfth corps, and the fifth and sixth divisions of cavalry—and placed under Prince Albert of Saxony. It was designed to co-operate with the third army, that of the Crown-Prince of Prussia, in the advance to Paris. The two armies were ready to move, when the tidings came that the French had abandoned the camp at Chalons, where they were expected to concentrate, and that MacMahon had gone to Rheims. In short, the way to Paris had been left open, in order to execute a plan devised by Count Palikao in Paris, and strongly recommended to Napoleon by the Empress Eugenie. For since fortune seemed to have deserted the emperor, he had been derided and scorned by the people, who would have deified him had he conquered the Rhine. Paris was declared in a state of siege, in order to guard against rebellion; the Ollivier and Grammont ministry retired, and Palikao assumed the government. It was impossible for the emperor to return thither. In spite, therefore, of MacMahon's opposition, he adopted the desperate plan of leading the forces still left to him, confused and half-organized as they were, along the Belgian frontier, in order to reach Metz and release Bazaine. The united French army would then turn back against the Germans,



§ 17. As soon as this movement was known at the headquarters of the third army, where the king and his general staff now were, a plan no less bold, but much better considered, was adopted. It was determined to turn aside to the north, and to prevent the approach to Metz. Since the third army had the greatest distance to march, the fourth army was prepared to meet the enemy first. MacMahon, with his shattered and loosely disciplined troops, could move but slowly; so that the fourth army overtook him at the river Maas, far away from Metz. He had with him the emperor, and all the troops remaining to the empire who were ready for battle. He marched by way of Rheims and Rethel, in a long curve, on whose radii the two German armies advanced to attack him, following the general direction of the Maas. The fourth army reached the French at Nouart, August 29; and on the 30th the Crown-Prince of Saxony, in the battle of Beaumont, drove back two corps of them (the sixth and seventh) behind the river, which he soon crossed in pursuit. The third army now came up, holding the left bank of the Maas, and cutting off MacMahon's retreat to Paris, as the fourth prevented his advance to Metz. The Belgian frontier lay on the French rear. Thus hemmed in on every side, MacMahon ventured on a final battle at the little fortress of Sedan, on the river Maas. The Germans formed the purpose, not only of gaining the battle, but of preventing the French from escaping to the neutral territory of Belgium.

§ 18. The battle of Sedan was fought September 1, 1870, under the direct command of King William I., and proved the most important victory in the history of Germany. Part of the third army crossed the Maas above Sedan, August 31. The two Bavarian corps attacked the enemy from the south, at the village of Bazeilles, just before Sedan, and the village itself was left a heap of ruins. On their right, the fourth corps, then northwards, the Guards, and finally the twelfth corps, the Saxons, made their advance. Thus the first army, as the right arm of the Germans, enveloped the French on the south and east, while the left arm, formed of the ninth and fifth corps, which crossed the river at Donchery, closed in around them in a bow from the west to the north, until it met the Saxons. Within the ring, supported by Sedan, the

French corps of MacMahon, Faily, Donay, and Lebrun once more made a brave resistance. But the German forces pressed ever nearer and more energetically upon them, and the French, repulsed wherever they attempted to break through, were at length driven back within the narrow limits of the fortress of Sedan, with Napoleon among them. Now the Germans, approaching nearer, threw their first shells into the compact and despairing throng. The pride of Napoleon III. gave way; the city and the army surrendered, and the emperor himself wrote to King William: "Having failed to find death in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to lay my sword at your majesty's feet. I remain your majesty's good brother, Napoleon." On September 2, Napoleon, a fugitive from his own troops and from France, left Sedan. He was received by Bismarck, and then by King William himself, at the little castle of Bellevue, as a prisoner of war. The king assigned for his abode, until the end of the war, the Wilhelmshöhe at Cassel, one of the finest residences in Germany. MacMahon being severely wounded, the capitulation was signed by the second in command, General Wimpffen. More than 84,000 men, including 1 marshal, 40 generals, and 2825 officers, were surrendered, with 330 field-pieces, 70 mitrailleuses, and 10,000 horses. On August 31 and September 1, Bazaine made a desperate effort to break the German lines on the northeast of Metz, in order to join MacMahon by way of Thionville; but was driven back by General Manteuffel, with the first army corps and some other troops, and was compelled to withdraw again behind the fortifications of Metz.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE WAR WITH FRANCE CONTINUED.—CAPITULATION OF PARIS AND THE PEACE OF FRANKFORT.

- § 1. The Republic Declared in Paris. § 2. The Germans Advance to Paris. § 3. Capture of Strasburg. § 4. Bazaine Capitulates in Metz. § 5. The Defenses of Paris. § 6. Resources of the Besiegers. § 7. Gambetta in Tours. Battle at Artenay. § 8. Garibaldi in Southeastern France. § 9. Negotiations and Movements after the Fall of Metz. § 10. First Attempts to Relieve Paris. § 11. Battle at Orleans. § 12. Amiens Taken. § 13. Diplomatic Tour of Thiers. Battle of Beaune la Rolande. § 14. Battles of Beaugency. § 15. Campaign of Werder against Bourbaki. § 16. Battle near Amiens. § 17. Bombardment of Paris. § 18. Great Efforts of the French to Raise the Siege. § 19. Seven Days of Fighting near Le Mans. § 20. Gambetta's Plan for Invading Germany. § 21. The Lines of the Lisaine. § 22. Action at Bapaume. German Victory at St. Quentin. § 23. Last Efforts to Raise the Siege of Paris. Capitulation and Armistice. § 24. Destruction of Bourbaki's Army. § 25. The Terms of Peace. § 26. Extent of the German Victories.

§ 1. THE wonderful series of victories by which the Germans, in the campaign of a month, had destroyed the armies of the French Empire, aroused strong hopes of peace, not in Germany alone, but throughout Christendom. After such defeats as Gravelotte and Sedan, nothing seemed to remain for France but to accept the best terms which the conquerors could be induced to offer. But to the French the ascendancy and glory of their country were at once objects of passionate love and articles of faith. They had been taught for generations to regard these as the chief end of their being. Moreover, their confidence in their own strength was not yet shaken; it was to bad leadership and to treason that they ascribed all their misfortunes. The traditions of the first revolution were still fresh in their memory. Had not the republic then armed and inspired the whole nation, and driven back from France countless hordes of invaders? Could not this be done again? To the mob of Paris, at least, the news of Sedan suggested no thought of submission; it but turned

a share of the furious hatred they indulged for their enemies against their own incompetent rulers. The bitterest enemies of the empire at once assumed the direction of the passions of the people. Napoleon was denounced as having forfeited his crown; the empress regent was driven from Paris in dismay; and, amid wild confusion, the democratic members of the Chamber joined with the mob of the city in proclaiming the republic, September 4. A new government was improvised at once, embracing representatives of the several parties, which agreed in nothing save in their irreconcilable hatred for the empire, and in their enthusiasm for the supremacy of France in Europe. The veteran statesman and historian, Thiers; General Trochu, the severe critic of the imperial army; the moderate republican Jules Favre, the red republican Gambetta, both advocates; the frenzied journalist and lampoon-writer, Rochefort; and the Jew, Crémieux, afterward the head of the branch government at Tours, each took part in it, and the supreme authority of this self-constituted committee, when once recognized by the throng in the Paris streets, was undisputed in France. The entire civil and military administration of the nation passed at once into its hands, and within three days it was the only power with which the Germans could open negotiations. Its prominent members had opposed the declaration of war, and it was hoped that their influence would now be thrown for peace. But as soon as the cession of the German districts of Alsace and Lorraine, with Strasburg and Metz, was demanded, Jules Favre, in the name of the new republic, proudly answered: "Not a foot of our soil, not a stone of our fortresses."

§ 2. These declarations were regarded at the time, by the Germans and by nearly all Europe, as empty bravado. It was believed that the republican leaders desired peace on any terms, but did not dare assent to the formal humiliation of France, as the first act of their government, in the face of their own enraged people. Their situation, indeed, was one of extreme difficulty: raised to power by a fierce democracy to fulfill its blind rage, and yet bound by every consideration of prudence and patriotism to end the hopeless war. Their own overthrow was imminent if they should refuse to expose France to ruin; and they had neither the virtue nor the far-

sighted statesmanship to regard the safety of their country first of all, and to leave their own vindication to time. The war went on. The Germans, indeed, did not pause in their military progress, but pressed onward with energy. Sedan had scarcely fallen when the third and fourth armies resumed their march in several columns to Paris. The third army crossed the Seine, and approached the capital from the south and southeast; the fourth army from the north and northwest. The nearer the Germans came to Paris, the more they found the country, which had been a garden, deserted and wasted. The roads were destroyed or blockaded, and the inhabitants were gone. The republican government gave its first days to provisioning Paris, and making all ready to meet a regular siege. Indeed, the work of collecting vast supplies in the capital was begun early in August; but neither then nor at a much later day was it believed possible to accumulate stores which should support a population of almost two millions for more than a very few weeks. The result placed the resources of Paris, and the energy of the commanders who prepared its defense, among the chief wonders of this wonderful war. On September 19 the Germans first approached the capital on the south side. The resistance which the fifth army corps and the second corps of Bavarians met outside of the city was speedily overcome, and while in pursuit of the enemy toward the walls, the advancing Germans first caught sight, from the heights on the south, of the vast capital, the domes and spires, the arches of triumph and the splendid buildings, extending far away to Montmartre.

§ 3. The war now resolved itself into a number of sieges. Three great fortresses occupied as many German armies. The first of these was Strasburg, which attracted the attention of the world, both from its geographical and military importance, and from its prominent place in history. An ancient cathedral city of the Germans, it had been treacherously seized by Louis XIV. nearly two centuries ago, and its occupancy by France had ever since been regarded by German patriots as a permanent menace. Every step made toward the reunion of the German nation had been esteemed by them as a step toward the recovery of Alsace, and the siege of Strasburg was treated by their poets and orators as the sym-

bol of the whole war—its successful issue as the fulfillment of the national destiny. The successive French governments had long treated the German population of Strasburg and Alsace with marked and growing favor; and had won the zealous and loyal attachment of many thousands of them. Even Napoleon III. could find reason to boast of them as faithful subjects and citizens of France. But the corruption and inefficiency of his administration were in nothing more conspicuous than in the inadequacy of the provision made for defending this bulwark of the country. Immediately after the battle of Wörth the Germans detached a strong division of Baden troops from the third army to observe Strasburg, and to prepare for the siege; other troops were added rapidly, and on August 13 General Werder began the attack. General Uhrich, himself of a German family of Lorraine, and a veteran of the Crimean War, was in command of the city; but, with fortifications of vast strength and extent, and with military stores sufficient for a great army, he had a force of less than 18,000 men, one third of them scattered fugitives from MacMahon's beaten army; and neither they nor the works they occupied were in a condition for defense. The bombardment of the fortifications began August 24, and was continued without intermission until September 27, when, a large part of the city being destroyed, the garrison exhausted, and the Germans just ready to storm the works, through breaches effected by their guns, General Uhrich hoisted the white flag on the cathedral tower. On the 28th the capitulation was signed, and the Germans took possession of the city, singing the national war-song, "The Watch on the Rhine."

§ 4. Metz, the second of the great fortresses, remained quiet for a long time after the unfortunate attempt at Noisseville. General Steinmetz was made governor of Posen, and Prince Frederick Charles took the chief command of the besieging forces. The quarters of the army were unhealthy; and the work, especially at the advanced posts, was extremely severe. The difficulties and dangers seemed far greater than those before which Charles V. retired in 1552, leaving Metz its glory as impregnable. Sickness spread alarmingly among the besiegers; and Bazaine made a new sally, October 7, toward the northeast, where Kummer's division stood.

supported by the tenth and third army corps. This was only repulsed after a bloody contest. Bazaine also made repeated attempts to treat with the Germans for peace, on condition of the restoration of the empire. While he retained any hope of leading out of the fortress the only remaining army of imperial France, he withheld a formal recognition of the new government, and regarded himself as responsible only to the monarch who gave him his army and his rank. At length the powers of resistance of the mighty fortress were exhausted. Its supplies failed. Flour and meat, and even wholesome water for drinking, could not be obtained; and on October 27, one month after the fall of Strasburg, Metz capitulated, with 173,000 men, including Marshals Bazaine, Le Bœuf, and Canrobert, and 6000 officers, and with all the stores and armament of the fortress. The crown-prince and Prince Frederick Charles were made marshals by the king. Bazaine was openly denounced by Gambetta as a traitor, and the prefects ordered to arrest him wherever found, and to deliver him at Tours.

§ 5. But Paris was still the most important and formidable point to be attacked. Southeast of Paris the Seine and Marne come together, in the midst of the broad plain on which the city stands. The Seine flows in a winding course through the southern part of the plain, entering the city on the southeast side, describing nearly a semicircle through it, and leaving it at the southwest corner of the walls, near Sevres; then it turns northward, skirting the whole west side of the city, and reaching St. Denis on the north, beyond which it turns again to the southwest. The famous Bois de Boulogne lies within the first curve of the river, between it and the western walls of the city; and directly opposite, upon the west side of the Seine, rises the steep height of Mont Valérien, south of which is the Palace of St. Cloud, which the French burned, and far in the west is Versailles. The remarkably advantageous situation of Paris, and the recollection that it was surrendered in 1814 and 1815 without opposition, suggested to Thiers, when minister of Louis Philippe, that the city ought to be fortified. The work was begun in 1841. From Mont Valérien, which commanded the whole of the western suburbs, between the windings of the Seine, a

chain of strong forts was built around Paris. The south side was protected, beginning with the exit of the Seine at the southwest corner, by forts Issy, Vanvres, Montrouge, Bicêtre, and Ivry. Between the Seine and the Marne is fort Charenton. Next, on the east side of the city, from south to north, are forts Nogent, Rosny, Noisy, and Romainville. Northeast of the city is fort Aubervilliers, and north of it the very strong fortress of St. Denis. The German army was placed in front of these fortifications: the fifth army corps at Versailles, and east of it the second Bavarian corps; then the sixth corps, between the Seine and the Marne. East of this was the Wirtemberg division, and then the twelfth corps. On the northeast was the corps of Guards; on the northwest the fourth corps, connecting with the fifth. The king's head-quarters were fixed at Versailles, in Louis XVI.'s palace, where the galleries were covered with paintings of the victories of the French. The crown-prince made his home in the villa of Les Ombrages. The severe winter soon made the siege very laborious and difficult.

§ 6. The siege and the defense of this great city were the most stupendous undertakings in modern warfare. At the first approach of the Germans, the panic produced among the French by the storming of the heights of Meudon, before fort Issy, suggested that it might be possible to storm the forts south of the city, and thence, by a bombardment, to reduce Paris at once. But careful consideration soon showed the folly of such an attempt. In Paris were about 400,000 men under arms, many of them veterans of the line and marines, and many more trained militia (mobiles). The besiegers had but 120,000 infantry and 24,000 cavalry, and had lines of fifty miles to hold with these around the city. They were gradually reinforced, but never numbered more than 200,000 men, and at no time were they strong enough for an assault. Nothing but a regular siege was possible; and this was a most formidable operation. Lines of circumvallation, more than fifty miles in length, must first be formed. Most of the supplies of the besieging army must be transported from Germany; but one line of railway was open for this purpose, and that, too, was interrupted until the fall of Toul; while it stopped at Auteuil, where the French had blown up



a tunnel, forty miles from the German lines. The eastern part of France now swarmed with bands of volunteer "free-shooters," inspired with republican enthusiasm, who constantly strove to destroy the roads behind the German armies. The French still had command of all the railways to the south, west, and north, and of the sea, and could move troops at pleasure, and import materials and supplies. The besieged city was very quiet, except that occasional sallies were made to exercise the raw troops. On October 28 a more serious attempt was made upon the village of Le Bourget, which was occupied by the Guards; but the French were driven back, and so utterly routed that there was a panic in Paris, and no more sallies were made for a long time.

§ 7. But the besiegers were soon attacked in the rear. Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon, October 5, and assumed the duties of minister of war in the branch government at Tours. He summoned thither the ardent republicans Castelar and Garibaldi from Spain and Italy, and strove through them to secure aid from the democrats of the neighboring nations. But Castelar soon returned to Spain, without attempting to bring his Spanish friends to Gambetta's standard; and Garibaldi, though he took a command in the French army, could not bring a large number of Italians to serve in it, his own associates blaming him for not making the restoration of Savoy and Nice to Italy the price of his alliance. But Gambetta was more successful in arousing the French to effort. By prodigious activity and energy he succeeded in raising an army upon the Loire in a singularly short time. General Von der Tann was sent forward with the first Bavarian corps, and some detachments of infantry and cavalry, to clear the way to Orleans, by Etampes. He met a large body of the enemy north of Orleans, and in the battle of Artenay, October 10 and 11, scattered them, and then took possession of Orleans. But the enemy were still gathering in force, and he could not advance farther to the south. He was therefore ordered to hold Orleans, while the twenty-second division of infantry left him, and marched back toward Paris. This division on the 18th took Chateaudun, after an obstinate resistance, and then occupied Chartres, making that city a German dépôt of supplies. The country

was now quietly occupied by the Germans as far west as the Eure, southward to the Loire, and northward to Beauvais, Compiègne, and Soissons.

§ 8. At this time, after the fall of Strasburg, the fourteenth army corps was formed in the east, under General Werder, out of the Baden division and several regiments of the North German line; and part of it undertook, first, the siege of Schlettstadt, and after its capture, October 24, that of Neubreisach, which fell November 10; while the remainder was directed to march down the Seine to Paris. But Garibaldi, who was at work in the southeast, now began to attract notice, with the numerous bands of partisans which he collected there, and French forces, under Cambriels, were levied in the same region, which gave Werder work enough for all his forces. He was compelled to abandon the siege of the strong fortress of Belfort, which commands the southwestern passes into Alsace; and he advanced with all the troops at his disposal southward toward Dijon. At Pasque he defeated Garibaldi's troops, November 26 and 27, and drove him back to Autun.

§ 9. After the fall of Metz, renewed efforts were made to find a basis for negotiations. The Germans, however, would not abate one jot of their demands. Convinced that this was the time to restore the integrity of ancient Germany by recovering Alsace and Lorraine, they would listen to no propositions which did not include the cession of these provinces. Many of the moderate French statesmen, such as Thiers and Jules Favre, might have acquiesced in these terms, now that even the mob could entertain no hope of doing better; but Gambetta was still clamorous for war, and in proclamations and speeches fiercely denounced as traitors alike the generals who had been defeated and the statesmen who would consent to dismember France. He still talked wildly of relieving Paris, fed the ignorant people with false news of victory, and could not yet be safely defied by more sober men, in the face of multitudes who still gave ear to him. Immediately after the surrender of Metz, according to orders given in anticipation of that event, General Manteuffel, with the first army, consisting of 38,000 infantry and 4400 cavalry, with 180 field-pieces, undertook to protect the forces besieg-

ing Paris on the north. The second army, under Prince Frederick Charles, was advanced to the Loire, to cover the south side of the besiegers. The second corps was sent to Paris; and the ninth was left to escort the prisoners of Metz to Germany, and to besiege Verdun and Thionville. The troops which had surrounded Metz were now sorely needed to assist the German forces elsewhere; for the French were showing new vigor throughout the land. Vast masses of men, taken from their peaceful industries, and armed with weapons imported from America and England, assembled around the nucleus formed of the remains of the regular troops, with the well-drilled marines and gens d'armes. All France sprang to arms in one final effort to save its capital.

§ 10. General Bourbaki now crossed the Lower Seine in the north, co-operating with a western army which appeared near Chartres. South of this stood the Army of the Loire, under Aurelles de Paladines; while Garibaldi continued his efforts in the east. The strength of these armies was not exactly known by the Germans; nor could they foresee where the first attack would be made. But the western side of the besieging army seemed to be the most exposed to danger, since German reinforcements were known to be approaching from the east. General Von der Tann was instructed to hold Orleans as long as possible, until the enemy's plans should be disclosed. The attempt on this side came speedily. On November 8 Von der Tann was attacked at Orleans by an overwhelming force from the northwest. He evacuated the city, and retreated, fighting all the way against vastly superior numbers, to a strong position at Coulmiers (November 9), on the way from Orleans to Etampes. Here he was speedily reinforced by several divisions of infantry and cavalry, which were formed into a new army corps, under the command of Frederick Francis, Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and undertook to keep off the enemy on the south and west. At Dreux, on November 17, and at Chateaufort, on the 18th, the French, after this threatening approach to Paris, were driven back; and it became evident that the decisive conflict was not to be fought here, but against the Army of the Loire. But this army, consisting of four corps of the French, could not safely be met by the small numbers under the

grand-duke alone. Prince Frederick Charles therefore advanced against it with the second army, of which the ninth corps was already on the road to Orleans, and assumed the general command, including the grand-duke's forces.

§ 11. The army of Prince Frederick Charles was in all 60,000 strong. The French, commanded by one of the ablest of the republican generals, numbered 150,000. But General Aulles de Paladine's troops were as yet but imperfectly disciplined; and he remained on the defensive at Orleans, where his position was strengthened by the forest of Orleans on the north, and by the marshes of the Beauce in front, which the wet winter weather made almost impassable. But the bold resolution to make an attack on him was taken by Prince Frederick Charles. He advanced against Orleans, concentrating his troops before the city, with the forces of the grand-duke, 45,000 strong, on his right wing. The new corps of the enemy, the twentieth, then suddenly appeared in the southeast, upon his extreme left, opposite to the tenth corps, evidently with the purpose of moving northward, and then down the Loing to Paris. General Voigts-Rheetz, on November 28, met this force at Beaune la Rolande, and repulsed it, after a severe fight of eight hours' duration. This was the beginning of the battles of Orleans. On December 1 the whole of the second army advanced to the attack. On the 2d the grand-duke drove back the French at Loigny, Bazoches les Hautes, and Baigneux, west of the Orleans road. On the 3d the second army took the villages north of Orleans — Pithiviers, Chilleurs, and Neuville — while the Bavarians and the grand-duke's troops seized on Chevilliers and Pourpry. On the evening of December 4 the Germans pressed forward to the suburbs of the city, and to the railway station. During the night Orleans capitulated, and the French were permitted to withdraw, on condition of leaving the bridges across the Loire unharmed. On the 5th the cavalry of the ninth corps crossed the river, and pursued the retreating French, whose fifteenth and sixteenth corps were in utter confusion, as far as Gien, Vierzon, and Tours.

§ 12. Meanwhile the first army, under Manteuffel, was engaged with the rapidly formed French Army of the North. Manteuffel marched from Metz northwestward, first to Com-

piègne, and was then ordered by the king to Rouen and Amiens, where he expected to find 18,000 French, but actually found a well-appointed army of 30,000. On November 27 Amiens was taken, but after a valiant resistance, which cost the Germans, and especial'y the first corps, heavy losses. The French retreated to Arras, and Rouen was occupied by Manteuffel, December 5, almost without resistance. Manteuffel ranged his troops in lines extending from the channel southward, through Rouen and across the Seine, protecting the besiegers of Paris on the north and west. Thus all the three armies of the French, forming for the relief of Paris, were driven back—at Dijon, at Orleans, and at Amiens.

§ 13. Thiers, meanwhile, on the pretext of asking for the recognition of the provisional government, made a diplomatic tour to Vienna, St. Petersburg, and London, seeking aid for France. Perhaps Austria was the only power from which such aid was seriously hoped for; but France, as a republic, was far from having the same claims on the house of Hapsburg which might plausibly have been presented by the empire. Besides, the interference of Austria was prevented, at once by the friendship of Russia to Germany, and by the deep sympathy shown among the German subjects of Austria itself for their fellow Germans in the war for German unity. Thiers, therefore, could accomplish nothing. After his return Paris seemed dispirited, and was quiet. This state of affairs afforded the societies of working-men in the city an opportunity for a revolt, and for the establishment of the Commune, which was declared October 31, and seemed by its success for one day to promise a renewal of the scenes of terror of the first revolution; but it was firmly suppressed. Toward the end of November the city began to be hopeful of relief. Intelligence was exchanged with the provinces by every device of the modern arts—by balloons, by the telegraph, by letters photographed in microscopic size, and carried by pigeons—so that the efforts from without to relieve the city were well known within. A bold attempt to break forth was made at the end of November, in concert with the movements of the external armies. Feints were made on all sides; but the strength of the effort was put forth on the southeastern side, where the Army of the Loire was to ap-

proach; but Prince Frederick Charles repulsed it at Beaune la Rolande. In each of these sallies the troops were concentrated under a heavy cannonading from all the forts, which gave notice to the Germans of the coming attack. On this occasion General Ducrot led out his forces, November 30, toward Villiers, on the Marne, then occupied by the Wirtemberg troops, who were soon reinforced by the twelfth and second corps. It was only after a fierce and bloody struggle, in which the Wirtemberg forces, as well as the French, lost heavily, that the attempt to break forth was abandoned (December 4), and by this time the defeat of the Army of the Loire was probably known in Paris.

§ 14. A period of comparative inactivity now followed. The second army, however, advanced from Orleans in search of the enemy, who retreated westward to Tours, south to Vierzon and Bourges, and southeast to Gien, and were followed up until they were entirely scattered, and a wide district around Orleans was free of them. South and east of the city no enemy was found; but the army corps of the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg, marching down the Loire to Tours, came upon a superior force of the French, composed of the sixteenth and seventeenth corps, which had been defeated at Orleans, and the nineteenth and twenty-first from the Army of the West, under General Chanzy. A battle of four days' duration was fought at Beaugency, December 8th to 11th; where the first Bavarian corps, and the seventeenth and twenty-second divisions, at first had to bear the brunt of the fight; but the tenth corps afterward came to their support. The ninth corps, meanwhile, pressed forward on the south bank of the Loire, by Chambord to Blois; and Chanzy, whom Gambetta had placed in command instead of Aurelles de Paladine, retreated in confusion to Vendôme and Le Mans. Prince Frederick Charles, expecting the enemy to make a stand behind the Loire, drew together in Orleans and west of that city the troops which had been sent to the south and southeast; but the French did not pause in their retreat. It soon became evident that the former Army of the Loire had been divided; part of it, with the Army of the West, under Chanzy, was rallied at Le Mans, while the remaining three corps, under Bourbaki, formed a new army, the destination of which was

not obvious. The plan of the Germans was not to occupy as many cities and provinces as possible, thus dividing their forces, but to keep the besieging army at Paris protected and supplied, and to prevent the possibility of approach to relieve the city from without. The king therefore sent orders that the first army should concentrate at Beauvais, and should hold besides only Rouen, Amiens, and St. Quentin; and that the second army should remain at Orleans, holding also Gien and Blois; while the grand-duke's forces should occupy Chartres. The seventh corps, that of General Zastrow, which had moved toward the upper waters of the Seine and Yonne, was to join the seventeenth, Werder's corps.

§ 15. At the beginning of December, Werder was still at Dijon, which he had occupied at his first advance from Alsace. His object was to take Belfort, and especially to observe the forces which the enemy were gathering in the southeast of France, with Lyons as their centre. On their first attempt to advance, he marched to meet them, and defeated General Crémer at Nuits, December 18. Hearing that Garibaldi had 20,000 men at Autun, a force about equal to Crémer's, and that Bourbaki's entire army was about to march eastward, General Werder resolved to retire from his advanced position at Dijon, and station himself at Vesoul, at the southern extremity of the Vosges range, whence he could more easily move to any required point. But the rumor concerning Bourbaki was premature. His forces were still at Bourges and Nevers, undergoing a reorganization.

§ 16. The activity of the French was renewed toward the end of the year, and the forces raised by Gambetta gave fresh indications of their existence. The Army of the North, under Faidherbe, advanced against Amiens in the middle of December. General Manteuffel's first army was but weak for its work, which included the occupation of Rouen and the defense of the line of the Lower Seine and of Amiens. He therefore concentrated all the forces which could be moved, with some reinforcements from the line before Paris. The fortresses on the Belgian frontier, Thionville, Montmédy, and Mézières, now fell, one after another; and the occupation of Amiens by the Germans was more important than ever, since it secured to them the newly opened railway through the north

of France, by Mézières, Rheims, and Soissons. But while Manteuffel collected his troops, a force of 50,000 French appeared north of Amiens, behind the Hallue, a small tributary of the Somme, intrenched in a series of villages. Manteuffel attacked them with Göben's corps, the eighth, and after a bloody fight, December 23, drove them from these villages. The French then occupied the steep sides of the valley, and even made a counter-attack on the villages on the same evening, which was repulsed. On the 24th the Germans were ready for another attack, but it was not made. In the evening a movement began among the French which was not understood; but on Christmas morning it appeared that they had retreated to Arras again. Göben at once followed in pursuit as far as Bapaume, and laid siege to Peronne.

§ 17. This advance of the Army of the North was again simultaneous with a sally of the besieged from the capital. The attempt was now made on the northeast. The village of Le Bourget, occupied by the Guards, was again attacked, December 21, as were also the Saxons, at the Marne. Both attacks failed utterly, the Germans being well prepared. The besiegers now began their artillery fire on the fortifications on the east side, which was suddenly opened, December 27, upon Mount Avron and the neighboring forts of Noisy, Rosny, and Nogent, with seventy-six siege guns. The firing upon Mount Avron was so unexpected and so destructive, both to the fort and to the troops encamped behind it, that these gradually broke away, and finally fled in wild confusion, and the Saxons, advancing, found the camp deserted and strewn with corpses (December 29). This artillery attack was but the promise of that which was preparing on a far larger scale. Notwithstanding the great difficulties which had been experienced in forwarding even the ordinary supplies of the army, yet, by the help of the second line of railway opened in December, the Germans now had the materials at hand for a bombardment of Paris. On the southwest of the city, from the terrace of St. Cloud along the front of forts Issy, Vanvres, and Montrouge, by the villages of Meudon, Clamart, and Moulin de la Tour, German batteries had been placed on the heights, containing 275 heavy guns, each supplied with 500 rounds of ammunition. Lieutenant



General Kamecke was charged with the work of the bombardment, and now it was nearly ready to begin.

§ 18. The whole vast tragedy of the war turned upon the fate of Paris. It had been supposed, even by Trochu, the governor of the city, that its stores of provisions would suffice at most for only sixty days. But it had held out already for three months; the army of defense had been raised to 450,000 men, and although the rations were now limited, there was no thought of surrender. The Germans knew that the fall of Paris would leave France without a head, and would result in peace. The French, too, were well aware that they could not carry on the war after the fall of the capital. Gambetta and his associates called on the French people to make war to the knife, in one supreme effort, and constantly strove to excite them by unfounded hopes and false reports of victory. If throngs of men were armies, the Germans must really have been driven from France; and if Gambetta's bulletins had been true, "the Prussians" could not have escaped annihilation. Faidherbe reorganized his army at Arras, and brought its strength up to nearly 60,000, besides detachments which were seen along the Lower Seine. Chanzy built up the armies of the West and the Loire in the camp of Conlie, near Le Mans, until he had 150,000 men. Bourbaki collected three army corps at Bourges, and farther east Garibaldi and Cr mer had each a force estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000. Including the bands of "free-shooters" that roamed in Eastern France, the boast that a million of Frenchmen were in arms may not have been far from the truth.

§ 19. The plans of the French leaders were still unknown at the royal head-quarters at Versailles when the year ended. The most serious danger seemed to be that Chanzy and Bourbaki might co-operate in an advance on Paris. No one could anticipate that Gambetta would send Bourbaki eastward. The safest policy for the Germans seemed to be, as hitherto, not to await the enemy's attack, but to anticipate it by advancing against him. On January 1, 1871, Prince Frederick Charles received by telegraph the king's order to assume the offensive against the troops of Chanzy on their march from the west. He advanced from his position at Vend me with

the second army: with the tenth corps on his left or southern wing, the third and ninth corps in the centre, on the main road through St. Calais to Le Mans, and the thirteenth corps, under the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg, on his right, along the river Huisne. On January 6, in the midst of a difficult country, full of ditches and hedges, the advancing troops met the enemy, who were also on the march forward, and drove them, constantly fighting, from village to village, and from valley to valley, for several days, until they reached Le Mans. The cold weather ended, and a thaw came on, with rain, which made the marching extremely difficult. Then the cold returned, and the frozen, slippery roads were almost impassable for cavalry and artillery. But in spite of these obstacles, and of an enemy nearly twice as numerous as themselves, the Germans, about 70,000 in number, advanced against Le Mans. Here, and in the neighboring villages, January 11 and 12, the decisive battle was fought. The French lines on both sides were outflanked by the Germans, so that their defeat became a confused rout. During the seven days of fighting, 18,000 prisoners were taken, with 20 guns. The French fled westward to Laval, or northwestward to Alençon, and the pursuing Germans captured without a struggle the fortified camp of Conlie. In this retreat the French lost half their number by cold and hunger; no adequate provision had been made for the sick or wounded, and the misery they suffered was beyond description. The thirteenth corps marched to Rouen, where it relieved the first Prussian corps, and to Tours, which was now occupied. The French Army of the West was ruined; the Germans were in Brittany and Normandy, and no relief from this quarter could be hoped for at Paris.

§ 20. At the same time the fate of the French Army of the East was decided. Under Bourbaki's direction, this body of men had also been increased to more than 150,000, and Gambetta, the dictator, ordered it to relieve Belfort, to defeat Werder's corps, to free Alsace and Lorraine from the Germans, to cut off the communications between the Germans at Paris and their own country, and to cross the Rhine and invade South Germany. This was the plan by which a young and able advocate undertook to meet Von Moltke's

military science and the iron discipline of the Germans. Werder had already concentrated his troops at Vesoul, while General Zastrow, with the seventh corps, in a long line, connected him with the foreposts of the second army, now advanced to the southwest. The first Bavarian corps was called to the intrenchments before Paris, where it would find some repose after its exhausting labors, and it relieved the second corps, which marched to the support of Zastrow. General Manteuffel was made commander of the whole body, consisting of the fourteenth (Werder's), seventh, and second corps, and was summoned to Versailles for a conference, while his army began its march against Bourbaki. The French were found, January 6, in front of Werder on the south. Werder wished to reach a strong position at Montbéliard, and it was of the first importance to anticipate the enemy in this movement. The French troops, though vastly superior in numbers, were poorly clad and poorly fed. Their train was so inadequate that they were compelled to keep near the railway for the sake of supplies. The Germans also hoped to check and confuse them by skirmishing attacks. At Villersexel, January 9, an attack was made which had this effect, though the Germans were soon compelled to retreat before overwhelming numbers.

§ 21. Thus General Werder reached the lines behind the Lisaine, which he soon made famous. The Lisaine is a brook which runs southward by Montbéliard, and joins the Doubs just at the most southerly point of its curve, a little below the mouth of the Alaine, another brook which comes from the east. The two brooks form almost a right angle, with Montbéliard and its commanding citadel in the vertex. But the enemy were on the west, so that the valley of the Lisaine was the important line; and Werder intrenched himself strongly along its steep eastern side, among the villages that stretch from Frahier and Héricourt to Montbéliard. On his rear lay the fortress of Belfort, which it was necessary to observe, and surround with a strong force; though Werder withdrew part of the siege artillery, and all the troops that could be spared from the investing lines. Skirmishes at the advanced posts betrayed the approach of the French, and on January 14 they began their attack on the lines of the Lisaine.

The weather became extremely cold, so that the brooks were frozen over, and much of the peculiar strength of the position was destroyed. The cold also made the toil of battle harder for both sides. But the men of Baden and the North German detachments with them knew, as their commander did, how much depended on holding their lines, and were informed, too, that the seventh and second corps were already hastening by forced marches to strike Bourbaki in the rear, and to relieve them. They valiantly repelled successive assaults, on December 15, 16, and 17. Whenever a village was lost, or the French seemed to establish themselves on the left bank of the brook, a charge was made, and they were driven back. On the 17th the French began to show signs of exhaustion, and they gradually assumed a merely defensive attitude. Bourbaki had received tidings of Manteuffel's advance, and was alarmed for his rear. On December 18 the French disappeared from Werder's front, and he at once pursued them. With 150,000 men they had fought to no purpose against Werder's 43,000; nor had any attempt been made by the exhausted garrison of Belfort to assist them. The fate of the French Army of the South, also, was already decided, though the most terrible part of its ruin was yet to come.

§ 22. The Army of the North, though the smallest of the French armies, was more resolutely led than the others, but did not escape defeat. The sixteenth German division undertook the siege of the little fortress of Péronne, which commanded the position behind the Somme. To relieve this point, the French again advanced, January 2, from Arras and Douai, and on the 3d met Lieutenant-General Kummer with two divisions at Bapaume. The most obstinate resistance was made until night; but during the night it was determined that the Prussians must retreat toward Péronne before Faidherbe's superior numbers. But on the morning of the 4th it was found that the French themselves had retreated to Arras. It was believed, however, that they would soon make another attempt, and the northern German army was reinforced as rapidly as possible, both by detachments from the lines around Paris and by recalling the troops of the first corps from Rouen, where the thirteenth corps, that of the Duke of Mecklenburg, arrived after the victory at Le

**Mans.** Meanwhile Manteuffel was sent to the southern army, and Göben took his place in the north. On January 9, Péronne capitulated, so that the division which had been employed in the siege was released. Thus a movement of Faidherbe to relieve Paris could hardly be feared. The direct roads, through Amiens and Péronne, were closed to him, and only that by St. Quentin seemed to be open, while a march in that direction would expose his flank to attack by the first army. Yet Faidherbe made an attempt, with his twenty-second and twenty-third corps, to take this route. Göben attacked him with his troops at St. Quentin, January 19, on his flank, and after seven hours of fierce combat drove his army in utter confusion toward the northeast, taking about 10,000 prisoners. The Germans in pursuit reached Câteau-Cambresis and Le Quesnoi, and only halted before the fortresses of the Belgian frontier—Arras, Cambrai, and Valenciennes. The French Army of the North was no longer to be feared.

§ 23. Meanwhile the bombardment of Paris had begun. On January 5 the German batteries opened fire on forts Issy, Vanvres, and Montrouge, and soon reduced Issy to silence, and crippled the others. Every day from two hundred to three hundred shells were thrown into the city, mainly into the part south of the Seine, with the object, not of destroying it, but of disturbing and terrifying the people. Paris was now approaching famine, and the resistance to the besiegers grew obviously weaker. The German batteries on the north side were pressed nearer to the city. A bombardment of St. Denis and of the northern suburbs was begun on January 21, from Le Bourget, Stains, and Pierrefitte. There were already voices in the city to plead for a capitulation. But public opinion, which was in this case the clamor of demagogues, controlling the press, and even the government itself, demanded a united effort to break through the German lines. Success was a military impossibility; but Trochu was compelled to yield. The army drew up in line on January 19, under the guns of Mount Valérien, the only fortress which now offered the requisite protection, though the French generals knew well that they here must fall upon the best-fortified part of the German lines—that held by the fifth corps. Yet they

pressed forward, only to meet death at Montretout, on the heights of Garches, and at the park of St. Cloud. They indeed captured Montretout and Buzanval, but voluntarily evacuated them during the night, and returned to Mount Valérien, leaving 1500 dead and as many more wounded behind them. In these strong positions 20,000 German troops of a single army-corps repulsed 100,000 men, fighting desperately as for life, and suffered a total loss of but 700. But had the French broken through the first line, it would have been only to come upon stronger ones, and they must have become prisoners of war. This sally was like the last desperate effort of an exhausted wrestler. Paris had now no prospect but surrender. Fortunately, the prudent policy was adopted of obtaining an armistice before the last stores of food were exhausted. But for this, thousands must have starved to death, since the German armies had barely sufficient provisions for themselves. On January 23 Jules Favre went to Versailles, and on the 26th the negotiations had advanced so far that hostilities were suspended. On January 28 an armistice for twenty-one days was signed, during which a National Assembly was to meet to decide whether a peace should be made on the terms offered by the Germans. The principal conditions of the armistice were that the forts around Paris should be surrendered to the Germans; the French army in the city should be made prisoners of war and disarmed, except 12,000 men retained to preserve order in Paris; the city should pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs to the Germans. The armistice extended to all the departments except those of the Doubs, the Jura, and the Côte d'Or. The French asked for this exception, in the belief that Bourbaki's army was strong enough yet to gain a victory, which might benefit them in the final terms of peace. The Germans unhesitatingly granted the request, knowing that but a few days more of hostilities would complete the ruin of this army also.

§ 24. It was therefore in the departments excepted from the truce that the last act of the great tragedy was finished. When Bourbaki fled from Werder's lines, the second and seventh corps, under Manteuffel, pursued him rapidly, marching with an extended front across the country through which

his retreat must be made to Lyons. Manteuffel boldly gave up the opportunity to join Werder, in order to anticipate Bourbaki's army in its retreat southward, and to cut off the railroads, by which alone that army could be rescued. He would thus shut in the French between the Germans and the Swiss frontier, as MacMahon had been driven against the Belgian frontier at Sedan. Garibaldi, with 25,000 men and the reserve, was at Dijon, but was held completely in check. Manteuffel's right, on the south, was formed by the second corps; the seventh held the centre, gradually extending to the left, and connecting with Werder's fourteenth corps, which also was in pursuit of Bourbaki. Thus the whole German army pressed onward relentlessly. Bourbaki had no way of escape to the south. Pressed onward to Pontarlier, close to the Swiss boundary, he was in despair for himself and his army, and attempted to commit suicide. General Clinchant took his place, and strove, on January 29, to open negotiations with Manteuffel, by appealing to the general armistice; but his advances were rejected, since this part of the country had been expressly excepted from that agreement. On February 1 the Germans attacked Pontarlier. Driven on all sides into the steep and icy passes of the Jura, the French army attempted, on February 1, to cross the mountains into Switzerland, where, in pursuance of a convention with the Swiss government, they would be disarmed and retained until a peace could be signed. There were still from 80,000 to 100,000 men in the army; about 15,000 had been made prisoners by the Germans, and many thousands had been overcome by hunger, cold, and fatigue. It seemed that Gambetta's desperate enterprise was about to meet with a fate very similar to that of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. The French fugitives reached the hospitable homes of the Swiss in utter exhaustion, nearly naked and half-starved. Belfort, now nearly ready to surrender, was delivered to the Germans on February 18, in pursuance of the further provision of the armistice.

§ 25. The National Convention provided for in the armistice assembled at Bordeaux on February 12. The large majority of its members were in favor of peace, upon the terms offered by Prussia, and Thiers, whom the convention

called on the 16th to the head of the government, threw all his influence in that direction. On March 1 the Germans, 30,000 strong, according to the terms of capitulation, entered the city of Paris, but did not pass beyond the space assigned them, between the Arch of Triumph and the Place de la Concorde. On the next day, the National Convention at Bordeaux accepted the preliminaries of peace as agreed to at Versailles February 26. France ceded to Germany Alsace, except Belfort, and that part of Lorraine in which German is spoken, with the fortress of Metz, and the strip of land on the left bank of the Moselle on which the battles of August 16 and 18, 1870, were fought. France also agreed to pay to Germany, within three years, an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. The country south and west of Paris was at once evacuated by the Germans; but the forts north and east of the city were retained, and the northeastern departments of France were also held by German troops, supported by the French government, as a security for the payment of the indemnity.

§ 26. During this war of 210 days' duration, including 180 days of actual warfare, three great French armies were taken prisoners and a fourth was driven into Switzerland; 156 engagements, including 17 great battles, were fought; and 22 fortresses reduced, three of which—Paris, Metz, and Strasburg—are the strongest in the world. The number of prisoners of war taken by the Germans was 385,000, including 11,360 officers. There were also captured 7200 cannon, and more than 600,000 small arms. When the peace was signed, the Germans had more than 600,000 armed men in France, besides their civil officers and servants; and 250,000 soldiers in Germany ready to follow at the word of command. The king returned to his own capital, where he was eagerly welcomed, on March 17, and on the 10th of May the final treaty of peace was concluded at Frankfort-on-the-Main.



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

- § 1. The Sources of National Unity. § 2. Growth of German Patriotism. § 3. The Restoration of the Empire Demanded. § 4. Treaties of the Smaller States with Prussia. § 5. Opposition in Bavaria. The Empire Proclaimed. § 6. The First Imperial Diet. § 7. The Catholic Church in Prussia. § 8. Pius IX. and the Jesuit Party. § 9. The Syllabus. § 10. General Council Summoned. § 11. The Bishops and Clergy in Germany. § 12. The Council. Papal Infallibility Proclaimed. § 13. Reception of the Dogma in Germany. § 14. The Conflict between Church and State begins. § 15. The Clerical Party in the Diet. § 16. The "Old Catholics." § 17. The School Laws. § 18. The Pope Rejects Cardinal Hohenzollern as Ambassador. § 19. Expulsion of the Jesuits. § 20. The Falk Laws of May, 1873. § 21. Character of these Laws. § 22. Constitution of the Empire. § 23. Progress of Liberalism in Prussia. § 24. Alsace and Lorraine. The Attitude of France. § 25. Of the Other European Powers.

§ 1. DURING the seventy years which ended with the fall of Napoleon III., the German people experienced a complete revolution, not only in their political organization, but in their political life and consciousness. At the beginning of this century, Germany was but "a geographical expression;" in 1871 it had become the foremost nation of Europe. The cause of this change is sometimes sought in the mysterious influence of race and kindred on the destiny of men; and it is even asserted to be characteristic of our times that peoples descended from a common ancestry form "nationalities," which, by some irresistible force, are now hurried into political unity. This principle is pointed out as explaining the rapid movements by which united Italy and united Germany have come into being, and as rendering certain the speedy dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the ultimate combination of the Slavonic tribes to subdue Europe. But history is read to little purpose if it does not show us that race exercises no mysterious influence upon political associations. It is not a common descent that makes one or more tribes into a nation, but a community of language, of

religion, of culture and manners, of needs and dangers, together with the opportunity afforded by geographical position. All these influences, indeed, may sometimes have been the results of descent from a single tribe or family; but they may be entirely independent of it, and are usually the consequences of a long and complicated series of events, in which the power of race is less the greater the advance in civilization. The new national organization of Germany is mainly the result of the wonderful development of the German language and literature which began near the middle of the eighteenth century, whose influence has been multiplied by the rapid increase of the means of intercourse among the people, and by the spread of education and intelligence.

§ 2. The national consciousness of the modern Germans grew up first among the literary classes, and especially among the radical writers and thinkers, and was long watched with jealousy by rulers and princes. It first attained recognition as a source of political and military strength during the wars against Napoleon I.; and in 1813, when the Prussian government was forced, as a last resort, to throw itself upon the patriotic impulses of the people, it manifested itself with such vigor that the leaders who had invoked it were alarmed. The desire for German unity was seen to be inseparably associated with a desire for a national and popular government: the petty princes dreaded it, as threatening their overthrow; Austria struggled steadily against it, as involving the disintegration of the empire; and even Prussia could not then see in it the opportunity for its own aggrandizement. All the political forces of Europe were arrayed against its growth, and succeeded in holding it at bay for another generation. Meanwhile the literary and scientific activity of the German mind increased; and with it the intellectual ties which bind together the whole body of people speaking the German language grew strong. The revolutions of 1848 showed that the old political institutions of the country were felt to be obstructions to the popular wish; and that nothing but organization and opportunity were needed to constitute Germany a united nation. The reaction which followed was but superficial, and could not extinguish the once thoroughly awakened sense of common interests and destiny.

From that time until now the political history of the Germans has been a steady progress toward the fulfillment of the tendency to union, only half understood by the leaders, who thought they were controlling results, while they were themselves impelled by forces which could not be resisted. Before 1866, Prussia was wise enough to identify its own ambition for leadership with the national cause; and this association gave its diplomacy a moral strength scarcely less useful than the preponderance of its armies; so that, when the Bohemian war ended, the mass of intelligent citizens throughout Germany already regarded themselves as one people, and the precise form of their national organization as a question of detail, which might safely be left to time. The sudden transformation of the small South German kingdoms from enemies of Prussia to armed allies of the North German Confederation was but the acknowledgment by their rulers of the change already wrought in the people, who had become, in mind and heart, citizens of Germany.

§ 3. The national spirit grew rapidly during the interval of peace which followed; and its growth was much stimulated by the evident eagerness of France to check it. When Napoleon III. declared war against Prussia, in July, 1870, he doubtless relied on the hostility of the South German States to Prussia, and expected that his invading armies would find in these states and in the Rhine provinces some of the same support which his uncle had obtained from the Rhine League in 1809. But he met all Germany united on the frontier, and his power was crushed. By one universal impulse, the people of Germany then expressed their desire for a closer union. It is needless to ask where or by whom the cry was first uttered, that the fall of the French was the occasion for the reconstitution of the German Empire. The brotherhood in arms of the North and South Germans in the campaign ending at Sedan destroyed among the people the old alienation and hostility which had enabled the petty governments to maintain themselves, and broke the political power of the "patriotic parties," which had so long striven to foster local pride and jealousy against national feeling. The event proved the wisdom of the saying of Frederick William IV., when the name of emperor was offered him by

the Frankfort delegation in 1848, that an imperial crown in Germany could only be won on the field of battle. Surprise was often expressed, even beyond the limits of France, that a war of invasion could be prosecuted by any people with such unanimous and patriotic fervor as the Germans exhibited; but the source of it was that they looked upon a victory here as the end of divisions among themselves, and they fought for their own national existence. From the beginning of the war, the King of Prussia commanded the troops of Germany as one national army, and the government of the confederation spoke for Germany as a nation.

§ 4. In August, 1870, and before the victory of Sedan, the great cities of Bavaria joined in an address to their king, Lewis II., expressing the desire of their citizens for union with the North German Confederation, and similar addresses rapidly followed from towns, trades, and societies, and from the army, until they numbered nearly a thousand. Within a week after the surrender of Napoleon, the council of ministers in Wirtemberg began a formal study of the constitution of the confederation, with the acknowledged purpose of negotiating for a place in it. Baden and Hesse immediately yielded to the popular will, and began to treat with the authorities of the confederation. During the month of November the governments of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse signed at Versailles conventions providing for a close military consolidation with Prussia, and looking to political union with the confederation. On November 30, King Lewis of Bavaria addressed an open letter to each of the ruling princes of Germany, and to the senates of the three free cities, inviting them to confer on the King of Prussia, as the head of united Germany, the title of "German Emperor." Answers were at once received from every state approving the proposition; and on December 3, Prince Luitpold of Bavaria, the king's uncle, in the name of the governments of Germany, tendered to William I., at Versailles, the imperial crown. The provisional changes in the constitution of the North German Confederacy needed to transform it into the German Empire were speedily made; and the legislative bodies of all the states, except Bavaria, completed the work by accepting the treaties executed at Versailles, and adopting the new constitution.



William I. (1871).

Ratifications were exchanged December 30, and the "Reichsrath," or general council of the nation, proclaimed the empire as taking its date from January 1, 1871.

§ 5. In Bavaria, the ultramontane or Jesuit party was strong, and, in alliance with the "particularists," or local "patriots," made a protracted opposition to the union, in spite of the open efforts of the king and the distinctly expressed will of the people. King William, in deference to this most important of the South German states, postponed from day to day the formal assumption of the imperial crown; but on January 14 he dispatched an open letter to all the princes of Germany, declaring that he now assumed it, not in the spirit of the emperors who, during the Middle Ages,

wasted the strength of Germany in vain attempts to extend their dominion over other nations, but with the sincere desire, having finished victoriously the war in which an unjustifiable attack had involved the Germans, and having secured their frontier against French aggression, to constitute an empire of peace and prosperity, in which the people of Germany may find and enjoy what for centuries they have sought and struggled for. The ceremonial proclamation of the empire took place at Versailles, January 18, the one hundred and seventieth anniversary of the assumption of the crown of Prussia by Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburg, and was marked by a proclamation of the emperor to the German people, expressing the same earnest desire that the glory of the empire may be sought and found in peaceful well-being, not in conquest. Only three days later, January 21, the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies finally ratified the treaty of union, and the German Empire was fully constituted. Thus, when the preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles, February 26, 1871, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were expressly ceded to a power which had no existence when the war began, and which may be said to have been created by the war itself—the German Empire.

§ 6. The triumphant termination of the war aroused throughout Germany an enthusiasm for the empire and for its rulers which seemed to afford them a splendid opportunity to organize and consolidate it. In the midst of the national rejoicing over the peace and its glorious terms, the elections were held (March 3) for the first Diet of the empire (Reichstag). They resulted in the choice of a large majority of national delegates from South Germany: Hesse sent an unbroken delegation of friends of the empire; Wirtemberg, sixteen out of seventeen; Baden, twelve out of fourteen; and even Bavaria, long the stronghold of the ultramontane party, sent twenty-nine liberals and but nineteen members of the opposition. But this result was counterbalanced by a singular growth of the clerical party in Prussia, which, by extraordinary effort, succeeded in sending thirty-six delegates, mainly from the Rhine provinces, Westphalia, and Silesia; though it had chosen in the latest election only eight members to the Diet of the North German Confederation. These,

with the thirteen delegates from Prussian Poland, who were still fanatically devoted to Polish nationality, and a very small number of radical democrats, representing the International Society, were the opposition which the imperial party had to meet in all its efforts to organize the nation; and the patriotic spirit with which the other parties were ready to unite in the work seemed to promise that the opposition should be no serious obstacle. The Diet assembled at Berlin March 21, while congratulations from Germans over the world were pouring in, and the government was engaged in distributing rewards and honors to the heroes of the war. It was opened by the emperor in person in an appropriate speech, which dissatisfied only those who expected a vain-glorious strain of exultation. He congratulated the nation on the accomplishment of its long desire and effort for unity, and devoutly expressed the hope that the restored empire would find its future greatness as victor in the struggle of the nations for the blessings of peace. The Diet prepared an address in response, which was in spirit an echo of the emperor's, and represented its members as ready for the work before them—the more perfect constitution of the empire, and the establishment and security of peace and of liberty.

§ 7. It was in the debate upon this address that the great conflict began between the German government and the Church of Rome, which has filled the early days of the new empire with the bitterest party strife, and still threatens seriously to interfere with its political prosperity. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, provided for the legal existence of the Catholic and the Reformed churches side by side, a princely house, professing either faith, being entitled to establish and maintain its own church throughout its own dominions. Starting with this principle, gradual progress was made until a very recent period toward general religious liberty. Prussia, especially, though most of its monarchs have been zealous Protestants, has come into the possession of districts, like Silesia and the Rhine provinces, in which the majority of the people are Catholics, and, indeed, the Catholics number in all one third of the entire population. As well from policy as on Protestant principles, the Prussian government was eminently tolerant. Being traditionally a "pater-

nal government," which concerns itself much more particularly with the personal life of the citizen than does that of any community speaking the English tongue, it assumes a supervision over religious worship and religious education; but in all respects, except the direct support and example of the court, it has, for more than twenty years, extended the same privileges and liberties to its Catholic as to its Evangelical subjects. The pastors and priests of both churches received education at national universities of their own faith; the children at the schools were instructed in the religion of their parents; and no interference with the freedom of worship and of opinion was possible. The same was practically true of the South German states when the war of 1870 began; not only of Wirtemberg and Hesse, where, as in Prussia, the Protestants were largely in the majority, but also in Baden and Bavaria, where the Catholics formed five sevenths of the population.

§ 8. These peaceful relations between the churches and the governments in Germany were not disturbed by any outbreak of religious feeling or prejudice on the Protestant side. The conflict into which Romanism has there been drawn is entirely political in its character, and has grown out of the remarkable change which the Catholic Church itself has experienced during the pontificate of Pius IX. It is necessary to recapitulate the leading facts of this change in order to understand the present situation in Europe. Pope Gregory XVI., who died in 1846, was a narrow and bigoted enemy of modern thought, who forbade Catholic savans to attend the meetings of learned societies, and regarded railroads as devices of the archfiend. But he lacked the personal power to make a permanent impression on the church, and his pontificate is nearly a blank in its history. Mastai Ferretti was chosen to succeed him, as a man whose enlightened character and liberal views would conciliate the modern spirit, and set the papacy abreast of the religious and political thought of this century. The Italians, indeed, rejoiced in his election as a pledge of freedom to them; and his first acts only confirmed their joy, for he at once issued an amnesty for political offenses, restoring thousands of banished malcontents to their homes, and before the year ended he appointed a commission



to frame a plan for reforming the administration of the Papal government. Within a few months, he summoned a council of delegates of the people, and surrounded his throne with a guard of volunteers. The Jesuit party were enraged, and a conspiracy against the new pope's life, in which Lambruschini, who had been his chief competitor for the dignity, was suspected of being implicated, was suppressed by the devoted zeal of the Roman people. The pope expelled the Jesuits from his state (March 28, 1848), and issued a proclamation to the people of Italy, declaring that the great popular movement of the year in behalf of free institutions was not the work of man, but of God. But the people, intoxicated by the taste of freedom, soon went too far; and in November, 1848, terrified him by a display of arms into sanctioning a democratic revolution. At the first opportunity he fled to Gaeta, and from thence poured out his anathemas on all his former friends. This was the turning-point of his career. During his exile he fell under the control of the Jesuit party; and since his return to Rome, under the protection of the French army, April 4, 1850, he has devoted all his energies to imposing on the church the extreme doctrines of the papacy of the Middle Ages. His success has been one of the most conspicuous features in recent European history; and to find a pope who has so profoundly impressed his personality upon his Church, we must look back to Innocent III. or to Hildebrand.

§ 9. Pius IX. has for many years believed himself to be the favorite of the Virgin Mary, inspired and guided by her in his office. On December 8, 1854, he proclaimed at Rome, as an article of faith, "The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin." The tendency of the Catholic Church had long been to exalt Mary to divine honors, and the official promulgation of the doctrine excited little controversy within its bounds; a few dissentients consoling themselves with the reflection that the pope alone, without a council, could not bind their minds and consciences. During the protracted struggle of Italy for political unity, the language of the court of Rome became more arrogant as its provinces fell away; and the pope's organs openly demanded that the European nations should uphold his temporal dominion, on the ground that he is the Vicegerent of Christ, "the King of kings and Lord of

lords." His warfare against modern civilization took its final form December 8, 1864, when Europe was astonished by the appearance of an Encyclical Letter, addressed to all Catholic bishops, expressing his condemnation of the principal beliefs in science, politics, and religion which are characteristic of the nineteenth century. It was accompanied by a Syllabus, or list, of eighty errors in belief and practice, which the pope denounced and condemned; and all of which he, by his apostolic authority, commanded every son of the Catholic Church to denounce and condemn. As far as this manifesto concerned religious doctrine only, it was of no political significance. But it declared without disguise that the Church has the right to coerce dissenters, and to employ and control the civil powers in executing its decrees; it denounced as damnable the assertion that the popes have ever been guilty of usurpation in assuming authority over princes and governments; it proscribed freedom of opinion and worship as intolerable errors; and proclaimed it heresy to advocate a reconciliation of the Church with modern civilization. In short, the pope defiantly arrogated to himself in the nineteenth century every power which his predecessors had attempted to exercise in the Middle Ages; and gave notice to the governments of Christendom that all Catholics owed to him a higher allegiance than to them. The Protestant powers of Europe, including Prussia, treated this step with contemptuous indifference; but the Catholic powers regarded it as an attack upon their sovereignty, and in France, and even in Portugal, the government prohibited the publication of the Letter and Syllabus. But Napoleon III. still strove to conciliate the Catholic party in France by maintaining the pope as sovereign in Rome against the will of Italy and of the Roman people themselves. At the end of 1866, he withdrew his troops, in pursuance of a treaty with Italy guaranteeing the papal throne against attack from the Italians; but in October, 1867, Garibaldi occupied Rome, and the French returned, drove him out, and remained to guard the pope.

§ 10. In 1868 Austria adopted, as a part of the legislation by which the empire took the form of a constitutional monarchy, a series of laws relating to education, marriage, freedom of the press and of worship, which practically abolished

the "concordat" of 1855, and deprived the Roman Church of the exceptional powers granted by that instrument, though they left it still, as Count Beust truly declared, every privilege which it enjoyed in any European country. These laws led to a memorable conflict between the Austrian government and the Catholic clergy; and the pope seized the occasion, in a secret consistory, again solemnly to denounce liberty of conscience and of the press as works of the devil, while his clergy commanded all Catholics in Austria to disregard and disobey such laws. At the same time (June 22, 1869) he announced his purpose to summon, at the end of 1869, a General Council of the Church; and one week later the bull was published setting forth the work which this council must undertake. It was to consider the state of modern society, especially its encroachments on the ancient prerogatives of the Church, in suppressing religious orders, circulating "ungodly books and pestilential journals," and destroying the control of the clergy over education, and to find remedies for these evils. In short, the Encyclical and Syllabus of December 8, 1864, were to receive the sanction of the Universal Church. But even this prospect was soon overshadowed by the announcement, in the Jesuit press, that the principal object of the council would be to proclaim, as an article of faith, the Infallibility of the Pope, when speaking authoritatively to the Church on questions of doctrine or morals. It was to be the first General Council since that of Trent was adjourned in 1563 by the famous cry of the Cardinal of Lorraine, "Anathema upon all heretics;" and it promised to be the last, since the pope, once found to be infallible, could have no additional authority given to his decisions or utterances by the concurrence of his bishops.

§ 11. The Roman Church in Germany holds peculiar relations to the people and the government. It is recognized as a legal institution, side by side with the Evangelical Church, and receives its revenues from the state, in compensation for the Church estates which have been "secularized." The appointment of its bishops and the education of its clergy are under the supervision of the civil authorities; and it has schools and universities of its own, sustained by state subsidies. Even in the schools of Protestant Prussia, religious

instruction is given to Catholic children by their own priests, at the expense of the state. Thus the Roman Church in Germany, and especially in the universities, stands in the full light of modern science and thought; and is compelled to endure severer tests of its consistency and intelligence than in any other country. The theology of the German Catholic universities has thus come to assume a more consistent and plausible type than that of the Church at large, and to be free from much of the ignorance and superstition which prevail in Catholic countries. Indeed, the German bishops and clergy themselves were greatly influenced by their relations to the universities and their intercourse with learned Protestants, and formed by far the most liberal as well as the most intelligent body of Catholics in Europe. This state of things has, indeed, been the object of constant attack by the Jesuit party, since they obtained control of Pius IX.; and they have striven by all means to isolate the Church from the intellectual world, to secure the education of the priests for themselves in their own seminaries, and to stamp their ultramontane views upon the whole body of Catholics; but their success appeared in 1869 to have been but small. The German bishops held a conference at Fulda, in Hesse, September, 1869, at which they united in regarding the declaration of the pope's infallibility as at least "inopportune," and foreshadowed a resolute opposition to the measure in the council. Catholic scholars of the highest eminence, like Dr. Döllinger, of Munich, protested in advance against the defiance by the Church of Christian principle and of historic truth; and leading Catholic statesmen, like Prince Hohenlohe of Bavaria, called on the united governments of Europe to take measures to meet an attempt of the council to make the pope supreme over all rulers and people.

§ 12. The council met December 8, 1869. It was composed of about seven hundred bishops, of whom about two hundred, including a vast majority of the scholarship and intelligence of the body, were opposed to the new dogma; while a large part of the majority were the merely nominal bishops of remote lands (*in partibus infidelium*), living in Italy in immediate dependence on the pope. Three hundred of the bishops were literally too poor to obtain food at their own

expense, and received from the pope their daily bread. These, together with the bishops "*in partibus*," formed a compact phalanx under the direction of the papal court, which controlled the council. The claims of this body to represent the Christian world may be appreciated from the fact that the papal state, containing at that time 720,000 inhabitants, had 143 bishops, while France, Germany, and Austria together, with more than half the Catholics of Europe, had but 151. The work of the council was carefully prepared beforehand; and such precautions had been taken against free discussion that the minority soon found themselves helpless. The Jesuit party, indeed, were disappointed in their hope of proclaiming the new dogma at once, and adjourning after a short and harmonious session. A majority of the German bishops were earnest in their opposition; they presented arguments against the dogma from Church history, to which no answer could be made, and Strossmayer, Bishop of Servia, was driven from the rostrum as a heretic by the clamor of the Italian Jesuits. They besought the pope, in private and in public, not to declare war against the civil governments of Europe, and foretold a conflict with these powers, in which the Church must suffer. It was found necessary to bring to bear upon the minority every influence which Rome could control; and these, skillfully exercised for six months, were so potent in weakening and dissolving the opposition, that in July the Jesuits felt strong enough publicly to proclaim the new dogma. This was done July 18, 1870, three days after the declaration of war by France against Prussia. The bishops who remained resolute in resistance presented to the pope a written protest, and left Rome a few days before the final vote, which was nearly unanimous. The council was then prorogued until November 11; but it never met again, since the disasters of France compelled the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome in August, and in September the Italian troops occupied the city, and put an end to the pope's temporal sovereignty. By a bull of October 20, the pope postponed the reassembling of the council indefinitely, on the ground that, during the occupation of Rome by the Italians, the bishops could not enjoy the freedom and security required for their deliberations.

§ 13. Immediately after the adjournment of the council, a systematic and general effort was made to induce or compel all bishops, priests, professors, and teachers in Germany to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility. Its success was rapid and surprising, at least in bringing the bishops to recognize the authority of Rome. A number of these met again at Fulda, among them several who had been prominent in the opposition at the council, and resolved zealously to urge on the Church the acceptance of the new doctrine. The Bishops of Munich, Trèves, Ermeland, and Mayence joined the "Infallibilists" at once, and zealously. On the other hand, a large part of the professors and instructors in the Catholic universities of Germany refused to yield; and at a conference held at Nuremberg in August, formally voted that the Council of the Vatican had not the authority of a General Church Council, and that its affirmance of a dogma was invalid. At this time the governments of Germany were wholly occupied with the war, and the public attention of Europe was diverted from the conflicts in the Church by the progress of the German conquest of France. The Prussian ministry, like those of France and Austria, had warned the papal court, during the sessions of the council, of the danger that the promulgation of infallibility would lead to a breach between Church and State; but it was not until February, 1871, that any public indication of its policy was given. A petition was presented to Von Mühler, the minister of education, asking for the removal of the Catholic teachers in the gymnasium at Breslau, who denied the doctrine of papal infallibility, on the ground that the foundation belonged to the Catholic Church. The minister refused, declaring that the endowment dated from a time when Catholicism implied no such doctrine, and that the teachers in question had not forsaken any part of the faith known as Catholic before the Vatican Council. On the 18th of the same month, the ultramontane members of the Prussian House of Deputies presented to the king at Versailles an address, asking him to restore the temporal power of the pope, to which no answer was made. The clerical party busied themselves in the selection of able candidates for the first Diet of the new empire, and in bringing out the strongest vote possible. The elections

were held March 3, 1871, and through the neglect of other parties, which had scarce any organization, but relied on the popular enthusiasm aroused by the war, the clericals carried forty-three districts, though they had previously controlled but ten; and elected in all of them men pledged to act as a distinct party, devoted entirely to the cause of the Church. This party was a new and significant fact in German politics. These, together with eighteen "clericals" from Bavaria, and four from Baden and Wirttemberg, formed the "centre" or ultramontane party in the Diet.

§ 14. After the Diet met, March 21, public attention was at once drawn to the issue between the State and the Church, which was every day more clearly defined. In January and February the Bishops of Ermeland and Cologne, now become obedient servants of the infallible pope, undertook to compel all Catholic instructors in the gymnasia to teach the new Roman dogma, and even assumed to forbid such as rejected it to retain their offices. Only a few days before the Diet was opened the ministry notified the bishops publicly that the supervision of these instructors rested with the civil authorities, and that no teacher could be suspended or controlled in his instruction by the clergy. The Bavarian government refused its consent to the promulgation of the decrees of the Vatican Council. Dr. Döllinger, the most eminent historian and theologian of the Catholic Church, published (May 28) his reply to the Archbishop of Munich, who demanded his assent to the new doctrine, offering to prove to the bishops of Germany, or to the commission of the Cathedral Chapter of Munich, that the pope's infallibility has no support in Scripture or in the Fathers, that it is in direct contradiction to the decisions of former councils and popes, and is irreconcilable with the constitutions of the European states. As a Christian, as a theologian, as a student of history, and as a citizen, he rejects the dogma; and declares that, if accepted by the Catholics of Germany, it will at once plant in the new empire the germ of irremediable decay. This letter stirred the religious world of Germany and of Europe to its depths, and aroused hosts of intelligent Catholics to protest against the proposed subjection of the civil to the spiritual power. The active political struggle began in the Diet March 30,

when an address to the emperor was proposed by the leaders of all parties, except the clerical "centre," in which it was emphatically declared to be the policy of the empire to develop its new resources in peace, and carefully to avoid all intermeddling with the affairs of other nations, respecting the right of each to make its own way to national unity, and to frame its own constitution. The clerical party resisted with energy every declaration which would bind the empire not to restore the pope's temporal power, and proposed a substitute for the address which would leave this question untouched. The discussion opened the entire controversy which has since agitated the empire; and the national address was carried by a vote of 243, against the 63 "clericals."

§ 15. At the beginning of April, the proposed constitution of the new empire was considered in the Diet. The leaders of the centre moved an amendment, securing to all Germans the absolute freedom of the press, of assembly, association, and discussion; and especially the right of each Church to its own ecclesiastical government, independent of the state. In the support of this amendment, Roman bishops were found advocating the most complete liberty of opinion, debate, and worship; and eloquent pleas for the absolute equality of all religious faiths before the law were made by the prelates who, in their own sees, preached that the Syllabus and the doctrine of papal infallibility must be accepted on pain of eternal death. Neither the nation at large nor the liberal party in the Diet believed in the sincerity of this movement. It was regarded as an effort to establish the Roman Church as an independent sovereignty within the empire; and the public mind, made intensely jealous of the papal power by the remembrance of the long ages during which it had kept Germany dismembered, was thoroughly alarmed. The manner in which the priesthood, in the Catholic districts, had employed the powers of the pulpit and the confessional to influence the elections, increased the alarm; and every day some new edict of excommunication hurled against the leading Catholic scholars and teachers of the land, for refusing to accept the dogma of infallibility, aroused the indignation of all Protestants. The amendment was rejected by nearly the same majority which had adopted the address to the king. The ef



fort of the clericals in the Diet had accomplished nothing but to define the issues between them and the mass of the nation, and to draw close the party lines. The government, which had always dealt leniently with the Catholics, was driven to take the lead against them. Only thus could Bismarck hope, amid the divisions of parties, to control a compact majority for the measures which seemed to him essential to the firm and permanent organization of the empire.

§ 16. Meanwhile the schism in the German Catholic Church grew wider daily. The majority of the intellect and scholarship of the Church rejected the Vatican Council, while nearly the whole clergy sustained it. But the agitation was not confined to the Catholic world: the nation watched it, as a conflict in which its own fate was involved. The question at stake was no longer one of private faith, but of political life; it was whether the pope should be recognized in Germany as a power superior to the German government and laws. "The Old Catholics," as the opponents of the new dogma called themselves, assembled in Munich, September 23, 1871, reaffirmed their devotion to the system of doctrines and worship which had always been to them the Catholic Church, proclaimed the political character of the innovations made by the Vatican Council, and unanimously called on the imperial government to expel the Jesuits from Germany. They provided for the organization of "Old Catholic" churches, and demanded from the governments the recognition of these churches, as entitled to the same privileges and support which had been given to the Catholic Church since the Peace of Westphalia. The Bavarian government took the lead in granting them this recognition, and promised to protect and sustain Catholics who rejected the new dogma if they adhered to their faith as it was before 1870. The imperial government adopted the same policy, and the schism gradually extended throughout Germany, the Old Catholic organization embracing a large majority of the learned theologians and instructors of the ancient Church. But not one of the German bishops joined it; and it was not until June, 1873, that its ecclesiastical form was completed by the election, with the sanction of the imperial government, and those of Baden and Wirtemberg, of Professor Reinkens

as their bishop. Since he could not obtain consecration from the Roman hierarchy, he was ordained in July by Heykamp, the Jansenist bishop of Deventer, in the Netherlands; and in October he was formally acknowledged by the Prussian government as a Catholic bishop, and entitled as such to the support of the state.

§ 17. The conflict between the German government and the clerical party grew more violent in 1872. In theory, a large part of the German people are in favor of the entire separation of Church and State, so that each shall be independent within its own province. But the position of the Evangelical and the Catholic churches in Germany, as established institutions intimately associated with the state, drawing their revenues from public funds, and sharing in the work of education, made a sudden separation impossible; and, meanwhile, the aggressions of the Jesuit party were regarded by the nation as a conspiracy against the state which must be decisively met, and without delay. Each Church had its own representation in the Prussian ministry of worship and education; but when the Catholic branch of this department became the agent of an infallible pope, claiming supremacy over the civil power, it could not longer be maintained as a department of the Prussian government, and before the end of 1871 it was finally abolished. The attempt of the Roman clergy to force upon all the schools in which Catholic children were taught instruction in the doctrine of papal infallibility, as the corner-stone of the faith, excited the indignation of the Parliament, and Von Mühlner, the minister of public instruction, at the moment when he was advocating a law to vest in the state the control of religious teachers in the schools, was compelled to resign, on the ground that he was not the man to enforce such a law thoroughly. Falk, the new minister, devoted all his energies to the preparation of laws which should enable the civil authorities to govern the schools, and to protect them fully from being made instruments of the Jesuit propaganda. The question was complicated by the open efforts of the Roman clergy in Posen to maintain the Polish language in the schools, and to perpetuate the traditional and national hatred of the Poles for their Prussian rulers. In March, 1872, the new law was

passed, depriving the Church of all control over religious instruction in the schools; and its thorough enforcement aroused bitter opposition, especially in Posen and Silesia, where the government removed the clerical school-inspectors in multitudes.

§ 18. It was now evident to all parties in Prussia that nothing could be gained by continuing the conflict, and there seemed to be a desire on both sides for an accommodation. The Prussian bishops met at Fulda, April 9, and agreed upon a pastoral letter, in which they bade their priests, while submitting to the law, zealously to guard their influence over the schools. The imperial government asked permission of the pope to send as ambassador to Rome Cardinal Hohenlohe, who had voted for infallibility in the council, in order that the way might be open for negotiation on all questions at issue with the Roman Church. But the pope privately forbade the cardinal's acceptance of the position; and then, after long delay, notified the German government that he could not receive a cardinal as an ambassador. His refusal exasperated the Protestant parties more than ever; and it was during the debate occasioned by it in the Diet that Prince Bismarck gave his famous warning to the clericals: "Of this be sure, that neither in Church nor in State are we on the way to Canossa" (May 14, 1872). At this time petitions were laid before the Diet in great numbers, from all parts of the empire, complaining of the means used by the bishops and clergy to suppress dissent from the pope's infallibility. "The greater excommunication" is still a weapon of immense power in Catholic districts, since the Church forbids all intercourse with the offending member; and, indeed, under the old Prussian law, the excommunicated person could not be lawfully married, nor obtain Christian baptism for his children nor Christian burial for himself; and thus the bishops were able to deprive of social comfort, and to a great extent of civil rights, the men who would not join in their surrender to the Vatican. The Prussian law, indeed, already required for any act of Church discipline which could affect civil or social rights, the sanction of the state authorities; but the prelates disregarded this, and, in the face of warnings given them by the authorities, steadily strove, by

all the means which their spiritual assumptions and the popular superstition placed in their power, to impose the infallible papacy on the entire Church, and to crush out opposition. The Archbishops of Posen and Cologne and the Bishop of Ermeland made themselves conspicuous by excommunicating prominent Catholic scholars and teachers; and, in reply to the remonstrances of the authorities, rang numberless changes on the theme that "they must obey God rather than men."

§ 19. The Diet was also stirred by petitions setting forth the activity and growth of the religious orders, whose members were devoted in implicit obedience to their superiors, usually foreigners, and were ceaselessly at work undermining the sovereignty of the law. It was shown that in Prussia there were in 1855 sixty-nine convents, with 976 inmates; in 1869, eight hundred and twenty-six convents, with 8319 inmates. Of these orders the Jesuits were by far the most numerous and active, and their spirit and influence seemed to control the others. In Alsace and Lorraine especially, they ruled the Church and the schools. The Diet, in June, passed a law expelling foreign Jesuits from the empire, suppressing their institutions, and giving the government power to superintend and check all the religious orders in affiliation with the Jesuits. It also directed the government to prepare laws making civil marriage obligatory, and placing the official registries of marriages and births in the hands of civil officers. The government enforced the law against the Jesuits with an unsparing hand. It resulted, in some cases, in personal hardships, and awakened sympathy in other countries for the pious and zealous members of the order, whose life-work was thus broken up, and who were deprived of their homes. Many persons whose sympathies were not with the ultramontane party have questioned the wisdom of these severe measures, which have certainly enabled the Jesuits themselves, and all the enemies of the empire, to represent it as a persecuting power, while they could not put a stop to the private work of similar religious orders. They proved, however, a heavy blow to the prospects of the clerical party; and public opinion would have sustained them had they been far more rigorous, remembering that even Catholic gov-

ernments have often been compelled, in self-defense, to expel the Jesuits, that Pope Clement XIV. abolished the order in 1773, and that Pius IX. himself, less than thirty years ago, drove them out of Rome.

§ 20. At the beginning of 1873 the Prussian government resolved to regulate the ecclesiastical polity of the state by a new system of laws, which should recognize at once the religious liberty of the subject and the traditional claims of the established churches upon the state. On January 7, the bills which have since become famous as the Falk laws were introduced by that minister into the House of Deputies. They were freely debated there and in the House of Lords, and were finally passed at the beginning of May. The enforcement of these laws by the Prussian government has been the characteristic feature of the internal history of Germany for the last year, and has constituted what the majority of the German people regard as its chief merit—what a large minority of them, with all the enemies of the empire in other lands, denounce as an unpardonable crime. We therefore give a summary of their provisions. The first law merely permits the voluntary change of his Church relations by any member of an Established Church. The second law provides for the education and appointment of the clergy who shall be recognized by the state as pastors; and requires that every man, to be eligible to this office, shall first have received a training in a public school and a university, side by side with the young men preparing for other professions, and shall pass such an examination in general science and literature, and in German history, as is required of them; and, after all this, he shall not be installed in his work without the approval of the civil authorities. These restrictions do away with the seminaries or private monastic schools, into which the Roman Church in Germany has been striving for a generation to bring all the candidates for the clerical office. The third law regulates all ecclesiastical discipline and censure, forbidding the infliction of fine, imprisonment, and corporal punishment for offenses against the Church, bringing the “reformatories” used for the discipline of wards of the Church under state supervision, and instituting an ecclesiastical court of appeals, composed of learned judges, before which

all questions of ecclesiastical punishment may be removed, on appeal, from the clerical authorities. This act is drawn with extreme care and skill, and is full of provisions growing out of the peculiar relations of the Church to the State in Prussia; but it appears to aim wholly at the protection of the liberty of conscience against persecution, and its enforcement can scarcely be made in any case oppressive to the Church, since it has no application except where ecclesiastical discipline is accused of trespassing on private rights. The last of these laws made marriage a civil contract, and required for its validity the evidence which establishes any other contract. It will be observed that these laws apply to all churches, Protestant as well as Catholic; and if their enforcement constitutes a hardship for the believer in any creed, it is natural to suspect that creed of being inconsistent with political liberty and equality.

§ 21. A final estimate of the value and wisdom of these laws can only be made at some future day. In the first year of their enforcement the government has met with many difficulties, and seems to have lost many friends. But the public opinion of the nation sustains it; and not only the German Empire, but Austria also, are now engaged in framing their ecclesiastical policy after the example of Prussia, but with a still more emphatic assertion of the supremacy of the government. The conflict between papal assumptions and the rights of civil society was inevitable after the entire Catholic Church became an engine for propagating the doctrines of the Syllabus; and the question whether Germany has been too zealous in accepting the challenge and anticipating the enemy's attack will recede from view more and more as it becomes evident that the struggle is a real one, and that the whole civilized world must in some form engage in it. The charge that the Falk laws are agencies for persecuting religious faith, and that the Prussian policy violates liberty of conscience, can not be sustained: any religious faith which these laws attack is a faith which is inconsistent with civilized society; the liberty of conscience which they suppress is the liberty to defy and destroy civil government. But the charge that the laws are politically unwise and unnecessary can not be so easily dismissed. It is plau-

sibly argued that in our day perfect liberty is an atmosphere which ultramontaniam can not breathe; that nothing but resolute opposition could have lifted the papal party in Germany to importance, and that half its strength to-day lies in the sympathy felt for the oppressed. On the other hand, devout Catholics are rapidly becoming alienated from the government, and are growing into a compact union with the "particularists" and the discontented of every section, in opposition to the measures most essential to the future of the empire. Prussia has had one Poland to deal with for a century; another has just fallen to its lot in the conquered French provinces; could it not have avoided, for a long time to come, the constitution of a third, the most formidable of all, in its own Catholic districts? At this time there is no prospect of a reconciliation between the state and Rome; nor is it easy to believe that either party can completely obtain its ends until the face of Europe is changed. But as a political measure, "the Falk laws," and indeed the entire ecclesiastical policy of Germany, can only be judged by the test of success; and the time seems as yet to be distant when that test may be finally applied.

§ 22. The constitution of the German Empire is still in a formative state, and progress is made every year in consolidating the national union. The "particularist" parties in the smaller states had influence enough, when the treaties of union were signed, to insist upon concessions intended to secure these states against absorption in Prussia. The guarantees then granted have in some cases proved obstacles to the development of the union; but the national enthusiasm for the empire has gained ground rapidly, and the merely traditional barriers of state lines are giving way before it. The dread of Prussian aggression seems to be dying out, and the empire is every where adopting all that is excellent in the organization and administration of the Hohenzollern kingdom with little opposition. This is particularly true of the imperial army, which is but the Prussian army of 1866, better equipped, and enlarged by contingents from the rest of Germany. The civil service of the other states has gained much, also, by the example of Prussian drill and efficiency; and, if regarded simply as an engine of administration, the

civil service of the German Empire, as a whole, is by far the best in the world. The empire now has definitely in view the establishment throughout all Germany of a uniform code of laws, both civil and criminal, and of judicial procedure. Every year enlarges the province of the imperial government, at the expense of the prerogatives at first reserved by the states; and the "National Liberal" party, the strongest and most growing in the nation, and that on which the present government mainly relies for its strength, is earnestly in favor of still further consolidating the empire, until it shall become to all Germans the recognized object of patriotism as their Fatherland.

§ 23. Prussia, too, has been greatly influenced by its relations to the empire. Of all constitutional monarchies, Prussia, in its internal organization, is the most influenced by feudal traditions. In the famous "constitutional struggle" which preceded the war of 1866, it was on the House of Lords that the monarchy and Bismarck relied, when they built up the army and organized victory over Austria, in defiance of the representatives of the people. But the high Tory party which then sustained the throne could not unite the empire; and after 1870 the prince-chancellor himself gradually, but resolutely, abandoned the conservatives, by whose aid all his triumphs had been won, and threw his controlling influence in favor of more liberal institutions. Nothing has illustrated his greatness as a statesman so much as his cheerful and zealous acquiescence in the necessity of reforming Prussia, that it might be the nucleus of the empire. The most important measure yet taken for this purpose was the law reorganizing the local governments in the eastern provinces of Prussia, passed by the House of Delegates March 23, 1872, by a majority of four fifths of the whole. This act abolished hundreds of antiquated feudal privileges and burdens, greatly diminished the authority and influence of the minor nobility, and gave the people control of their own local and municipal interests. The House of Lords mainly represented the class which would suffer by this act, and resisted it, though the entire influence of the government was actively employed in its favor, for several months. After a memorable Parliamentary struggle, the king created twenty-five new peers, who took

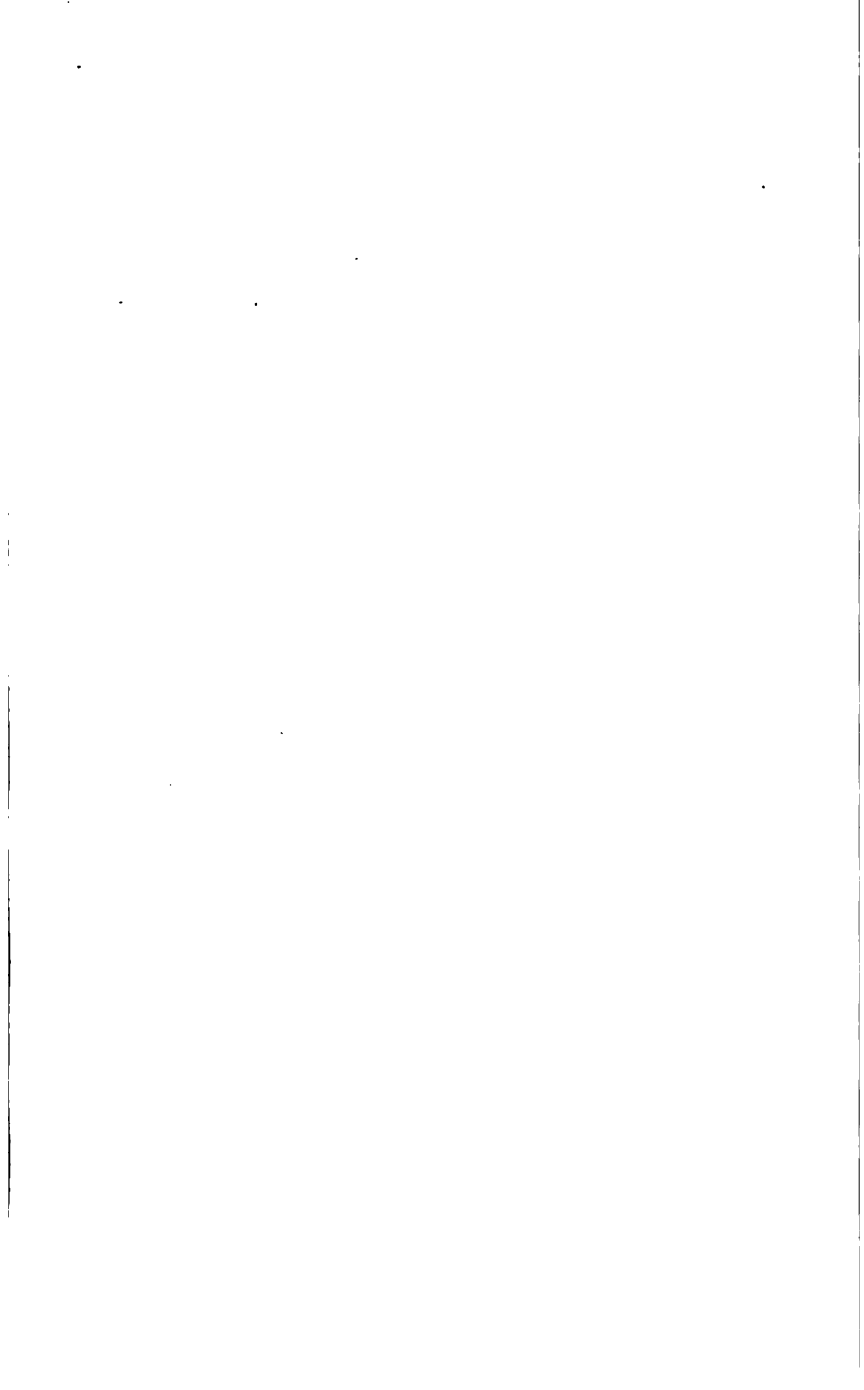


their seats and voted for the bill; which was at last passed, December 7, 1872, by 116 votes against 91, many of the conservatives having abandoned the contest as hopeless. This event was fatal to the old feudal party, with which Bismarck's early political history was identified; it also marked the entrance of the Prussian monarchy upon a new era, in which its power must rest entirely upon the people's will.

§ 24. The government of Alsace and Lorraine is a problem which promises long to tax the wisdom of the new empire. When these provinces were torn from France, the German people regarded them as kindred rescued from foreign bondage, and fondly trusted that the mass of their population would speedily become loyal subjects of the empire. This hope has been utterly disappointed; and though but a small proportion of the people have left their homes to retain their French citizenship, yet most of them unquestionably look to the Germans as foreign conquerors, and on France as their country. The acquisition of these provinces has strengthened the military frontier of the empire; but in all other respects it is a source of weakness. In case of a war with France it affords the Germans a vantage ground; but in the political development of the nation it is a serious hinderance. For three years they have been governed by a dictatorship, probably the wisest, kindest, and most liberal that a conqueror ever exercised, but it has accomplished nothing visible toward incorporating them in the German nation; and their representatives now enter the imperial Diet as the irreconcilable foes of the national government, side by side with those of Poland and of the Vatican. Meanwhile the occupation of these districts is regarded by the French as a perpetual challenge, and all the energies of the richest land on the Continent of Europe are slowly gathering themselves together in hope of "revenge." France is crippled, and perhaps for many years to come will be so obviously inferior in strength to the empire that it will avoid the unequal conflict; but it would even now be a formidable ally of any one of the great powers with which Germany might quarrel; and a great nation watching hourly for an opportunity to attack is that which no government can afford to despise. The situation is discouraging to all friends of human progress, in that

the resources of the fairest part of Europe are largely absorbed year by year in preparations for war; and the comfort, leisure, intelligence, and moral growth of millions of people are sacrificed to the pride of national triumph or the passion for national revenge, with no prospect of improvement unless it be reached through exhaustion.

§ 25. The relations of the German Empire to the other European powers are such, however, that its statesmen seem confident of a long peace. Nothing in the history of Europe better illustrates the power of wise diplomacy than the success with which the new government has courted the friendship of Russia, Austria, and Italy. The men who direct the destinies of Prussia have been remarkably free from the passions that have commonly accompanied military power and success; the self-control and far-seeing wisdom they have shown during the last three years, in their dealings with the nations just named, will be long remembered in history. The aid and sympathy given by Italians to France prolonged the war of 1870; the oppression of the Germans in the Baltic provinces, by their Slavonic rulers, is a continuous source of irritation to Germany, while the most enterprising party in Russia regards the German Empire as the only serious obstacle to its aspirations. The Austrian monarchy, still smarting under Sadowa, was only withheld from joining Napoleon in his march to the Rhine by the dread of Russia. And yet within two years after the Peace of Frankfort, the three emperors of Eastern Europe were united in an alliance with the avowed purpose, which still seems to be sincere, of preserving peace. The diplomacy of Bismarck has retained the firm friendship of the Czar, in spite of the avowed hostility of Russian public sentiment; has won the alliance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in spite of the long-cherished prejudice of the court of Vienna; and has secured the cordial respect of the Italian government and the trust of the Italian people.



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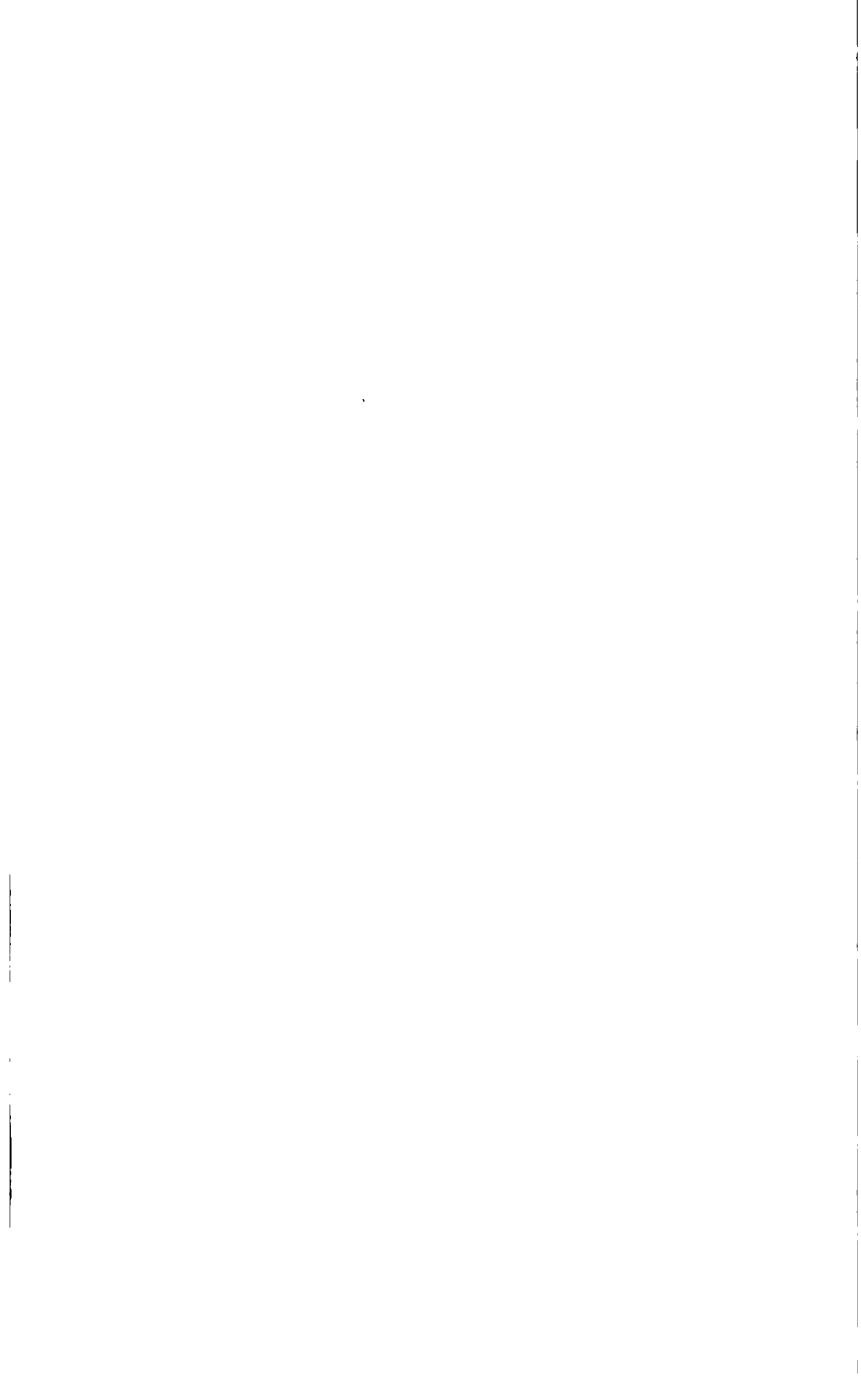
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